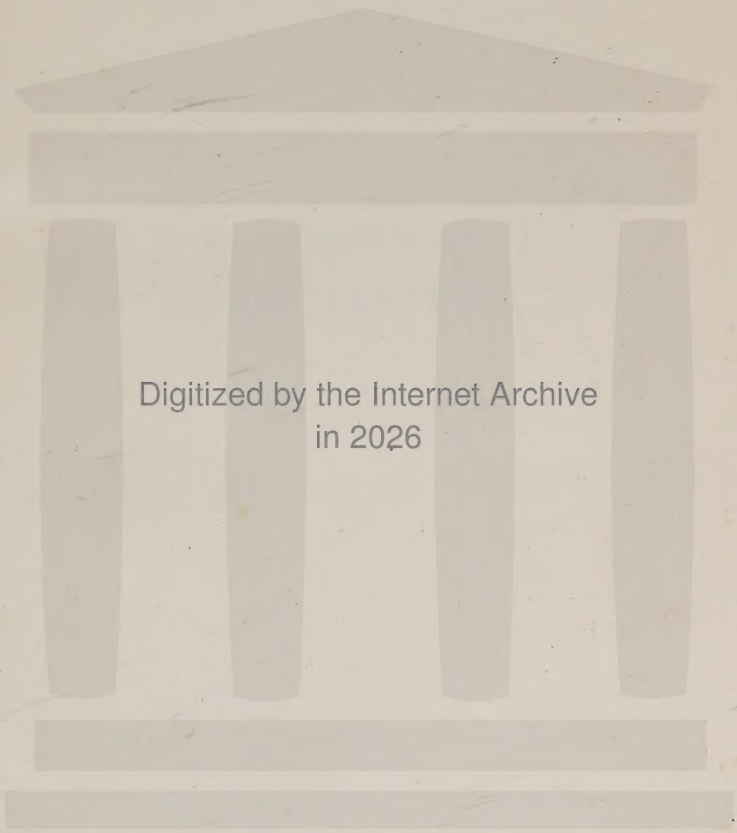
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THE TEMPTATION IN THE WILDERNESS

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THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN KNOWLEDGE

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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

The present volume is intended as a companion to the work *Evolution in the Light of Modern Knowledge* published by us in 1925.

The chapter on "Christianity in the Nineteenth Century" was printed before the announcement of the recent negotiations between the Italian Government and the Vatican and therefore requires certain modifications.

The publishers wish to thank Dr. T. R. Glover of St. John's College, Cambridge, most sincerely for his help in the early stages of the preparation of this volume.

The duties of the editor have been to collate the various sections and to prevent overlapping as far as possible, except where it appeared to be of some definite advantage.

February, 1929

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PART I

THE WORLD INTO WHICH CHRIST WAS BORN

CHAPTER I

The Extent and Nature of the Roman Empire at the Birth of Christianity

It was an incalculable advantage for early Christianity that it came into being at a time when Judæa was included in a strong, well-disciplined, tolerant, and, on the whole, just, Roman empire. It is impossible to tell, though easy to surmise, what might have happened to the new teaching in Palestine itself if the Jewish authorities had been independent of a higher control and could have worked their own pleasure freely upon both Jesus Christ and His disciples. Nor, even had it obtained a sufficient footing in that quarter, would it have found those liberal opportunities of spreading into other lands which it enjoyed in the days of the apostle Paul. It was the Roman ægis that sheltered Christ with such protection as He for a time received, and that enabled Paul to travel in safety over land and sea and to preach the new doctrines in Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, and even Rome itself. It is therefore desirable to know something of the extent and nature of the Roman empire in the first half-century or so after the birth of Christ; and such knowledge is made the more desirable when so many erroneous notions are held concerning the actions and responsibilities of the Roman authorities who come into view in the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles.

At the date commonly assigned to the birth of Jesus Christ, Augustus had been for thirty-one years the virtual autocrat of an empire some three thousand miles in length by about two

thousand in width. It comprised all the civilized countries of the western world and also some tribes or districts which were only on the way towards a settled civilization. On the west it was bounded by the Atlantic Ocean from Morocco to the English Channel, and on the north-west by that Channel and the North Sea as far as the Zuyder Zee. Thence the boundary turned back along the Rhine as far as Switzerland. The northern frontier then consisted of the Danube and the Black Sea as far as, but not effectively including, Armenia. After touching the bend of the northern Euphrates, the empire was limited on the east and south-east by the Arabian desert. South of the Mediterranean it embraced the whole of Egypt and all the habitable regions north of the African waste as far as the Atlantic. The Mediterranean Sea, with all its branches and contents, was thus entirely a ' Roman lake ', and within the borders of the empire lay the modern Holland, Belgium, France, the Spanish peninsula, Switzerland, Southern Austria, Italy, the whole of the Balkan peninsula, Asia Minor, Syria and Palestine, Egypt, Cyrenaica, Tripoli, Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco. Britain lay outside until partially conquered towards the middle of the century, and Romania was not added for over a hundred years. It will be seen that seas, rivers, mountains, and deserts thus formed at this date as ' scientific ' a frontier as any empire ever had.

The Provinces.

Italy apart, this immense dominion was divided into provinces of greater or smaller extent. For their names and situations the map must be consulted. They had come into the power of Rome—mostly within the two centuries preceding New Testament times—at various dates and under various circumstances. Though the majority had been annexed as the result of wars, it is an error to look upon either republican or imperial Rome as simply a greedy octopus perpetually reaching out to seize upon the territories of other peoples. Though not always innocent of the lust of conquest, and though not above magnifying excuses for intervention, the Romans had

THE ROMAN EMPIRE
circa A.D. 64
English Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
Roads
Shipping routes
Positions (some approximate) of Legions
Imperial Provinces
Senatorial Provinces
CALEDONIA
HIBERNIA
OCEANUS ATLANTICUS
BRITANNIA
Deva (Chester)
Lindum (Lincoln)
Isca (Caerleon)
Camulodunum (Colchester)
Londinium (London)
GERMANIA INFERIOR
Vetera Castra
Novaesium
Colonia Agrippina (Cologne)
Bonna
Mogontiacum
GERMANIA
BELGICA
LUGDUNENSIS
Lutetia (Paris)
GALLIA
GERMANIA SUP.
Rhenus F.
Vindonissa
RHAETIA
NORICUM
Carnuntum
Danuvius F.
Aquincum
Poetovio
PANNONIA
DACIA
SARMATIA
Lugdunum (Lyons)
AQUITANIA
Vienna (Vienne)
ALPES
VIA AEMILIA
Aquileia
Placentia
NARBONENSIS
Narbo
Nemausus
Arausio (Orange)
Massilia
Forum Julii (Fréjus)
Caesaraugusta (Saragossa)
TARRACONENSIS
LUSITANIA
HISPANIA
Tarraco (Tarragona)
CORSICA
Ravenna
ITALIA
VIA AURELIA
VIA FLAMINIA
M. ADRIATICUM
ILLYRICUM
Sirmium
MOESIA
Novae
PONTUS EUXINUS
THRACIA
Philippopolis
Byzantium
Nicomedia
BITHYNIA
PONTUS
Ostia
Roma
V. APPIA
Puteoli
Neapolis
Dyrrachium
V. EGNATIA
Brundisium
MACEDONIA
Thessalonica
Pergamum
ASIA
Smyrna
Laodicea
Ephesus
GALATIA
CAPPADOCIA
Iconium
PISIDIA
CILICIA
Tarsus
Antiochia
SYRIA
Euphrates F.
Hispalis (Seville)
Gades
BAETICA
Corduba
Carthago Nova
Baleares
SARDINIA
MARE INTERNUM
Fortunatae Insulae (Canary Is. etc.)
EPIRUS
ACHAIA
Athenae
Corinthus
LYCIA
PAMPHYLIA
Myra
Rhodus
CYPRUS
Paphos
Sidon
Tyrus
Damascus
Caesarea
JUDAEA
Hierosolyma (Jerusalem)
SICILIA
V. POPILIA
Syracusae
CRETA
MAURETANIA
NUMIDIA
Carthago
Theveste
AFRICA
Cyrene
CYRENAICA
Alexandria
Memphis
AEGYPTUS
Myoshormus
Coptus
Syene (Aswan)
Bernice
to India
ARABIA
SINUS ARABICUS

generally been actuated by rational motives similar to those which have served for the expansion of the empire of Great Britain. Some countries had been conquered because of their dangerous rivalry or deliberate challenge; some territories had been annexed in order to secure the existing borders from invasion; some had come in ostensibly of their own choice or (as with Egypt and Bithynia) by bequest of their monarchs; a few communities were known as ' allied ', the name betokening a voluntary surrender of their right to make war or peace or to form other international relations apart from the Roman government. Except for these last, all the provinces, however and whenever acquired and incorporated, were subjected to direct Roman rule and to taxation for imperial purposes. It is true that a number of outlying districts of no great account might be left under the nominal rule of kings, princelings, or ' tetrarchs ' of their own for so long as Rome found it convenient to tolerate and utilize such monarchs; but, when that time was past, such regions were brought under the immediate control of Roman governors. Hence it is that we may find at one date a Herod ruling as king in Judæa or in Galilee, and at another a Pontius Pilate or a Felix taking his place. So Mauretania (Morocco and part of Algeria) was at the beginning of our era under native kings acknowledging the suzerainty of Rome, but within a few years its kings were no more, and it had become organized as two ordinary Roman provinces. But such exceptions to the general system were few, and by, say, A.D. 50 we may fairly speak of the empire as consisting of more or less extensive provinces under governors imposed directly by the central power.

Among the population of all this vast area there was naturally much variety of character as well as inequality of culture. A high degree of social and intellectual cultivation was to be found in Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, the north of Egypt, and parts of the northern fringe of Africa, and also in the south of Gaul, where the early Greek colony of Massilia (Marseille) had spread its influence, and where Romans had long ago established their settlements. The eastern half of the empire

was chiefly made up of Greeks or of oriental peoples with an ancient civilization which had been largely græcized since the conquests of Alexander. Throughout this half there flourished a lively intellectual and artistic culture and a sophisticated social intercourse. In view of modern conditions in the same regions it is amazing to discover the number of towns, large and small, from which proceeded writers and thinkers. Seats of learning—which may perhaps be termed universities—existed at Athens, Rhodes, Tarsus, Alexandria, and elsewhere. Meanwhile, in the west, Massilia was the only place of corresponding note. Of great cities there was no dearth in the east; Alexandria stood a close second to Rome itself, while Antioch and Smyrna made large pretensions. In all this part of their world the Romans had to be content with the exercise of their power and with the material advantages which it secured. The population was comparatively dense, had long possessed civic organization, and, at least in the Grecian parts, was in certain respects superior to that of Italy and the capital. Social polish was greater, philosophic thought more keen and deep, literature more spontaneously cultivated, and the principles and practice of art better understood. In these domains the Romans more or less jealously felt their own inferiority and consented to borrow their teachers from the Greek world. However much they might despise, or affect to despise, the moral flaccidity of the ' Greekling ' and his lack of the Roman *gravitas*, or dignified sense of responsibility, there was truth in their own poet's saying that " Captive Greece captured its fierce conqueror ". Meanwhile in trade and commerce the Roman was scarcely a match for Greek, Syrian, Jew, and Egyptian. It followed from all this that in the east neither Roman settlement nor the Latin language found much scope. That portion of the empire might become Roman-ruled, but it could not become romanized. In the west and north-west the situation was very different. There the Romans had to deal with their social and intellectual inferiors, a sparser population consisting mainly of unorganized tribes, almost wholly rural and without great traditions. Here was room for

them to form considerable settlements of their own, to establish towns, to develop their trade, and gradually to impose their language. Romanization was comparatively easy, and its completeness is demonstrated by the existence of the present neo-Latin tongues in the Spanish peninsula and in France. In the pick of these parts not only did individual Romans form estates and build their ' villas ' as if they were in Italy; it was also the policy of the government to settle and secure the country by a device which at the same time gave some relief to the exchequer. This consisted in the judicious planting of ' colonies ', mainly composed of veteran soldiers whose term of service had expired, and to whom provincial lands were granted in lieu of sums of money. These, with their families, and augmented by civilians, established a civic centre of which the local government was modelled on that of republican Rome. With the growth of such colonies the Roman language and customs spread among the original inhabitants, while the Roman hold upon the country was materially strengthened. In the eastern half of the empire such settlements were few and produced but little effect, becoming the absorbed instead of the absorbers.

Government of the Provinces.

In all the provinces, whether east or west, certain general principles of Roman law and order were established and taxation was levied either in money or in kind. No greater mistake, however, can be made than to imagine either that all the provinces alike were passed under the roller of a uniform system or that the Roman government oppressed and ' sucked the blood ' of the provincials by excessive and arbitrary exactions. The Romans had no passion for uniformity so long as satisfactory results were forthcoming. Their concern was limited by the interests of their empire, and they had no itch for interfering with any local customs, ordinances, or religions which were compatible with those interests. So long as the Roman peace was not threatened or Roman rule endangered; so long as the imperial taxes were duly paid and Roman citizens

duly protected; so long as the local law did not conflict with the essentials of the law of Rome or with the ' rights of humanity ' and was properly administered by the local authorities, the central government was content. And in the matter of taxation it was strictly forbidden to governors or other Roman agents to commit extortions. The amount payable was fixed and its exaction regulated, and for any oppressions in this connexion the guilty parties were answerable at Rome. Nor did this regulation belong to mere theory. That extortions and oppressions did sometimes occur is certain, but it is a matter of historical record that in the majority of the known instances the culprits were severely punished.

When a province first became annexed to the empire, the custom was to send out a commission of ten senators, whose business it was to inquire into all its circumstances and prospects. After due consideration of its existing arrangements for judicial, financial, and civic administration, its resources, and its population, a scheme—a ' constitution of the province '—was drawn up for its future government in due harmony with the imperial system, and the amount and manner of its contribution to the imperial funds were determined. Theoretically a conquered territory became the property of the conqueror, but in practice it remained in the occupation of its previous owners, though certain lands might sometimes be taken over for Roman settlement and mines in particular commonly became imperial property. In lieu of a forfeiture of their holdings the population of a province was required to pay to the Roman government a ' tribute of the soil ', which might take the form of either money or produce. Thus corn was exacted from Egypt and from ' Africa ' (roughly Tunis), and hides from the Frisians of Holland. Under the republic the exaction from the soil had regularly been in the unsatisfactory form of tithes, which were farmed by Roman financial companies known as *publicans*, who bought them up in advance and then proceeded to collect them by its agents. But this method, originally adopted to relieve the government of delay and expense, not only involved a loss of revenue

but led to extortions which harried the provincials and provoked dangerous discontent. It was therefore abolished by Julius Cæsar in favour of a fixed payment made directly by the province. In addition to this ' tribute of the soil ' there was often, though not certainly always, a ' tribute of the person ', which took one of two forms. In the less settled communities it might be a simple poll-tax, but elsewhere it was a tax upon occupations and professions, approximating to an income tax. The adjusting of these various kinds of tribute throughout the empire necessarily required a systematic census, which took some years for its completion. When we are told in the New Testament of an edict of Augustus that " all the (Roman) world should be taxed ", we are to understand simply that he ordered a thorough census to be carried out for these purposes.

For local administration and for convenience in collecting the Roman dues, a province was divided into ' communities ' —corresponding in some measure to the modern division into counties, shires, or departments—each consisting of a civic centre with a surrounding district. It should, however, be remarked that a further motive for such partition lay in the general Roman policy of preventing any large area of the empire from developing too great a sense of unity and therefore corporate spirit. Such communities possessed their own councils and magistrates to deal with such matters as were left to them by the ' constitution of the province '; they provided centres to be periodically visited by the governor or his deputies for the purpose of holding assizes where Roman courts were concerned; and it was to them that the Romans looked both for the maintenance of local order and for the levy of their respective quotas of the tribute. When, at the date here in question, we read of Judæan tax-gatherers who, like Matthew, sat " at the receipt of custom ", we should regard them as the direct agents of the Jewish authorities and as only indirectly agents of the Roman exchequer. In the cruder western regions, where cities had scarcely existed, it was part of the Roman policy to create such centres,

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and this proceeding had much to do with the bringing of Gaul or Spain into line with the general civilization of the empire.

The taxation exacted by Rome was neither wantonly excessive nor imposed in a spirit of sheer self-indulgence. It is true that Italy itself was favoured at the expense of the provinces (though it had special taxations of its own), and that a portion of the tribute went to supplying the imperial city with gratuitous doles of corn for some 200,000 of its poorer population, with costly public buildings, and with practically gratuitous amusements. At a later date much of it went also to gratifying the extravagant fancies of the worse kind of emperors. The conqueror did so far exploit the conquered. But this was by no means the main object of the levies, and it had comparatively little place in the calculations of such statesmen as Julius, Augustus, or Tiberius. By far the largest proportion went to defraying the cost of the civil and military administration of the empire, and in some of the poorer provinces there can have been but little surplus when the expenses for the province itself had been met. It is in any case tolerably certain that the payments made by the provinces to Rome were often much less than had previously been exacted from them by local despots or other uneconomical authorities, while in return they obtained the blessings of the Roman peace, its greater security for person and property, and its safer opportunities for agricultural and other industrial gains.

And here it may be as well to observe that most of the oppressions ascribed to ' tyrant ' emperors were exercised upon the Roman higher or richer orders themselves, not upon the provincials. Our descriptions of the brutalities and rapine of a Caligula or a Nero come from the Romans of Italy and the capital who chiefly suffered under them. The charges were doubtless richly deserved, but our immediate point is that the inhabitants of the provinces were comparatively little affected by the behaviour of such an emperor at Rome, unless indirectly through the character of his appointees and his manner of auditing their accounts and conduct. Nero certainly

committed acts of plunder upon artistic and other possessions in some of the richer provinces, but there was no wholesale bleeding of their resources and impoverishment of their people at large. On the other hand many of the early emperors were strong, painstaking, and fairly just and economical rulers as well as strict respecters of constitutional forms.

On the whole the subject provincials had little other cause for complaint against Roman rule than the fact that they had themselves no representation in the imperial government and no equality with Roman citizens, unless they had been endowed with the citizenship by some special grace. No doubt the latter disability was a grievance. The population of the empire in the time of Christ may perhaps be reckoned roughly at 100,000,000. Of these only about 5,000,000 were 'Roman citizens', and these were mostly, though by no means solely, people of Italy itself. The title carried—as will be seen—certain greater privileges of personal security and, where wealth was possessed, opportunities of social and political advancement, but very few even of the native Roman citizens had now any real voice in public affairs, and the non-citizens of the provinces were, in that respect, in no very inferior position.

The Central Government—The Emperor.

The political situation at the seat of government requires some explanation. In theory Rome was still a republic, but in reality all power had passed away from the people at large. There was, it is true, a Senate of some 600 members, recruited from past and present officers of state and from occasional nominees of the emperor. But these officers of state, though nominally the chosen of the people, were no longer actually elected by it. They were drawn from a privileged aristocratic and wealthy class, who kept the nominations in their own hands. But even this body had been compelled to submit grudgingly to a higher power in the person of an Augustus or of a successor to that autocrat. Strictly he was himself but an officer of state, being commander-in-chief of the forces, which at this date formed a standing army. (The title 'emperor'

means nothing but *imperator*, or commander-in-chief.) But by virtue of that position he possessed extraordinary powers, including the making of war and peace and the moving of armies where he chose; it was to him that the soldiers took their initial and annual oath of allegiance. Though nominally removable by the Senate, he was in effect the Senate's master, and could give orders instead of receiving them. Either at his bidding or by a show of voluntary offer, the Senate conferred upon him other offices, or titles and privileges of office, which jointly rendered his person sacrosanct, permitted him to propose or bar legislation, and allowed him even to determine the *personnel* of the Senate itself. He was the ' first man of the state ', the head of the state religion, and received the title of *Augustus*, equivalent to ' His Highness ' or ' His Majesty '. His ' image and superscription ' appeared upon all the gold and silver coinage of the empire. He was supposed to embody the vital ' genius ' of the Roman people, and for that reason his statues or busts were installed everywhere throughout the empire and received religious recognition. By what appeared to be a necessary arrangement, he was governor of all provinces which contained, or for the time being required, a portion of the army of which he was in supreme command. Since he was unable to govern all such provinces in person, he appointed to each of them a deputy of his own, and in any of the more important of them such a governor bore the distinctive title of ' legate of Cæsar '; to smaller provinces (often attached to some larger one adjoining, as Judæa was to Syria) he commonly appointed an officer of minor standing, who was known as his ' procurator ', that is to say ' factor ' or ' agent '. Pontius Pilate, Felix, and Festus were such procurators of Judæa recorded in the New Testament. Meanwhile the safe and quiet provinces away from the frontiers were supposed to be under the administration of the Senate, who appointed their governors, known in this case as ' proconsuls ' (a term correctly observed in the New Testament, as with Sergius Paulus in Cyprus and Gallio in Achæa).

This division into ' imperial ' and ' senatorial ' provinces

looks simple enough. But the Senate had also conferred upon the emperor what was called ' the greater proconsular power ', and in virtue of that power he could at any time supersede the governor in a senatorial province. Ultimately, therefore, even if indirectly, all governors became responsible to Cæsar. Certainly no appointment of a governor could be made by the Senate if it were distasteful to him. And this, under a good emperor, was well for the province, since the Senate had been apt to show a culpable indulgence to one of its own order.

It remains to be said that the taxation of the senatorial provinces went into one treasury at Rome, while that from the imperial provinces went into another, out of which came the pay of the troops, the money for the administration of the emperor's deputies, and the resources of his privy purse and his public benefactions. It is perhaps needless to state that such a division eventually came to have no real significance. Nevertheless, at the time with which we are here concerned, forms were duly observed, and it was some time before emperors openly adopted a complete absolutism.

Officials in the Provinces.

Such then, in bare outline, was the arrangement for governing the various parts of the Roman world. When a governor arrived for his term of office—normally one year for a proconsul, but from three to five years for a ' legate of Cæsar '—he was accompanied by a subordinate who had been assigned to him independently of his choice and whose primary function was to see to the proper collection of the assessed tribute. This officer—called a ' quæstor ' in the senatorial provinces and ' Cæsar's agent ' in the imperial—was in a position to act as a check upon any attempted extortions by his chief. (On the other hand, he might sometimes act in collusion with him.) The governor was further assisted by a number of assessors chosen by himself with the sanction of the home authorities. Since, besides having command of any troops in the province and wielding the highest executive authority, he was also the

supreme judge in matters before the Roman court, he would regularly consult with these assessors at his assizes and also employ them as his deputies where he was unable or disinclined to preside in person. In addition he brought with him a suite of younger men of his own choosing whom he employed in various ways and so gave them some training in the art of provincial government. Where the province contained no army, he would have at his disposal a limited number of soldiers to act as bodyguard, orderlies, and imperial police. Thus combining the supreme executive and judicial authority, the governor had exceedingly wide powers, and it is impossible to say precisely where they ended. The ' constitution of the province ' allowed to the native authorities certain powers and functions in the management of their own affairs, and before them would come the minor civil cases and smaller misdemeanours, while before himself would come almost all criminal cases and those civil cases which were of greater importance, especially where Roman citizens were involved. When Gallio at Corinth ' made these things no business of his ', he was simply refusing to deal with matters which did not properly come within his cognizance. A wise governor would not interfere with the local powers so long as their administration was above reproach, but it is evident that he could, and did, review the behaviour of such bodies when he thought himself called upon so to do. A careful reading of the New Testament and other records will show that with him, and not with the local bodies—such as the Jewish Sanhedrin—lay the power of life and death in the case of an ordinary provincial. But a full Roman citizen could always ' appeal unto Cæsar ', and for a governor, other than a legate in dealing with his army, to put to death such a person would call for some special and ample justification. Jesus Christ was not a Roman citizen, but a Jew, who was charged both with grave offences against the Jewish law and also with treasonable disaffection to the Roman government. It was therefore within the competence of Pontius Pilate to inflict the death penalty if he so decided. On the other hand Paul, though a

Jew, was also a Roman citizen, and by appealing to Cæsar might compel Festus to send him to the higher power at Rome. Even to have beaten Paul with rods was enough to bring the magistrates of Philippi into danger. It will be noted that at all times the Roman authorities treated the apostle with every consideration. When his life was threatened by the Jews at Jerusalem—not by way of proper judicial procedure but by way of riot and assassination—Lysias, the commander of the battalion of Roman soldiers in garrison in that city, took charge of him and saw him safely escorted to the headquarters of the imperial procurator at Cæsarea. That procurator was prepared to listen to charges duly formulated by the proper authorities, but he could not permit the Jews either to exceed their own powers or to indulge in ' lynching '. But in crucifying Christ Pilate was dealing not only with a Jew alleged to be recalcitrant to Jewish law, but with one who was alleged to be disloyal to the Roman government by proclaiming himself ' King of the Jews '. The weakness of Pilate lay in his consenting to inflict the death penalty though he ' found no fault in him ', that is to say, nothing to substantiate the accusations. It was to obtain such proof that Jesus had been asked whether it was ' lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar '. Had he replied ' No ', the case would have been clearly one for the Roman governor to punish; had he answered simply ' Yes ', he would have appeared to the Jews to be no patriotic Jew. His answer amounted practically to this: " This coin shows that we are part of the Roman empire and must therefore in duty pay what we have to pay; in the matter of our life and religion the question is not involved." Nevertheless Pilate decided that he had called himself ' King of the Jews ', and that title was ironically inscribed in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew over the cross; and it was in the same spirit that the Romans mockingly clothed him in the purple which was the colour of their emperor's official attire.

Riots and acts of violence by mobs can never be wholly suppressed by even the best of governments; they occur under the strongest governments of modern times. And, at

any rate in the East, nothing would provoke such outbreaks so readily as religious fanaticism. Roman governors in the provinces were far from countenancing such outbreaks as occurred against a Christian apostle at Jerusalem or Ephesus. But historical understanding is generally so scanty or confused that many a reader fails to discriminate between the actions of the provincial authorities or a provincial mob and those of the Romans who did their best to check irregular conduct.

The Romans a tolerant People.

And here should come the important observation that in religious matters the Romans were a singularly tolerant people. A common notion to the contrary is natural enough in view of the persecutions to which Christians were from time to time subjected in later years, when Christianity was a proscribed and punishable faith. But for this singling out of Christianity there were special reasons (to be explained in due course) which had nothing to do with religious bigotry. Speaking generally, the Romans were indifferent to the religious views of a provincial. This fact was due partly to their mental constitution and partly to the nature of their own lightly held religious conceptions. They were themselves at this date sufficiently receptive of philosophies of all schools, even the Epicurean, which denied the very existence, or at least the interference, of deities. Admittance was freely given at Rome to non-Roman cults, such as those of Isis or Mithras. Among themselves thought was free, and so far as external conformity —or at least absence of active opposition—was expected, it was for the sake of keeping well-disposed the deities who were supposed to have a bargain with the Roman state, " Serve us, and we will serve you ". But those deities were not concerned with the service of non-Romans. Other peoples, other deities and other forms. The Syrian, the Greek, the Jew, or the Egyptian was not required to adopt Roman gods and Roman worship; Roman governors had no authority and no inclination to interfere. What Jesus Christ might have to say

in the matter of revitalizing religion in Judæa was no concern of theirs, and so long as an apostle from Judæa chose to go about the Roman world as simply a teacher of a new religious philosophy called Christian, he was as free to do so as any Epicurean teacher from Greece. While Paul was held in what was called ' free custody ' at Rome he was permitted to discourse as openly as he chose with any who visited him. Where Roman opposition began was where the Roman imperial security seemed to be endangered, or where a religion appeared to contain something criminal, subversive of social order, or contrary to human sentiment. Druidism was suppressed in Gaul partly because of its political mischief among the Gallic tribes and partly because it encouraged human sacrifice. Christianity became a forbidden religion only when it had been maligned—chiefly by Jews—as a religion of criminals, inculcating disaffection to the empire and not only attacking the gods of every other faith but even fundamental moral notions. All secret associations were prohibited by the government for political reasons, and the Christians were reported as not only holding secret meetings but as practising abominations thereat. As has been said already, and for the reason given, it was required that the effigy of the emperor should be honoured with religious veneration. The strict Christian refused such recognition; to burn incense before a bust of Cæsar was to him an act of idolatry; but this refusal was not unnaturally taken as a sign of disloyalty. Christianity was, in short, regarded as a hotbed of ' bolshevist ' or anarchic propaganda. It may have been highly culpable on the part of the government not to make more sure of the facts, but we are here concerned only with the explanation of its attitude.

The Army.

Mention has been made of the Roman army. There is no truth in a too prevalent notion that the empire was held in subjection only by a vast number of ubiquitous legionaries. According to a fair estimate the total of the Roman military

forces in New Testament times did not exceed 320,000. Of these about half belonged to the ' Roman legions ', the other half were raised by the subject provincials, and were known as ' auxiliaries '. The latter corresponded in some measure to the native forces of India and elsewhere which form part of the armies of Great Britain. To say that there was either an oppressive ' blood-tax ' on the provinces or a stern military conscription of the empire is to create a false impression. A total levy of 320,000 soldiers from probably 100,000,000 people represents a very slight ' blood-tax ' and a very small measure of conscription. There was little difficulty in finding men ready to join the army, for the position was one of credit and had its substantial returns, and, in point of fact, Roman recruiting was fastidious as to the character and physique of those accepted for service. So far as large Roman camps were in evidence, it was only in the outer provinces not yet sufficiently tranquillized, and chiefly along the frontiers threatened by irruptions of Germans, Slavs, Parthians, or desert tribes of Africa. They might therefore be found along the Rhine and the Danube, in Syria near the Euphrates, in the south of Egypt and Algeria, and in north-west Spain. Judæa was a dependency of Syria, and its inhabitants were restive, and it was consequently necessary to maintain a battalion at Jerusalem and a small force at Cæsarea. The frequent mention of soldiers and centurions in the New Testament is apt to cause an illusion as to their numbers in Palestine and a still greater illusion as to their presence in the empire in general. In all the minor provinces Roman troops were very scanty, and mostly served for the escort of officials, the execution of warrants, and other duties which would now be performed by the police. The strength of the army lay in its organization and discipline rather than its numbers, and in the vigilance with which subject provinces were prevented from forming dangerous associations. Nor was the army employed solely for military purposes; it also built roads and bridges and did other pioneering work in the neighbourhood of its quarters or along the lines of its movements.

The "Roman peace".

The condition of the empire as a whole was one of a settled peace which modern nations occupying the same regions may well envy. There were doubtless occasional bands of robbers in out-of-the-way parts, but these were certainly no more, and almost certainly much less, numerous or dangerous than the brigands who were to be found during last century in Spain, Italy, and Greece. There were at our date no pirates in all the Mediterranean and its seas, and travel in ships was in this respect as safe as it is to-day. And, when we mention travel, it deserves to be stated that journeying throughout the empire was made easy by the number and excellence of the Roman roads, which ran as straight as they could reasonably be made from centre to centre. Over these lines of communication the government maintained a careful supervision, if only for the rapid transfer of its armies. Meanwhile traffic and transport oversea, though doubtless slow and uncomfortable as compared with those in modern steamships, were performed in vessels which would have appeared creditable enough no more than a century ago.

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CHAPTER II

The State Religion of Rome at the Time of Christ

At the time of our Lord's birth the Empire of Rome after thirty years of the peaceful rule of Augustus had almost reached its fullest extent. A small piece here and there, like the distant island of Britain, was to be added to it, and the whole was to be better organized under the great imperial civil service developed and perfected by the later Emperors. But already the civilized world, and much that was barely civilized, was within the boundaries of the Roman Empire, conquered and pacified by the Roman legions and ruled by Roman officials, in whose train had come merchants and settlers, bringing with them the arts and culture of Rome and living the life of Rome in their new provincial homes.

Religion in the Roman Provinces.

Naturally these conquering invaders also brought their religion, and it might have been expected that the Roman cults and beliefs would have spread over the conquered provinces and superseded the religion of the natives. But this did not happen: in every part of the Empire the two systems, the Roman and the native, lived on side by side, intermingling and often assimilated, but practically never coming into conflict. Rome was always tolerant to the religion of the native inhabitants, only interfering when practices, such as the human sacrifices of the Gaulish Druids,[1] seemed repugnant to morality,

[1] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxx, 1 (4).

or when Christian monotheism refused to acknowledge the divinities of the official cults.[1] Then tolerance was turned into suppression, but normally the Roman practised his own rites and allowed the native to practise his; often the Roman, inquiring curiously into the native cults and perceiving similarities to his own, would identify the local gods with his own and establish a combined worship; often too the inhabitants of the provinces, feeling the majesty of the Roman Empire and wishing to express their reverence for it in a religious form, would take upon themselves the observance of some part of the Roman State cult and maintain it alongside their own beliefs and ritual. And the reason for this strange intermingling is not far to seek. Polytheism is never intolerant and rarely apt to proselytize. If a nation has many gods of its own, it will be ready to admit the existence of those of other peoples and by way of experiment to adopt them for its own. It will not, except for political reasons, require allegiance to its own divinities.

Influence of State Religion in the Empire.

If therefore we wish to estimate the influence of the State religion of Rome in the Empire at the time of Christ and to see how far it formed a widespread religious background, there are two questions which must be asked, firstly what was that religion, and secondly to what extent and in what form was it disseminated through the provinces. Neither of these questions is easy to answer with precision and certainty. On the one hand, while there is indeed much information, derived mainly from inscriptions,[2] as to the dissemination of the Roman cults in the provinces in the imperial period taken as a whole, it is difficult to be sure how far this had gone at the beginning of the Christian era. On the other, though the State religion of the Roman Republic was still the religion of the imperial State,

[1] See Pliny's correspondence with Trajan, *Ep.* x, 96 and 97.

[2] This evidence has been sifted and analysed with admirable discernment as far as concerns the Latin provinces by J. Toutain, *Les Cultes Païens dans l'Empire Romain*, Vol. I.

yet there was already springing up beside it the worship of the imperial house, which was destined to play a far larger part in the life of the provinces and to prove the more serious obstacle to Christianity. An attempt has been made in these pages to deal with this complex problem.

The Old Roman Agricultural Religion.

The Roman character, with all its capacity for adaptation and adoption, was also strangely conservative, and the State religion of the Republic, inherited from the early monarchy and transmitted so as to persist both in theory and practice throughout the imperial epoch, was itself but a rough modification of the religion of the agricultural peoples who inhabited Latium in early days and ultimately united to form Rome. Nothing is more striking in an examination of the official Calendars of the religious year at Rome than the discovery that they record a series of festivals based on the natural activities of the farmer at the different seasons.[1] Here and there we find a ceremony, such as that of the purification of arms (*armilustrium*) or of the military trumpets (*tubilustrium*), which is more appropriate to a military State, or a definitely town-ceremony, such as the lustration of the city (*amburbium*) modelled on the old agricultural lustration of the fields (*ambarvalia*). But the vast majority of the festivals are such as can only have a meaning for a community of farmers: there is the ceremony of the winter sowing (*Saturnalia*) in December, the shepherds' festival (*Parilia*) and the ritual for the aversion of mildew (*Robigalia*) in April, the lustration of the fields (*Ambarvalia*) in May, and the harvest festivals of August (*Consualia* and *Opiconsivia*). All these are taken over into the City-State and performed year after year, long after they had lost their appropriateness and when even, as Varro tells us,[2] their very meaning was in some cases unknown.

[1] For an account of the extant Calendars, see Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, Introduction, pp. 11–14.

[2] E.g. *De Lingua Latina*, vi, 19; he says of the deity Furrina: nunc vix nomen notum paucis.

Animism: Spirits with Sphere and Function.

Here then at the very root of the State-cult was an element of unreality, and no attempt to understand the State religion will be successful which has not always an eye turned backwards on the primitive ceremonies and beliefs of the old Latin farmers. Their religion,[1] which was in reality in a transitional state, may roughly be described as Animism, the belief, that is, in 'spirits' or 'powers' (*numina*) inhabiting sacred places or objects, and performing certain functions or at least possessing definite spheres of influence. There are traces[2] no doubt of a still earlier stage in which the sacred objects themselves were thought of as possessing 'power', or man was supposed to have a magical authority over nature. At the other end of the scale too some of the 'spirits' who had already acquired a name and a personality were passing from an animistic to a polytheistic conception, from *numina* were becoming *dei*. But the prevalent notion was that of vague 'spirits' dwelling in the houses of men and protecting them, or inhabiting the farmer's fields and able to assist or check his agricultural pursuits, or again living in the outer and wilder world in woods or streams or on hill-tops. Man's relation to these 'spirits' was in origin one of fear, which survived in the sense of awe (*religio*)[3] which one felt, for instance, on entering some sacred grove which was the abode of a 'spirit', or on setting out on some new undertaking which might or might not receive the blessing of the 'powers'. But as agricultural life became more settled, as nature was more completely subdued and there was less fear of the incursions of

[1] A good brief description of the primitive agricultural religion will be found in W. R. Halliday's *History of Roman Religion* (1922). For a fuller account, see Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* (1911).

[2] See Warde Fowler, *R. E.*, Lecture III, pp. 47–63.

[3] For the meaning and history of the word *religio*, see Warde Fowler in *Proceedings of the Congress for the History of Religions* (Oxford, 1908), Vol. II, p. 169; for the primitive sense of awe compare Ovid, *Fast.* iii, 295–6:

lucus Aventino suberat niger ilicis umbra,
quo posses viso dicere 'numen inest'.

wild men or animals or evil spirits from without, the relation passed characteristically into that of a kind of bargain. It was man's function to give the 'spirits' their due, to make the right sacrifice to them at the right moment and in the right place, and to utter without mistake or interruption the correct formulæ of prayer: and if this were done, the 'spirits' must play their part, they must suspend hostilities, grant the farmer peace,[1] and aid him by keeping away drought and pestilence and the other evils which might beset his crops and herds. The farmer's prayer to Mars at the *Ambarvalia*, preserved for us by Cato,[2] may be taken as typical in its meticulous precision and almost legal expression of man's relation to 'spirit': "Father Mars, I pray and beseech thee that thou mayest be gracious and favourable to me, to my home and my household, for which cause I have ordained that the offering of pig, sheep, and bull (the *Suovetaurilia*, the most solemn of all the Roman's sacrifices) be carried round my fields,[3] my land, and my farm: that thou mayest avert, ward off, and keep afar all disease, visible and invisible, all barrenness, waste, misfortune, and all ill weather: that thou mayest suffer our crops, our corn, our vines and bushes to grow and come to prosperity: that thou mayest preserve the shepherds and the flocks in safety, and grant health and strength to me, to my home, and my household." There are in this primitive Animism the elements of true religion, the sense of the presence of spiritual powers and of man's dependence on them, a sense too that man may have a definite relation with them. This is specially clear in the household cults of Janus and Vesta, the Penates, the Lares, and the Genius, and it is significant that it was they which persisted least changed in the lives of the poorer classes and the country folk through all the vicissitudes of the Roman State and its religion.

[1] The object of all Roman cults was to secure the *pax deorum*.

[2] *De Re Rustica*, 141.

[3] The sacrificial procession of the three animals is represented on a famous relief in the Forum.

Transition to the State-cult of the City.

The transition from country-life to town-life was, of course, gradual, and no doubt many of the inhabitants of Rome in its earliest days were still farmers and went to work on their farms in the Campagna: for them the old agricultural religion would still be vital and their performance of the annual festivals would constitute a genuine prayer for success in their operations. But in course of time Rome became a city with all the interests and occupations of town-life; she became a State organized for peace and war, controlling her citizens and fighting sometimes for her life, sometimes for predominance with the peoples of Italy, with Carthage and with Greece. Finally she acquired her great Empire as province after province was added and a new and vast field was opened for her administration. How did this tremendous change affect her religion? In one sense there was no change at all. The agricultural festivals were still performed as of old; but they were performed now on behalf of the community by priests and officials appointed for the purpose, and the private citizen was but little affected by them, except in so far as the occurrence of a festival might require the cessation of business. Yet even for so conservative a people as the Romans this artificial survival could not be sufficient, and the needs of the new city-life on the religious side must be somehow met. Rome met them by adaptation, by adoption, and by organization, and so created the State religion of the Republic. The main changes thus brought about were the passing from Animism to Polytheism, the acceptance of the deities and religious conceptions of other peoples, the creation of organized priesthoods and the stereotyping of ceremonial. These processes must be considered a little more in detail.

The Great Gods.

Many of the minor ' spirits ' of the old agricultural calendar never rose to play any part in the life of the State: they lay dormant, as it were, to be summoned once a year on their

appropriate festival to an artificial and meaningless energy, and then sank again into oblivion. But others—and those principally which were already on their way to godhead—obtained a new life in the State-cult and took upon them new functions to answer the needs of the town-dwellers. The definition and personality which they thus acquired was greatly assisted by a heightened anthropomorphism, learnt in all probability from Etruria (and so indirectly from Hellenism), which assigned the deities temples to dwell in and later anthropomorphic representation in statues. It will help at once to illustrate the change and to clarify the main ideas of the State cult, if some striking instances of this development are considered. Among the gods of the primitive household the two which stand out with personal names and the most clearly defined identity are Janus,[1] the god of the door, and Vesta, the spirit of the hearth. The position of both in the State-cult is significant of the Roman method of adaptation. The State as well as the house has its door, the gate at the north-east corner of the Forum, and with this Janus is always associated: his gate is opened when the armies of Rome issue forth to war and closed in time of peace. But he has a metaphorical expansion too. He becomes a ' god of beginnings ' in general: to him is dedicated the first day of every month, and the first month of the ' natural ' year, which begins after the winter solstice, bears his name: in every prayer-formula too, where an appeal is made to many deities, Janus must come first. Vesta, the spirit of the hearth in the farmer's home, has her place too in the State. In her round shrine, adjoining the *regia* or king's house, the fire of the State is kept perpetually burning, tended by the Vestal virgins, who represent probably the king's daughters.[2] But she knows no metaphorical develop-

[1] I still think that the most probable view of the name is that it is a by-form of *ianua*, and meant a " door " or " gate ". An alternative derivation regards it as *Dianus*, a masculine form of Diana. In that case Ianus will be a sky-god, and his history must be differently written: see Warde Fowler, *R. E.*, pp. 125–7.

[2] See Sir J. G. Frazer in *Journal of Philology*, xiv, No. 28, and Warde Fowler, *R. F.*, p. 147.

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THE ATRIUM OF THE VESTAL VIRGINS IN THE FORUM, ROME

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ment nor had she any sensuous representation: even in the State-cult the primitive 'spirit'-conception survives, and Ovid can still say, expressing the feeling of the early Latin farmer: "think not of Vesta save as the living flame".[1] With Vesta's name the prayer-formulæ are closed just as they begin with that of Janus. The process of the development and adaptation is seen even more clearly in regard to the most prominent deities of the outdoor life of the Latin farmer, Mars and Jupiter. Mars in the early stage exhibits mainly agricultural functions and, as has been seen, is addressed by the farmer as the protector of his crops and flocks. In the State-cult this aspect is entirely swamped in the more familiar functions of Mars as the god of war. He has his altar in the Campus Martius outside the city-wall—for no suggestion of war is allowed within the city—and in the month which bears his name, the first of the sacred year of the Calendars, his armed priests, the Salii, passed dancing through the city from station to station beating his sacred spears on his sacred shields (*ancilia*). The transition is not perhaps as abrupt as it might seem, for Mars[2] was probably in origin the spirit of growth in crops and flocks and herds and in the young warriors too. Supreme among the deities of the old cult emerges the figure of Jupiter. Originally a 'sky-god', lord of the thunder and lightning by day and by night,[3] with the special care of the vine,[4] he takes upon him new functions to correspond with the domestic and external relations of the City-state. As a sky-god, he was naturally a god of oaths, always taken beneath the open sky, and so with his cult-title of *Fidius* he becomes the deity of justice between citizen and citizen: in war he shares with Mars the protection of the armies and as 'stayer of the rout' (*Stator*) and 'giver of victory' (*Victor*) has his part both in defence and attack. Established in his temple on the Capitoline

[1] *Fast.*, vi, 291, nec tu aliud Vestam quam vivam intellige flammam.

[2] See an essay of mine in an edition of Ovid, *Fasti*, iii (1921), pp. 33 ff.

[3] This is the meaning of his cult-titles Fulgur and Summanus.

[4] Cf. Festus 374, Vinalia diem festum habebant, quo die vinum novum Iovi libabant.

hill, he becomes the representative of the majesty of the Roman people, associated first with Mars and Quirinus (the 'Mars' of the Quirinal settlement) and later with Juno and Minerva.

Introduction of Italian and Foreign Deities.

The kernel of the State religion is thus the old agricultural religion, whose principal personalities are developed and adapted to express the life and needs of the City-state. But adaptation was not enough, and throughout the Republican period the circle of the State-cults was constantly being expanded by the introduction of new deities from without, sometimes to meet new needs, sometimes, it would appear, in a spirit of experimental curiosity. Thus Minerva herself, a member of the Capitoline triad, was not one of the old native gods (*di indigetes*), but was brought in from Etruria to be the patroness of the craftsmen and professional men, who had no place in the agricultural community, but constituted a large part of the population of the city. Association with the neighbouring Italian peoples brought Fortuna from Antium and Prænestе, Castor and Pollux from Tusculum, and Hercules from Tibur. These last go back to a Greek source, and direct intercourse with the Greek colonies of Southern Italy, and first with Cumæ, brought the cult of Apollo to Rome at the beginning of the fifth century B.C. With him came the famous Sibylline books, which henceforth in times of crisis ordained the introduction of Greek divinities, such as Demeter, Dionysus, and Kore, identified with the old Italian gods Ceres, Liber, and Libera, or even oriental deities, such as the Magna Mater, brought from Pessinus at a crisis of the Punic War in 205 B.C. All these were recognized by the State as *di novensides* alongside the *di indigetes*. But by far the greatest change was effected when about the end of the third century B.C. Rome came into contact at first hand with Greek civilization. Here she met with a fully-developed religious system devoted to the worship of a completely anthropomorphic hierarchy. With her usual avidity she seized upon it and proceeded to assimilate it to her own. Roman deities were identified with Greek

counterparts, Jupiter with Zeus, Juno with Hera, Minerva with Athena, Mars with Ares, and so on, and as the result of this identification they took on themselves the characters, relationships and legends of their Greek equivalents. The effect was perhaps more marked in the poets than in popular thought, but henceforward the Roman gods—*dei* now in the full sense—were conceived as anthropomorphic personalities: the old *numen*-feeling survived only in the household cults or in the country villages. At the same time Greek forms of worship were introduced, such as the *lectisternium*, when images of the gods were exposed on couches (*pulvinaria*) to partake of a sacred meal, and the *supplicatio*, in which the populace, with the emblems of Greek suppliants, would pass from temple to temple in an emotional appeal to the Græco-Roman deities.

Priesthoods and Organization.

To hold together all the mass of ritual and custom which this far-reaching worship required was the work of a considerable body of officials. For the actual performance of ceremonies *flamines* (' blowers ' of the sacrificial flame) were attached to the principal deities: for special rites special bodies of persons were appointed, such as Mars' Salii, the Luperci, the Arval Brethren, and the Vestal virgins, who besides the care of Vesta's fire took part in several other of the State ceremonies. There was also the College of Augurs, learned in the lore of auspice and omen, whose duty it was to interpret the auguries taken by magistrates, and the *XV viri sacris faciundis*, in whose hands lay the interrogation of the Sibylline books and the carrying out of the ordinances. But more important than all was the great College of the Pontifices, headed by the Pontifex Maximus. In the regal period no doubt the supreme control of the religion of the State rested with the king[1]—assisted probably even then by his pontifices —but after the expulsion of the kings, though certain minor executive duties were still carried out by an official known as

[1] See Warde Fowler, *R. E.*, p. 271.

the *rex sacrificulus*, the effective control lay in the hands of the pontifices and more and more with the Pontifex Maximus. It was above all the duty of the pontifices to preserve and expound the *ius divinum*, the great body of precepts and traditions which regulated the performance of religious ceremonial and the life of the citizens in so far as it touched religion. Their ' commentaries '—not merely exposition, but the application of the *ius divinum* to the many new situations that arose, elaborated with all the zeal of the Scribes—constituted a vast body of ' Canon Law ' ever growing in complication and ever less within the ken of the average citizen.

Stereotyping of Religion.

Now it is clear that this elaborate organization, which took the practice of religion out of the hands of the individual and left it in the hands of the priesthoods, tended to make the State religion artificial, and emphasized the unreality inherent in it as an adaptation of the old agricultural cult. " Religion," says Warde Fowler, " became more and more a matter of State administration, and thereby lost its chance of developing the conscience of the individual."[1] " Rome was the scene of an arrested religious development."[2] But there was another effect which was of more importance, for it had in it the seeds of future growth: the State religion tended to become the worship of the State. This was in part due to the close connexion of the priesthoods and politics. The priests at Rome were never a class apart nor was the priesthood a ' full-time job ': persons of high social rank held various religious offices and politicians coveted them as positions of influence. Mark Antony was a Lupercus at the famous celebration in 44 B.C., Cicero was proud of his place in the College of Augurs, Julius Cæsar was made a pontiff in boyhood and later became Pontifex Maximus; Augustus, though he waited for the death of Lepidus, seems to have felt he could not fully control the religious life of Rome till he had succeeded to the

[1] *R. E.*, p. 270. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 287.

highest office. But there was a deeper reason than this: as agricultural ceremonies came to have less and less meaning, so those rites and customs which emphasized the majesty of the Roman State came out into greater prominence and popularity. In other words the effective religion of the State became focused on the great Capitoline triad and on Jupiter Optimus Maximus in his Capitoline temple. There the consuls came on entering office to make their first sacrifice, there the general made his vows before departing on his campaign, and thither he went in triumph after his victory. All that was solemn in civic or military life seemed summed up in Jupiter, who was indeed the religious sovereign of the State. In short the Capitoline cult of Jupiter is the centre round which is focused the belief in the greatness of Rome and her destiny among the nations.

This sketch will have conveyed some idea of the State religion of the Republic, but to understand the position at the beginning of the Christian era it is necessary to trace the story a little farther.

Reforms of Augustus.

Augustus, already pontifex, augur, and quindecemvir before he became Pontifex Maximus in 12 B.C., set himself to revive Roman religion and to consolidate the various elements which it now contained. He wished in the first instance to revitalize the old cults, and for this purpose, as he tells us himself,[1] he restored no fewer than eighty-two temples within the city itself. And on the Palatine hill, where he had his own new palace, he endeavoured to make something like a new religious synœcismus. There he placed a new temple of Vesta, connected with his own palace as the old temple in the Forum was with the Regia, and there too he built the great new temple and library of Apollo, whom among the Greek deities he had

[1] *Mon. Anc.*, xx, iv, 17; cf. Hor., *Od.* III, vi, 1:

delicta maiorum immeritus lues,
Romane, donec templa refeceris
aedesque labentes deorum et
foeda nigro simulacra fumo.

selected as his own particular patron. The same intention of harmonizing and uniting divers elements may be seen in Augustus's revival of the *Ludi Sæculares* in 17 B.C. for which Horace wrote his famous *Carmen Sæculare*. The festival lasted three nights and three days: on the nights sacrifice was to be made to the Parcæ (the Greek Moirai), to Eilythia (the Greek deity of child-birth), and to the old Roman chthonic deity Tellus; by day the offerings were to be on the first two days to Jupiter and Juno on the Capitol, on the last to Apollo on the Palatine. The revival was thus intended to include both the Roman and the Greek religious traditions, it was to awaken the ancient feelings of piety, but it was also in a subtle way to be connected with the Emperor and the imperial house.

In so far as it was an attempt to revive the old, Augustus's reform had little permanent effect. But its effort to concentrate religious feeling on the imperial house was only too successful; popular sentiment far outran what Augustus himself had intended, and soon produced what was in effect a new official cult. This is no place to discuss the origins of Cæsar-worship,[1] but it is necessary to attempt to distinguish the various elements which combined to produce it: they were due in no small degree to Greek and oriental influences, but they all had their roots in the Republican period.

Worship of the State.

The tendency to worship the State of Rome in the persons of Jupiter and the Capitoline triad has already been noted: this took a new and more direct form in the cult of the *dea Roma*, a direct personification of the majesty of the City. This personification of cities was not uncommon in the Græco-Asiatic world, and as far back as 195 B.C. Smyrna had erected a temple to Rome and the example was followed by Alabanda in 171 B.C. Games in honour of Rome (*Romæa*) were established in many cities and coins with the effigy of ' Rome ' or ' the

[1] A very sane and interesting account will be found in Toutain, *Les Cultes Païens*, Vol. I, Livre I Chap. I, to which I am much indebted.

goddess Rome ' are found in Asiatic cities from 60 B.C. onwards. But this abstract cult was not sufficient, and the worship of the State was soon to concentrate itself in the worship of the Emperor. The idea had been familiar in Asia and Egypt since the time of Alexander and his successors, and divine honours had often been decreed to Roman generals in the provinces: as early as 196 B.C. an inscription[1] had been put up in Colchis to T. Quinctius Flamininus in which he is coupled with Zeus, Apollo, Heracles, and the personified Roma. Similar honours had been paid to Lucullus in Asia, to Sulla in Athens, and to Marcellus in Sicily. Even in Rome[2] a statue of Scipio Africanus was authorized in the *cella* of Jupiter's Capitoline temple and offerings were made to Marius[3] on the conclusion of the war against the Cimbri and Teutones. But full deification was reserved for Julius Cæsar: before his return from the East the base of his statue had been engraved as that of a demi-god[4] and in 45 B.C. he was described on another statue as ' the god invincible ':[5] a special priesthood was appointed for him, the Luperci Iulii, and he had his own *flamen*. Though he refused the title of king, there can be no doubt that in his lifetime he accepted divine honours. Immediately after his death the senate decreed that he should be treated as a god[6] and the enthusiastic mob erected an altar to him in the Forum:[7] these two actions were confirmed when in 44 B.C. the title of *divus*[8] was conferred on him by law and the temple of *divus Iulius* was consecrated by Augustus in 29 B.C.[9] The worship of the dead Julius was thus established as a recognized national cult.

Worship of the Emperor.

Octavian was more averse than Julius to receiving divine honours or possibly more deliberately cautious in accepting them: in Rome he never permitted worship to be addressed

[1] Plutarch, *Flamininus*, 16. [2] Liv., xxxviii, 56. [3] Plut., *Marius*, 27.
[4] Dio Cassius, xliii, 14. [5] *Ibid.*, 45. [6] Suetonius: *Caesar*, 84.
[7] Dio Cass., xliv, 51. [8] C. I. L., I, 626. [9] Dio Cass., li, 22.

to himself, and only allowed[1] the cult of his Genius[2] to be associated with that of the Lares: even in the provinces he was careful and[3] would not allow the dedication of a temple except in conjunction with the *dea Roma*. But in spite of this official caution the court-poets unblushingly proclaimed him as a god,[4] and the series of honours to which he submitted in his life-time was tantamount to an acknowledgment of divinity. In 27 B.C.[5] there was conferred on him the title of Augustus, an epithet never used before except of a god or sacred things: the title was in some degree amplified in 11 B.C. by the establishment of games in his honour, Augustalia.[6] In 8 B.C., besides the consecration of the worship of his Genius at the Compita, the renaming of the month Sextilis as Augustus was a still further step. Immediately on his death the senate decreed him divine honours and the title of *divus*, and Tiberius later on erected a temple, established a special priesthood in the Sodales Augustales, and gave him his own flamen Augustalis. Henceforth the worship of *divus Augustus* was one of the most widespread, popular, and lasting of all the imperial cults.

Its Growth.

The official-cult was thus established, and throughout the first two centuries it was growing and spreading. There remained in it always the three elements, the worship of Roma, the worship of the living emperor as Augustus,[7] and the worship of the dead emperors as *divi*. These were combined and intermingled in various ways and the whole formed a new official

[1] Dio Cass., li, 19.

[2] In every household under the old religion the Genius of the paterfamilias was one of the main objects of cult: Octavian's Genius would thus have been worshipped in the imperial palace, and by a natural extension that of the head of the State might receive public worship—but it was not a cult of the emperor himself.

[3] Dio Cass., li, 20.

[4] E.g. Virg., *Ecl.* i, 6, 19; Hor., *Od.* III, iii, 11, 33; v, 2.

[5] Suet., *Aug.* 7. [6] Dio Cass., liv, 10.

[7] Toutain, *op. cit.*, pp. 46 ff., has, I think, clearly established that inscriptions which speak of Augustus alone refer to the reigning emperor of the time: there is thus a distinction between Augustus and divus Augustus, the individual emperor Octavian.

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Photo. Anderson

AUGUSTUS CÆSAR

From the statue in the Vatican Museum, Rome

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religion, to carry on which there arose new priesthoods and officials; most prominent among these were the *Seviri Augustales*[1] whose names figure so largely in dedications and inscriptions of the imperial epoch. Officially the new worship never superseded the Republican State-cult of the Capitoline Jupiter (with which in fact it was often associated), or even the cults of the old Republican deities. Rome itself was indeed always a little backward in the worship of its emperors: but in the provinces it completely eclipsed the State-cults in popularity. It is as though men could not attach the vast conception of the greatness of the Roman Empire to an abstraction or to remote deities: they craved for the *praesens divus* with whom they could feel themselves in touch. It was a degradation no doubt of the old religion, but it was no violent breach of tradition, rather the natural outcome of a previous tendency in new circumstances.

Attitude to New Religions.

I have endeavoured to sketch the growth of the religion of the Roman State and to indicate the rather complex character it had assumed at the beginning of the Christian era. This will give the key to the attitude which the average Roman would be likely to take up towards a new religion: it would be one of indifference, like that of Pilate or later of Gallio, provided its claims did not run counter to the recognition of the official Roman cults. But if we wish to know how far the Roman religion provided a setting or background to Christianity, it is necessary to attempt some inquiry into the attitude of the subjects of the Roman Empire towards it. No doubt this varied greatly in different provinces and at different times: it varied too in relation to the several elements in the official religion. But it is possible by an analysis of the inscriptional evidence to form some estimate which may be of assistance.[2]

[1] Toutain, *ibid.*, p. 120, has shown that the *seviri Augustales* were the acting officials of the year, who became Augustales after they had passed the chair.

[2] This work Toutain has completed for the Latin provinces: a similar study of the Asiatic provinces would be of immense value.

The State-cult in the Provinces.

A superficial survey of the evidence of inscriptions would suggest that all the elements of the State religion, the cult of the old deities, the worship of the Capitoline triad and of Jupiter, and the later emperor-worship were current and flourishing in the provinces and had entered deep into the life of the subject-peoples. But M. Toutain has taught us that we must be careful and discriminating in our inferences: much depends on the personality of the author of the dedication, whether it was Roman official or soldier, provincial municipality or private persons, Roman or native. Much too depends often on the personality of the god addressed, whether he is a genuine Roman deity imported into the province or a local god, thinly veiled under a Roman description. A closer inspection is necessary.

Assimilation of Roman Gods to Local Deities.

There are numerous dedications in the provinces to gods of the old Roman circle or of the Græco-Roman pantheon. Over 350 inscriptions,[1] for instance, to Mercurius have been found in the Latin provinces, of which about 250 are in Gaul or Germany. This seems at first sight significant, but when Tacitus[2] tells us that the Germans worshipped Mercury as their chief god, the extraordinary improbability of the statement causes reflection, and the upshot of further investigation makes it almost certain that the Germans and Gauls before the Roman occupation worshipped a deity concerned with industry, roads and commerce, who was identified by the Romans with their own Mercurius and under their influence took his name. And so when we read[3] that the people of Lystra " called Barnabas Jupiter and Paul Mercury ", even though this has been strikingly confirmed[4] recently by the discovery of an inscription witnessing to a Hermes-cult, it

[1] Toutain, *op. cit.*, pp. 297. ff. [2] *Germania*, 9. [3] *Acts* xiv. 12.
[4] See a communication by Professor W. M. Calder in the *Manchester Guardian*, June 19, 1926.

is yet possible that to the people themselves the idea conveyed was not that of the Græco-Roman deities, but of some local Lycaonian gods. Or again[1] the name of Mars is spread abroad all over the Roman empire, but an examination of the inscriptions shows that a great number of them were erected by Roman soldiers, and elsewhere there is obvious identification with local deities, as in the case of Mars Belatucadrus and Mars Cocidius[2] who figure in dedications found in England. The conclusion as regards the older Roman deities would seem to be that although the names of many of them must have been familiar to the provinces, there is no evidence that they adopted the Roman gods as such, but at the most identified them with their own divinities.

The Capitoline Triad in the Provinces.

If there is thus some doubt about the worship of the bulk of the Roman deities in the provinces, there can be none as to the cult of the triad of the Capitol, who, as has been seen, at the end of the Republican period came to represent specially the religious aspect of the Roman State. Inscriptions are found to the triad as a whole and more particularly to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Juno Regina: moreover in many provincial towns there were erected ' Capitols ',[3] reproductions on a hill overlooking the town or in the market-place of the Roman Capitol and its great temple. Such ' Capitols ' were built and dedicated by worshippers of all sorts, Roman officials, and provincial municipalities, private persons both Roman and native. Still more widespread is the cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus himself, though it is notable that a large number of the dedications are military. It is possible that even here there may be some identification of Jupiter with local deities, but this cannot be the case with the triad, still less with the ' Capitols '. There can be no doubt that the inhabitants of the Roman provinces, even if they did not always join in the

[1] Toutain, *op. cit.*, pp. 252 ff.
[2] C. I. L., vii, 318, 746, 957, 286, 886, 914, 977.
[3] Toutain, *op. cit.*, 182 ff.

worship themselves, had the ancient symbols of the supreme cult of the Roman State constantly before their eyes.

Imperial Cult in the Provinces.

But the real devotion of the provinces was to the imperial cult: it was in fact their own natural method of expressing a religious recognition of the greatness of Rome. As has been seen, the conception of the man-god came to Rome from the Greek and oriental provinces, and it was to appeals from Asia that Augustus had to concede permission for his own worship. Throughout the imperial period in divers forms and combinations the imperial cult is found in all the provinces. The separate worship of the *dea Roma* is to some extent restricted, and it is noticeable that it flourished most—not in the native towns but in those of Roman foundation. On the other hand the worship of the living emperor[1] and of the *divi*[2] is almost universal: in nearly every township of the provinces there were Augustales, and it is clear that this was no extraneous cult imposed by the conquerors, but the spontaneous expression of the same feeling for Rome and its rulers which made the possession of the Roman citizenship a most coveted privilege. Loyalty found an expression at once personal and religious, which was at any rate for a long time a manifestation of real fervour and not a stereotyped convention.

Position of Judaism.

It is clear that in the provinces where the native religion was pagan and polytheistic there would be no difficulty in the acceptance of the Roman official cults: indeed, as has

[1] There were also cults of other members of the imperial house: Livia, Augustus's wife, was worshipped in her life-time; the famous Maison Carrée at Nîmes was erected to C. and L. Cæsar while alive, and Tacitus (*Ann.* II, 83) records the divine honours decreed to Germanicus immediately after his death.

[2] Not every emperor became *ipso facto* a *divus* after his death: the honour had to be voted by the Senate and to some Cæsars (e.g. Tiberius, Caligula, and Nero in the early period) it was never given.

been seen, the imperial cults were welcomed with enthusiasm and the older Roman religion absorbed by means of assimilation. But what of Judaism and Christianity? It is not possible for a monotheistic religion lightly to admit the existence of other deities. With the Jews Rome had made a compromise:[1] they were a nation, living in their own territory, and even where, as in Alexandria, they were dispersed abroad, they formed a distinct community, holding aloof, at least in religion, from those among whom they lived. Judaism was accordingly treated as a *religio licita*: the synagogues were protected, and they were permitted to conduct their own worship of Yahweh and were not required to take part in the official Roman cults. On their part the Jews abstained from any active hostility to the Roman religion and treated it with outward respect. In this way harmony was assured and in the Gospels we find little trace of any antagonism. It is no doubt true that the ' zealots ' were inspired by religious motives as well as by natural patriotism, it is possible that under the question as to the payment of the tribute money there may be lurking a sense of a religious as well as of a political problem, and when Pilate put on the cross the inscription " King of the Jews " he probably meant to rouse religious prejudice too: if so, it is interesting to contrast with his attempt the recognition by the Roman soldier, speaking no doubt in terms which his own religion made familiar to him: " This was the son of a god." But in general there was no opposition, and Pilate was carrying on the true Roman tradition in holding that matters of Jewish ' superstition ' were nothing to him.

Attitude to Christianity.

But when Christianity began to grow, and in particular when it spread to the Gentiles, circumstances were different. From the Roman point of view the Christians were no longer a well-defined class: they were not a nation, but were drawn from all races and all classes, including even slaves. It was therefore far less easy to recognize them as a community having

[1] See Toutain, *op. cit.*, pp. 233 ff.

special privileges. And the Christians themselves made it impossible: they were men who had definitely abandoned their own paganism and the Roman official cults for allegiance to the one God and His Son Jesus Christ. They could not without fundamental contradiction of their own conversion and their own creed acknowledge either the imperial cults or the old polytheistic deities, and they are found firm in the refusal to accept either the one or the other. Loyalty they could and did profess to the emperor, but they would not worship him, and this separation of the *ius civile* and the *ius divinum* was to the Roman unintelligible. The conflict was thus inevitable, and though individual emperors differed in the severity of their attitude, the battle between Christianity and the Roman religion could not cease till there was decided victory on the one side or the other.

The Roman Tradition in the Christian Church.

Yet when the victory of Christianity was won and it was established as the official religion of the Empire, it is strange to see how in many ways it turned back, never on the imperial cult, but on the true Roman religion. Not only was much of the organization of the Church, under a head who took the title of Pontifex Maximus, modelled on that of the Roman State religion, but in its detailed love of ceremony and its care for the little things of life the Roman Church was carrying on the oldest of Roman religious traditions. And true again to the tradition of syncretism, which had assimilated the native gods of the provincial peoples to the Græco-Roman pantheon, the local pagan cults were swallowed up in the worship of the saints: there are ceremonies and customs of the Church today in the Latin countries which go back far beyond the establishment of Christianity.

But this is to anticipate. The intention of the present chapter is merely to present a picture of the State religion of that great power which at the time of Christ held sway over the civilized world, and to show to what extent and in what forms that religion was diffused in the provinces and so pro-

vided the environment in which Christianity grew up, and proved the opponent with which it had to contend.

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CHAPTER III

Religion and Philosophy

Ancient Philosophy

1. Religion and Philosophy.

The life of man can be divided, like the old maps of the world, into the charted and uncharted. The charted is finite and the other infinite; yet for a well-situated member of a successful and peaceful civilization the part of life which is fairly subject to reason and control outweighs enormously the parts about which he cannot calculate. He can anticipate the results of most of his actions, can work at his profession, till his fields and plant fruit-trees, nay, even educate his children, with some reasonable expectation of success. He is guided by experience and reason: he values competent work and exact thought. He realizes his dependence on society, and accepts his duties towards it: he obeys the laws and expects to be protected by them. And such a man, when trying to form a conception of the universe or of life as a whole will tend to do so in the same sober spirit, and regard the vague terrors and longings that sometimes obsess him as likely to be sources of error. Such a society, at its best, will produce science and philosophy.

It is different with a man who, through his own character or through circumstances, finds life beyond him. If the society in which he lives is torn by war and anarchy, or if he himself is very poor and ignorant, he can neither control his fortune nor understand why things happen to him. He is now taxed,

now beaten, now enriched, now stricken with famine or pestilence, and such results do not seem to depend much upon ascertainable causes. His confidence in the charted regions grows less and he throws himself on the unknown. He feels from the beginning that he is in the power of incalculable beings or forces, and makes passionate, though uncertain, efforts at placating them. These efforts will be guided little by observation of the external world, and much by the man's own instincts and subconscious desires. They may lead to good conduct or bad, to high forms of religion or to degraded superstition. The frightened man may determine to give alms to the poor, or to pay his debts, or even to live in mystic contemplation. He may be content to persecute heretics, or to perform filthy and cruel rites.

There is nobody, of course, whose mind is devoted entirely to the charted region, nor yet to the uncharted. To the most rational and sober of men there must come from time to time a consciousness of the presence all round him of undiscovered and perhaps undiscoverable forces, a vast night surrounding the small illuminated patch in which he moves; while to the most blindly superstitious a very large part of his daily life must be conducted on principles of observation and reason. The deadest rationalist has some consciousness of mystery, the most helpless mystic some gleams of common sense. Still, on the whole, as society advances in security and human beings in intellectual culture, there is an increase in the range of knowledge and reason and the proportion which they occupy in life. As the social order decays and the level of culture falls, the irrational element in life grows and the little island of light amid the darkness grows smaller still.

When we speak of ' ancient philosophy ' as contrasted with ' the Christian Religion ', we must realize that religion is something common to the highest and lowest of human societies, while philosophy has always been the attainment of a small class in a high state of culture. Philosophy implies a view of the world which uses the knowledge and thinking power of man to their utmost limit, though every good philo-

sophy recognizes the limits of human intelligence and leaves room for the unknown beyond the border. When civilization decays philosophy must needs decay with it: a disintegrating society may produce an age of faith or one of brutal materialism, but it cannot well produce philosophy.

Among the various causes or symptoms of the decay of Ancient Civilization, Professor Rostovtzeff has rightly emphasized the disappearance, through economic and political reasons, of the cultured class. The governing class of the Roman Empire, originally drawn from senatorial families in Rome and Italy but afterwards from distant provinces as well, had not only a high tradition of public service, but very considerable literary culture, while it commanded the services of highly-skilled officials and technical assistants in every department of government. A dialogue of Plutarch, about the beginning of the second century A.D., describes the meeting at Delphi of cultured Roman citizens from the most diverse parts of the world, a Greek country gentleman, an administrator, a poet, a grammarian, a professor from Britain, much as, at the present day, one might find together in Cairo an English member of Parliament, an American professor, a Scottish engineer, an Indian civilian, and a professional archæologist—all of them, whatever their diversities of training or interest, united in the service of modern civilization. The Imperial cultured class may have been limited, but it had wide experience, it knew its business and, at this time, it felt perfectly secure. It took little interest in the beliefs of the vast unlettered proletariat beneath it. Plutarch, with all his variety of interests, never notices Christianity. Three centuries later Christianity was dominant, and the cultured class was in the last stage of dissolution. Synesius, the Platonist Bishop of the Libyan tetrapolis, complains that he can find in his diocese almost no person who knows Greek or philosophy, no body of men who can be trusted to collect money for public purposes, no one who knows how to make good roads or weapons of war, or how to collect or command a competent military force to protect the settlement against the negroes

of the interior. The careful agriculture on which the prosperity of the place depended was now above people's heads. The Bishop's friend, Hypatia the Neo-Platonist, was brutally murdered by the Alexandrian mob. The mob was now Christian and less under control; but it had behaved in much the same way when it was Pagan, and was just as far removed from 'ancient philosophy'.

We must remember, therefore, in making any comparison between Christianity and Ancient Philosophy, that Christianity belongs to a time when ancient culture was on the downgrade and to a class which had always been shut out from it. The greater part of ancient philosophy originated in the fourth century B.C., before the free and highly cultivated city-states had been superseded by the large military empires, and their more or less manageable problems swamped in those of a limitless and undisciplined world. Philosophy weathered the storms of the Roman conquest and the Civil Wars, and became permanently the possession and guide of educated men without distinction of race or nation, but it hardly touched the uneducated. Thus, with some exceptions to be noticed hereafter, classical philosophy represents the view of society and of duty which is natural to men of position, with a sense of responsibility. Christianity and the various passionate religions which competed with it in the great industrial towns, represent the aspirations of the poor and outcast.

These considerations explain the mutual indifference to one another of Christianity and ancient philosophy. The professor or administrator did not inquire what his foreign slaves talked about in the kitchen, nor did the slaves try to understand the books and papers which they were told not to disturb in the study. But sometimes, instead of this indifference, there was, in many places if not throughout the empire, a passionate hostility. Liberal Pagans, who would not have thought of persecuting ordinary free speech, drew the line at Christians and sometimes at Jews. Christians who preached, and perhaps practised, a religion of meekness exhausted their vocabulary of curses against Rome. This needs some explanation.

The restoration by Augustus of peace and order after the Civil Wars was felt, not merely by flatterers or adherents, but by the whole law-abiding population of the Roman world, as something like a miracle of beneficence. It was impossible to prevent the Eastern Provinces, accustomed to such ideas, from worshipping Augustus as a god; and even Italy and the West gradually lost their repugnance for that exotic conception. The peace had really brought something like a heaven upon earth. And though Augustus might die and Tiberius stubbornly refuse to be worshipped, there was something divine which remained. It was Rome herself, ' Rome the Goddess ', ' Rome the Benefactress '. Together with the Emperors as her representatives it was the spirit which made Cæsar and Rome invincible, the *Genius*, the *Fortuna*. Rome meant peace, order, good government, and the welfare of man; Rome was *caput orbis*, the ' head ' of which the whole world was the ' body '. She drew little or no distinction of race or nationality among her subjects or citizens, and the well-to-do classes throughout the world were ready, as a rule, to give her more worship than she claimed. For all she demanded was, on certain specified occasions, a prayer for the fortune of Rome and Cæsar, and a gift of incense at their altars. The act required meant little more than singing " God save the King ", but it happened to be the very thing that most Christians and Jews could not give. For one thing, they could represent it to themselves as the worship of a false god. That scruple might perhaps have been met: but more than that, it was the worship of something which they hated. For Rome had always had three types of enemy, the conquered nations, the predatory tribes and classes, and the oppressed proletariat within her own borders.

The Roman governing class had saved the ancient world, and their overthrow ruined it. Yet it must be remembered that their régime and the world order that it maintained involved not only slavery on a vast scale, but a system of much hardship to its poorer subjects and atrocious severity to those who rebelled. Where the interest of Rome, or, as they called it, the peace of the world, was endangered the Roman govern-

ing class stuck at nothing. It was always remembered how the dangerous slave-revolt led by Spartacus was ended by the exhibition along the whole stretch of the Appian Way of six thousand crucified slaves. The free workman and peasant were also exposed to many of the abuses of capitalism and usury in their earliest and crudest forms. The sayings against the rich which abound in the Gospels, and the imprecations against the Roman Empire which fill the Book of Revelation, are echoes of many centuries of misery endured and resented by the proletariat of Italy and a large part of the whole populations of the conquered provinces. As Professor Arnold Toynbee has pointed out, when Jesus in the Gospel declares that " The foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests, but the son of man hath not where to lay his head ", he is only repeating the old aching cry of the dispossessed peasant in the very words uttered long before by Tiberius Gracchus.[1]

" Blessed are the poor, blessed are they that mourn, blessed are the meek, blessed they that hunger and thirst. . . . It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God." Blessings of the same purport, though perhaps of less sublime beauty, had doubtless been spoken in many different ages by many thousands of men whose mission was to comfort the poor, both Pagan and Christian.

And it was not blessings alone that thus arose from the *ergastula* and the wasted farms. " Fallen, fallen is Babylon the Great, the harlot that sitteth upon seven hills and is drunken with the blood of the saints . . . with her merchandise of gold and silver and precious stones and chariots and slaves and the souls of men. . . . In one day shall her plagues come, death and mourning and famine; and she shall utterly be burned with fire. She shall be trodden in the wine-press of the wrath of God and blood shall come out of the wine-press even unto the bridles of the horses, as far as a thousand and six hundred furlongs "—nearly as far, perhaps, as stretched the crosses of those slaves on the Appian Way. To any contented and loyal

[1] Plut., *Tib. Grac.* IX.

Roman citizen such imprecations must have seemed to be the ravings of a veritable *odium generis humani*. And the fact that such ideas are earnestly repudiated by Paul (e.g. *Rom.* xiii. 1–7; *1 Tim.* ii. 1–2) shows that the writer felt the danger of being supposed to encourage them. It is significant that no practical precept is more often repeated in the epistles than the command that slaves must obey their masters. (*Eph.* vi. 5; *Col.* iii. 22; *Tit.* ii. 9; *1 Pet.* ii. 18.)

Almost as significant as the things said are those left unspoken. There are no blessings on the strong and unselfish administrator, on the governor who braves unpopularity and prevents corruption, on the judge who does strict justice without fear or reproach. These suffering people do not understand justice. They can only say, Blessed are the merciful! They would have little use for that inflexible ' severity ' which the kindly Cicero so specially admires in a judge.

How could the poor fishermen of the Galilean Lake or their followers in the slums of Antioch, who thought of tax-gatherers merely as wicked people and had never held or expected to hold any post of public responsibility, have understood the Roman ideal of public duty? The Roman moralists were enthusiastic about their general, Regulus. He had been taken prisoner by the Carthaginians together with other soldiers of noble family. The Carthaginians hoped to exact a favourable peace by means of these prisoners, and Regulus was sent back to Rome to negotiate, promising to return if the negotiation failed. He considered that the lives of the prisoners were not worth such a concession. He went to Rome, stated the Carthaginian terms, and argued that it was more in the interest of Rome to let the prisoners die. He convinced the Senate and returned voluntarily to Carthage where he was duly tortured to death. His ' virtue ', resolute self-sacrifice for a public object, would have seemed to the Galileans unintelligible and perhaps, since it involved the death of many people whom he might have saved, wicked. It is very interesting to compare Cicero's book, *De Officiis* (*On Duty*), with the precepts of the Gospel. Infinitely less sublime and moving, it also differs

from the Gospels in being concerned with a whole range of duties, administrative, judicial, and military, which are outside the experience or imagination of the Asiatic villager or artisan. Cicero, for example, accepts as an axiom that Virtuous Conduct hinges on four cardinal virtues: Wisdom, or " the pursuit and perception of truth "; Justice, i.e. " the preservation of human society by giving to every man his due and by observing the faith of contracts "; Fortitude, i.e. " the greatness and firmness of an elevated and unsubdued mind "; and, lastly, " Moderation or Temperance in all our words and actions ". One sees in every phrase the man of culture, the man with a stake in the country, the soldier, statesman, and governor. Such men were not to be found in the class from which the Christian movement arose.

2. Culture and Ignorance.

Apart from this social difference between the early Christian literature and that of contemporary Pagan philosophy, there is another marked difference between the habits of mind of the ignorant and of the cultured. When St. Paul was preaching in Athens his audience listened with interest until he spoke of the " resurrection of the dead ", or more literally " the uprising of the corpses ". Then they laughed. They were familiar with the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, but when this eloquent Asiatic tent-maker began to explain that the dead bodies would get up and walk, they could not take him seriously. And we can see that Paul himself felt troubled over the form of his doctrine, and had to explain it rather elaborately. It seems as if the physical Resurrection of the Body was the only form in which the doctrine of immortality could be grasped by the very ignorant populations of the villages and big manufacturing towns of Asia Minor. One may think of a cultivated audience at the present day listening to a Salvation Army preacher or still more to a negro revivalist. The doctrine preached may be essentially what they believe themselves, but the expression of it is suited to a cruder intelligence.

Ignorance, of course, was no more confined to the Christians than hatred of Rome was. The same lack of intellectual training can be seen in some Pagan writings of late antiquity. Abstract terms, for example, become persons. It is said that, during the late war, a body of Russian peasants being told that the war was being continued for the sake of ' annexation ', and that ' annexation ' must be given up, took ' Annexation ' (Annexia) to be a princess of the imperial house and set off to hang her. In the same way in some late Pagan documents " the providence (Pronoia) of God " becomes a separate power; " the wisdom of God " (Sophia) becomes " the divine Sophia " or " Sophia, the daughter of God ", and even in one case gets identified with Helen of Troy. The doctrinal history of the conception ' Logos ', the ' word ' or ' speech ' of God, shows similar developments. The results of intense abstract thought can only be understood by following, in some degree, the same process: when handed over mechanically to a generation entirely unaccustomed to abstract thought they change their meaning. Here again the contrast is not so much between Pagan and Christian, but between the society of Aristotle or of Cicero and that of the Gnostics or the slave congregations.

Of course the advantage is never altogether on one side. It is hardly necessary to remind ourselves that both the Galilean fishermen and the small shopkeepers and day labourers of Antioch, by the very simplicity of their lives, by the fact that they knew nothing of complicated social responsibilities or problems, retained a power of direct vision which is not only far more moving but may actually be more profound than the good judgment of those with more knowledge of life. The Sermon on the Mount, though perhaps not so useful as a handbook to a Proconsul, clearly cuts far deeper toward the roots of things than Cicero *De Officiis*. Furthermore, the age of general decadence and shaken nerves which began just before the rise of Christianity and returned in the third century A.D. was remarkable for some extraordinary qualities. Conduct, as far as one can judge so difficult a matter, was not better than in fourth-century Athens or first-century Rome. It was

probably worse. There was more brutality, weakness, cowardice, and disorder. Yet there was at the same time a widespread thirst for some sort of spiritual salvation; a sense of the evil of the world and a desire, at any sacrifice, to rise above it and be saved. There was also, both in Christian and Pagan, a conviction of the need of some gigantic effort to overcome the sins of the flesh. Ancient philosophy was always ascetic. But in this period there was a passionate asceticism which often took strange and unwholesome forms, and which it is the fashion nowadays to treat with ridicule; yet it was perhaps something like an instinctive biological necessity, if the European world was not to sink into a condition of helpless sensuality like that of some oriental and savage nations. If we judge the world of the Gnostics and early Christians by standards of good citizenship and intelligence, it is far below the Rome of the Antonines or the Athens of Plato; if we bring them all before a Last Judgment to which this whole world is as dross and passionate aspiration counts for more than steady good character, the decision will perhaps be reversed.

Greek Philosophy

1. Philosophy in General: before Plato.

The early philosophers of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. were more like men of science with a strong taste for generalization. Their problems were concerned with the physical world: they made researches in geometry, geography, medicine, astronomy, natural history, and were apt to sum up their conclusions in sweeping apophthegms. "Moisture is the origin of all things" (Thales). "All things were together till Mind came and arranged them" (Anaxagoras). "All things move, nothing stays; all things flow" (Heraclitus). "All things perish into that from which they sprang. They pay retribution for their injustice one to another according to the ordinance of Time" (Anaximander). Socrates, the father of the Attic school of philosophy, turning away from natural

science with its crude generalizations, concentrated his attention on man, and particularly on the analysis of ordinary speech and current ideas. People talked of ' justice ' and ' courage '; of things being ' beautiful ' or ' ugly '; but no one could tell him what these words meant. Socrates still remains a problematical figure. A humorist and a saint, a mocker and a martyr, he made different impressions on different people of his acquaintance, but evidently had extraordinary powers as a teacher. Certain doctrines, mostly paradoxical, can with some probability be attributed to him, e.g. that virtue is knowledge, but cannot be taught, and that no one does wrong willingly—but in the main he set himself not to inculcate his own doctrines but to elicit from his pupils the full consciousness of what they themselves really believed or knew. This explains how, in the next generation, many divergent schools of philosophic thought professed themselves followers of Socrates.

2. Plato and Platonism.

The most famous of his disciples, Plato, preserved to an extraordinary degree his master's aversion to dogmatism. A dialogue of Plato's hardly ever leads to a positive conclusion. It is always a discussion, not a pronouncement. It may reject many dogmas as demonstrably false; but it never claims to have reached the whole truth. It probes deeper than before, climbs higher, uses every means—similes, parables, jests, and all the resources of a prose style which has never perhaps been equalled since for variety and eloquence—to suggest the sort of thing that the truth is likely to be, or the way in which we can get nearest to it, but it ends almost always on a note of question or wonder. The particular doctrine, however, which is especially associated with Plato, and has divided the world ever since, is a purely intellectual one.

The plain man feels quite certain of two classes of facts. He is sure that what philosophers call " the external world " exists; that is, if he is sitting on a chair before a table, and looking out of the window at a river, he is confident that

these things exist. If he can see, feel, lift the chair and table; if he can go outside and see the river from a different point of view and put his hand into it, he has tested his belief and is more certain than before. Then again he is perfectly certain that twice two is four, and (if he has learnt a little mathematics) that the three internal angles of any triangle are equal to two right angles. But here comes the difficulty. The two systems of certainties do not confirm one another: rather the reverse. The rule " twice two equals four " is seldom or never true of the external world. No actual set of four apples is exactly double a particular set of two apples: not only have all the apples different individual qualities, but, if you have very exact weighing-machines, you will find that even in weight the real four is seldom or never double the real two. Also, such triangles as you meet in the real world never satisfy the rules of mathematics. Their sides are never straight, for example. They are only imitation triangles, useful as signs or symbols of the triangles that you really mean.

Then again, when you do find some statement which you can make with truth about an object in the external world— " this river is about six feet deep ", " this coat is blue ", " this is the man I met last year ", when you come to observe the object again you may find it no longer true: the river has dried up to five feet, the coat has lost colour in the sun, the man has certainly become different. The world is all flowing and changing: you can never be sure of it; whereas the mathematical or arithmetical rule stays unchanged. Twice two is still four, and the three internal angles are still equal to two right angles, though a deluge may in the meantime have swept over the world.

Two views of this difficulty are possible. One man may say: " The real things are these chairs and tables; the mathematical rules are merely hypothetical or abstract statements about them: i.e. statements which would be true if the objects were different, or which are true if we disregard certain factors in the problem." Thus " twice two equals four " is only true of the apples if we disregard the accidental differences between

the apples, or would be true if the apples were all exactly alike. The mathematical rule is a convenient generalization, no more. This man would call himself a realist.

The Platonist on the contrary starts at the other end: for him the rule " twice two equals four ", or the rule about the internal angles, is exactly true and always true. It is the real truth, and the fluctuating imperfect objects which we meet in the external world are only images or imitations of reality —like reflections in a bad mirror, distorted to start with and transitory as well. The only way to reach truth is to concentrate on the ideal world. Thus, in mathematics you can never get on by merely counting or weighing the existing triangles and tables and chairs: you start with your principles of arithmetic and then by reason deduce the whole world of number. And it must follow that the same method will lead to truth in all other regions too. This is Idealism.

If you want to know what Justice is, you will not get very far by observing the behaviour of a number of honest men. Among other difficulties, no actual honest man is perfectly honest: he is only an imitation in flesh of true Justice as the wooden triangle is an imitation in wood of the ideal triangle. You must first get a clear conception of Justice—as clear as your conception of ' two ' or of ' triangle '; then you will be able to deduce with mathematical exactitude the true properties of Justice. Truth is to be found, not in this fluctuating world of sense perception, but in the world which is reached by thought, i.e. by a clear and strictly rational introspection. For, if the question is raised how we know that twice two is four, or that things which are equal to the same thing are equal to one another, it seems to be by some sort of intuition or introspection, or, as Plato half metaphorically puts it, by ' recollection ' (*Anamnesis*) from a previous life. As we look into our own minds and discover that " twice two is four ", so we can discover with equal certainty that Justice is beautiful or that a son should honour his father.

The obvious criticism here is that Plato is transferring the method suitable to a system of exact knowledge, like arithmetic,

to a chaotic world of words half understood and ideas incapable of definition. We do know what we mean by ' two ', but we do not know what we mean by ' justice ' or ' beautiful '. Plato himself criticizes his own suggestion more than once, and is never carried away into dogmatism. But this way of thinking formed a dangerous heritage for Greek and early Christian thought. The philosophers tended to conceive all knowledge as analogous to mathematical knowledge, either entirely right or entirely wrong. They failed to recognize or admit that most of what we call knowledge is only an approximation to the truth. A realization of this fact, which to us seems obvious, might have saved the world many desperate heresies and persecutions.

3. Aristotle.

It is sometimes said that everyone is born either a Platonist or an Aristotelian, but the opposition between the two philosophers is not nearly so sharp as this would suggest. Though Aristotle rejected the doctrine of Ideas and was himself more concerned with biology and various forms of the ' humane ' sciences than with pure mathematics, yet he started as a Platonist, and retained always a profound admiration for his master. One quality that strikes one in reading Aristotle is the desire of the great researcher and collector to have a philosophic framework into which all real facts will fit. He will not be inhospitable to the discoveries of physical science, as many idealist philosophers were; neither will he rest content with any contradiction of common sense; nor yet will he shut the door against any genuine spiritual experience. A system so all-embracing roused little of the fighting spirit, which seems necessary to enthusiasm, among the later Pagan philosophers. Aristotle was respected but not adored. Consequently he was not hated. And he had his reward in having his system taken over by various Christian theologians, especially St. Thomas, as the almost complete basis of the philosophy of the new religion.

Aristotle denied the existence of Plato's world of Ideas—

Justice and the number Two did not exist separately in " some heavenly place ", but were in the objects of the sensible world. One discovered them by a process of ' Induction ' (*Epagôgê*). By experience of a number of particular cases the mind grasps a universal truth about them, which then and afterwards is seen to be self-evident. It sees the ' Idea ' or ' the Form ' by means of a review of individuals, but the ' Idea ' or ' Form ' is not something separate. The object of science thus becomes classification and the discovery of the attributes of objects. A new animal, for example, has to be assigned to the right genus, and the right species, and then distinguished from others by the attributes that are essential to it. Through this system of thorough-going classification he seems to have arrived at his discovery of the syllogism, and thus laid the foundation of Logic. The syllogism is a form of reasoning consisting of two premises and a conclusion, in which one term which is common to both premises disappears. From the relation of A to B, and that of B to C, you conclude the relation of A to C. This discovery has been extraordinarily fruitful, though perhaps Aristotle was too apt to regard it as the sole type of deductive reasoning. In all existence he distinguished between ' form ' and ' matter ': a statue consists of so much wood or stone—matter—on which a particular form is impressed; a sword, of so much iron worked into a particular form. Connected with this division was another, which not only answered certain ancient philosophic puzzles, but gave a characteristic quality to his whole system. Suppose you say " That man sitting in the chair is Phidippides, the swift runner ", how can you be speaking the truth? How can a man sitting down be a runner? Aristotle's answer is that the man is ' in act ' (*energeia*) sitting, but ' in power ' (*dunamis*) or ' potentially ' a runner, and the idea thus suggested became fruitful in many ways. A man or city or any object not only is what it actually is at the moment; it is also, ' in power ', all that it may become. That mass of stone in the quarry is potentially a temple; this child is potentially a sage or a patriot. Influenced by his studies in biology, Aristotle is full of the idea of a perfect or charac-

teristic form to which all life tends, each species working towards its own perfection. In theology, both Pagan and Christian, this idea led to a conception of the universe as fulfilling the purpose of God, or, rather differently, striving towards God as " the Desire of the World ". In modern science it plays an important part in the theory of evolution.

This meagre sketch is intended to show the kind of problem with which ancient Greek philosophy was occupied, in the domain of logic and metaphysic. Natural science we have entirely omitted, but of ethics or moral theory we must treat more fully.

4. Ethics in Plato.

It may be that Ethics form a derivative and secondary kind of philosophy, dependent at every turn on Logic and Metaphysic, since a man cannot know what is good without knowing what is true. Nevertheless the information that interests a historian most about any religion or philosophy is both how its professors behaved and how they thought they ought to behave. Now Greek ethics in the classical period stand apart from those of most ancient societies. They are singularly untheological. The Hebrew in all his conduct considered whether he was obeying or disobeying the rules given to Moses by Jehovah, and knew that if he disobeyed them Jehovah would be ' angry ' and punish him. The rules might or might not be consistent with the welfare of humanity; that question should not be raised, and in any case the welfare of the Gentiles did not much matter. The Greek philosophers, with few exceptions, considered conduct with an eye on the welfare of the community, and the way in which the citizen could best serve his State. True, if he committed some offence, such as betraying a trust, the indignation felt against it might depend on purely ' moral ' considerations—e.g. the amount of treachery, impiety, cruelty, &c., involved—and not on the mere amount of harm done to the city; but the ultimate problem of human conduct was the problem of producing welfare or good life for the community.

Even in Plato, where idealism reigns and the spring of all good conduct seems to be Erôs, or passionate Love, for the Idea of the Good—that one ultimate aim of all right desire —morality is always an affair of the citizen, not of the isolated man. It is in practice a relation of man to his fellows, though no doubt it may ultimately rest on a relation of the soul to God. It still surprises a modern reader when the great problem of the *Republic*—what Righteousness is—is answered by the elaborate and to our minds obscure process of constructing an imaginary Republic. The answer also is a paradox. Plato sees in the man and the State alike three elements, one that craves, one that fights, and one that thinks; and he finds righteousness in a harmony between them. There is the element of natural desire—for food, drink, sleep, bodily pleasure, and all that is bought with money; the 'spirited element', which fights against that which seems evil or hostile to the man or the community; and the element of thought, which judges, reflects, and knows. When all these three serve the common good in harmony the result is Righteousness both in man and city. We can make no attempt here to analyse the extremely subtle and not always consistent theory of morals which we find in Plato. Of all great philosophers he is the least dogmatic and the most suggestive. He also combines in a remarkable way the attitude of the statesman, adapting means to ends, and the saint, doing right in scorn of consequences. His two longest works, the *Republic* and the *Laws*, are both attempts at constructing an ideal constitution, and in real life he faced much hardship, danger, and ridicule in trying to put his political projects into practice. Yet at the same time no one insists more eloquently on the principles that it is better to suffer wrong than to do wrong, better to be punished than not to be punished, and that it is better to be righteous than to seem righteous, even if the former leads to death on the cross, and the latter to every kind of human reward. In contrast to the common conceptions of the ancient Hebrews or of the modern vulgar, the Greek thinkers are never content to say, "Be righteous because you will be punished if you are not." They

almost always keep a firm hold on two principles: one, that good conduct is conduct that is good for the community as a whole; the other, that if righteousness or wisdom is good, then it is good in itself, and not because it leads to rewards in other coin.

5. Ethics in Aristotle.

But the most characteristic philosopher of the Hellenic period is Aristotle. He is Greek in his *sophrosynê* or moderation; in his complete remoteness from primitive superstition; in his combination of intense intellectuality with human sympathy and interest in practical life; and in his essentially civic point of view.

His theology and metaphysic were largely taken over by St. Thomas Aquinas and used as the basis of mediæval and modern Christianity. His political philosophy is still a mine of thought and information. His researches in the physical sciences have, of course, been superseded in different degrees. It is in his ethics or theory of conduct that we find the characteristics of Greek thought at their clearest.

In the first place, conduct is an art, the art of living, and like all the arts it has an aim. In each department of conduct it aims at ' virtue ' or ' goodness ' (ἀρέτη), and this is always, as in the other arts, an exact point or degree, a mean between too much and too little. As a musician can go wrong by striking a note too high or too low, too loud or too soft, so a man may be too daring or not daring enough, not generous enough or too generous. This combination of common sense and exact thinking is highly characteristic. As to the aim of this art as a whole, as the aim of medicine is health, or of strategy victory, so the aim of ethics is the good life. The art of private ethics aims at the good life for the individual, but is subordinate to public ethics, or politics, which has for its aim the good life of the community. Aristotle decides after some discussion that this ' good ' must be something aimed at in all kinds of action, it must be desirable for itself and not merely as a means to something else, it must be self-sufficing. It must be " an

unhindered activity of the soul ", and a fulfilment of the true function of man as man, as good harping, for instance, is the function of a harp player. It must obviously be an activity " in accordance with virtue " (i.e. as we should say, " on the right lines "): and, characteristically, Aristotle adds that it must be " in a complete life ", for it cannot operate when a man is miserably poor or deprived of freedom. This unhindered activity of the soul he identifies with *Eudaimonia*—a word which is usually translated ' happiness '. It is worth remembering, however, that etymologically the English word ' happy ' means ' lucky ', the Greek *eudaimon* means ' with a good Spirit or Dæmon '.

We may observe that such happiness is social; " man was born for citizenship ". It is not pleasure, though pleasure comes as a crown or completion to the activity when it goes right, just as—so Aristotle puts it—physical charm (ὥρα) comes as a completion to youth and health. The motive for good action, however, is not the pleasure that may accompany it; nor yet the happiness which normally does so. When a brave man faces danger or a martyr faces suffering he does so ἕνεκα τοῦ καλοῦ, i.e. literally " for the sake of the beautiful ". This phrase gives us modern English a shock. We do not habitually think on these lines, and we have no native English word corresponding to the Greek *kalon*. It does not mean the ' showy ' nor yet ' the artistic '. It denotes the sort of action which, as soon as we contemplate it, we admire and love, just as we admire and love a beautiful object, without any thought of personal interest or advantage. The brave man has the choice, let us suppose, of dying for his friends or betraying his friends: as he imagines the two actions he sees that one is ' ugly ' (αἰσχρόν, the regular Greek word for ' base ') and the other ' beautiful ' (καλόν); so he chooses it though it involves pain and death. He may of course be influenced by all sorts of other motives, love of his friends, patriotism, anger, the mere habit of courage, or the like; but the strictly moral motive is preference for the beautiful action over the ugly.

Such *Eudaimonia* implies freedom; a slave can have pleasure,

but not *eudaimonia*. If we consider what kind of " activity of the soul according to virtue " is the highest, most perfect, and most characteristic of man as a reasoning animal, it proves to be contemplation. That is the only activity we can well attribute to God, who must be infinitely blessed and happy. It may be said that, since Reason is not the whole of man but only the highest part, to live entirely in the activity of Reason, i.e. in Contemplation, is a thing too high to aim at. Man is mortal, they tell us, and should have mortal thoughts; but Aristotle, on the contrary, urges that we should " make ourselves as immortal as we can, and strain every nerve to live in accordance with the best thing in us ".

Even so we do not escape from material considerations, since even for contemplation, if it is to be good in quality, we need health and leisure. And, after all, in human life, when there are things to be done, the end must be not merely to contemplate but to do. In the practical world, we must try " any way there may be of being good ", especially in educating and legislating. And thus we are led straight, and without any change of aim, from the most lofty speculations of ethics to the science of practical politics. Political activity is the conduct of a society seeking *Eudaimonia*, and trying to live according to virtue.

This philosophy, it is easy to see, is civic through and through. It accepts the State as a good thing. It assumes that " Man is born to be a citizen " and is " by nature a social animal ". He finds his virtue in performing his civic duty, and only in the service of his community can he become fully ' Wise, Temperate, Courageous, and Righteous '. It is rather a surprise to find that Aristotle was writing at a time when the Greek City-State was everywhere failing, and the world being reshaped on a totally different model by Aristotle's own pupil, Alexander, and his successors. Evidently Aristotle did not regard the system of large military monarchies, backed by a lower civilization, as an improvement on that of the old City-States, small, weak, and poor, but highly civilized.

6. Revolt of the Soul against the State.

The School of Aristotle, the Peripatetics, clung firmly for many generations to their master's point of view. But a rebellion of the individual Soul against the State had already begun and was never again without a witness in the Greek world.

It is important, if we would understand the various phases of Greek religion and ethics, to realize it as a philosophy of service, of citizenship, a loyalty of the individual to the whole of which he is a part. There are conditions under which this conception is entirely satisfying. In a ship on a long and stormy voyage the mind of a member of the crew may well be entirely occupied in saving the ship, and the more so the more he loves the ship and admires the captain. This was roughly speaking the position of a good citizen of Athens or Sparta in the early fifth century B.C. But suppose he realizes that his ship is only one of a large fleet; or suppose he thinks that the ship is badly managed or the captain trying to sink her or the object of the voyage slave-trading or piracy? His loyalty will be in different degrees modified or undermined and his duty may become entirely different.

The thought that loyalty must be due not to Athens alone but to all Hellas or all humanity, meets us with increasing frequency from Herodotus onward; the suspicion that her whole method of government is incompetent and unjust and, worse still, that her aim in the Great War was tyrannical, is prominent in Euripides, Thucydides, and Xenophon. And Plato especially found himself confronted by the paradox of the condemnation of Socrates, in which the City and the Laws, to whom he owed allegiance, were murdering the Just Man because he told them the truth. Plato's answer to the problem is a still more passionate devotion to the State, provided only that the State will be righteous, and, as we have seen, he spent his life in the search for that Righteous City. Isocrates, Xenophon, and Lysias in different ways preached a Pan-hellenic patriotism, as we might to-day preach a Pan-European patriotism, contrasted with the narrow devotion to

a man's own city. But in the main philosophy detached itself from earthly patriotisms and, while keeping the ideal of loyalty or social duty, directed it towards some goal at once less limited and less tarnished. Where Aristotle continued to urge the duty of practical ' politic ', and the importance of studying " what enactments suit what circumstances ", most of the other philosophers, despising such worldliness, considered that the proper thing was to pursue ' righteousness ' or ' virtue ' as the crow flies, and to know that any City which objected was no true City.

7. Ethics in Epicurus.

Two main schools of philosophy arose towards the end of the fourth century, and have, in a sense, divided mankind ever since, the Epicurean on the one hand and the Cynic or Stoic on the other. Epicurus, an Athenian of good birth, son of an elementary schoolmaster, had passed through poverty, defeat in war, exile, bad health, and distress in a colony of refugees; had discovered that there is still ' sweetness ' (ἡδονή) in life; that it can be produced by moderate and temperate living, and that the secret of it lies in not being afraid and in loving one's companions (τὸ θαρρεῖν, φιλία). This ' sweetness ', sometimes translated ' pleasure ', is the Good, or the aim of life. Virtue is only good as a means towards it. Epicurus set to work to free mankind from all their false fears. Why fear death? The dead feel nothing. Why fear the Gods? The Gods cannot harm you. They are blessed beings, and nothing can be blessed which gives pain to another. Why fear pain in this world? Long-continued pain is never intolerable; intense pain is generally brief; a brave man can endure either. He can live the life of the soul, in memory or contemplation, and ignore the petty pains of the present. Next, Epicurus sought to set men free from all the ' humbug ' of the conventional world. Rank and power and ambition were delusions; better a picnic by a river than all " the crowns of the Greeks ". Learning and culture were worthless and deceiving: " From all higher education, my friend, spread

sails and fly!" Remember above all that human bliss—'sweetness' or 'blessedness', as he sometimes calls it—is not a remote dream but a thing easily won. It is here in your hands, if you will only live temperately, love those about you, and not be afraid.

This school was never very numerous. It seems to have owed much to the personality of the founder. Its great work was to liberate the educated Greek world from superstitious terrors. When that work was done its message was largely exhausted, and it was perhaps too modest in its promises and too difficult in its practice to attract multitudes of adherents. Also it suffered deservedly for its founder's contempt for the advance of knowledge. Its two main doctrines, the atomic theory in physics, and the utilitarian theory in ethics, have come to their kingdom in modern times, but in antiquity the advance of science fell mostly into the hands of the Aristotelians and the religious struggle against Christianity into those of the Platonists and Stoics. Indeed the pious pagans of the fourth century A.D. were fond of denouncing the Christians and Epicureans together as 'atheists'.

8. Ethics of the Cynic and Stoic Schools.

Yet the Stoics, especially if we couple with them the Cynics from whom they were derived, were largely the source of the moral ideas of Christianity. The difference between Cynic and Stoic seems to have been essentially a difference of education and culture rather than one of doctrine. The Cynics were the Stoics of the slum and the street corner. The first Cynic, Antisthenes, set up his school in a gymnasium appropriated to the use of bastards without citizenship. The most famous, Diogenes, lived like St. Francis in utter poverty, and without even a roof over his head. In later times the Cynic dressed as a beggar, refused all possessions beyond a beggar's staff and wallet, and preached in the streets. It is worth mentioning that women as well as men were found among their preachers, as well as in the quieter ranks of the Stoics and Epicureans; that under the Roman Empire some persons were

at the same time Cynic philosophers and Christian monks; and that the abolition of the gladiatorial games was due to the self-sacrificing protest of three persons in succession, two Cynics and the Christian Telemachus. Thus in the Cynic school the transition from the old religion to the new took place almost without a conscious change.

The doctrine of the Cynics was that Virtue ('Αρέτη, Goodness) was the Good, and nothing else of any worth at all. Virtue was a direct relation of the naked soul to God. Like the Dominicans (Dominicani—'*Domini canes*') after them, the Cynics (κυνικοί, 'canine') were the watchdogs of God on earth; like a dog they needed no possessions, no knowledge, no city, only Courage, Temperance, Justice, and Wisdom, which consisted in absolute fidelity to the Master. The Cynic saint, like the Christian, had affinities not only with the respectable poor, but with sinners and outcasts. Diogenes came to Athens as an ill-mannered young foreigner, whose father, a fraudulent money-changer, had been convicted of "defacing the coinage" and was now in prison. When asked what he wanted in a philosophical school, Diogenes answered: "To deface the coinage." He meant, to strip from life all the false stamps and labels put on it by human conventions. He obeyed no human laws, for he recognized no City: he was "citizen of the Cosmos", or universe, and obeyed the laws of God. Through that citizenship he was 'free' while all the world was in bondage, 'fearless' while others were afraid. He was brother not only to all men, but to the beasts also. When about to die he recommended that his body should be thrown out to the dogs and wolves, who were doubtless hungry. "I should like to be some use to my brothers when I am dead."

He differs from the Stoics and from many of his own followers in having no social message, except the call to repent. Similarly he differed from many leaders of the ancient proletariat, in that he never preached rebellion or attempted to reconstitute society. The most oppressed slave, he considered, had already full access to God and to Virtue, and the greatest

king had no more. He did not even correct the possible excesses of his followers by saying, as St. Paul did, " Slaves, obey your masters ".

The modern use of the word ' cynic ' is of course a complete travesty of its original meaning. To most of us the Cynic school seems to suffer not from any lack of idealism, but from an idealism that has run mad through its own narrowness and intensity and its neglect of the secondary values of life. The Stoic school, starting from the same premise, that " Nothing but Goodness is good ", built out of it a system of ethics and—one may fairly say—of religion which, whether one accepts it or not, seems to have a permanent value for mankind. " Nothing but Goodness is good ": there is no importance whatever in such things as health or sickness, riches or poverty, pleasure or pain. Who would ever claim credit for such things when his soul stood naked before God? All that matters is the goodness of man's self, that is, of his free and living Will. Goodness is to serve the purpose of God, to will what God wills, and thus co-operate with the purpose of the Cosmos. In that spirit Zeno wrote his *Republic*; he conceived a world-society in which there should be no separate States; one great " City of gods and men ", where all should be citizens and members one of another, bound together not by human laws but by Love.

In the world as a whole, then, there is a purpose, and Virtue, or Goodness, is co-operation with that purpose. It was easier then than it is now to see a purpose revealed in the discoveries of science. For science had in the fourth century just reached a conception of the world which was singularly satisfying to the human mind. Astronomy had shown that the heavenly bodies followed perfectly regular movements. The stars were no wandering fires, but parts of an immense and eternal order. And though this order in its fullness might remain inscrutable, its main essence at least could be divined from the fact—then accepted as certain—that all these varied and eternal splendours had for their centre our earth and its ephemeral master, Man. Whatever else the Purpose might

be, it was the purpose of a God who loves Man and has placed him in the centre of the Universe.

Add to this the conception of Nature which the Stoics had learned from Aristotle and others, as a system of Phusis or 'growth' towards perfection—of the seed towards the oak, of the blind puppy towards the good hound, of the primæval savage towards the civilized man—and one can see how this '*Phusis*' becomes identical with the Forethought or '*providentia*' of God. The whole movement of the Cosmos is the fulfilment of God's will. Virtue is action harmonious with that will; wickedness, the attempt to assert one's own contemptible will against it, an attempt which besides being blasphemous must always be futile. This line of thought ends in a paradox or an apparent contradiction, sublime and perhaps insoluble, which is common to Stoicism and Christianity. We recognize that in this great Cosmos or Order each living creature has its part. It is the part of the deer to grow swifter and swifter; of the artist to produce beauty; of the governor to govern well, so as to produce a prosperous and virtuous city. Every man is, as it were, an actor in the great drama: his rôle is handed to him, and his business is to act it well. At the same time we must remember that none of these things at which we aim, speed, beauty, prosperity, or the like, is of any real value in itself; nothing matters at all except the Good Will, the willing fulfilment of the Purpose of God. It does not really matter if all our efforts on this world are defeated; it is His will that we should strive, it may not be His will that we should succeed. We must not be too bitterly disappointed. If our friends die and we suffer great sorrows we may groan; that is human and pardonable. But ἔσωθεν, in the centre of our being, we must not groan. Accept the eternal purpose and be content, though we perish.

Most adherents of evolutionist or 'meliorist' systems fall into the speculatively unsound position of justifying the present by the future. Imperfect man is so constantly preoccupied with the morrow, and so well content if he can see the labour and discomfort of the present repaid by success hereafter,

that he is apt to transfer the same conception to the divine and perfect scheme. The world may be a miserable place now; that does not matter, he argues, if it is going to be a happy place hereafter. He sees no difficulty in supposing that the purpose of God, like that of a man, may be thwarted for a long time as long as it is ultimately triumphant. The conception seems clearly to be unsound. Even in human action one would feel some compunction about a plan which condemned a number of individuals to misery in order that after their death some other people should be happy. The Stoics at any rate were firm against any such lines of thought. Virtue is the good now; the Purpose is being fulfilled now; the Cosmos is infinitely beautiful now—now and always. They entirely refuse to promise future rewards to Virtue or to justify the present injustices of the world by the prospect of a millennium. The sufferings are of no importance: the only thing that matters is the way in which we face them.

The special advantage of Stoicism over most other systems is that, like Christianity, it adapts itself equally to a world order which we accept as good or to one which we reject as evil. Though it originated in a rebellion of the soul against society, it can equally well become a religion of social service. Many of the Hellenistic kings and great Roman governors were Stoics. Stoicism taught them to fulfil the divine purpose by governing as well and justly as they could, while at the same time it afforded a theoretical comfort if their efforts failed. Consequently it held its own both in the good periods and the bad. It comforted Brutus and Cato in the death agonies of the Roman republic; it fortified the lame slave Epictetus; it inspired the good Emperor, Marcus Aurelius, in his care for a peaceful and well-administered world. Doubtless it tended at times to protest too much; to try to solve the riddles of life by sententious preaching and rhetorical paradoxes, as in Seneca; but it never compromised its lofty spirit and never sank into vulgar superstition or emotionalism.

9. The "Failure of Nerve" Mysticism and Superstition.

But we must realize that there was plenty of superstition and emotionalism about. It hardly appears in the classical writers who have come down to us, and we are tempted to think it was not there. But the evidence is abundant. We do not need the testimony of Epicurus, Lucretius, the early Christian fathers, or Theophrastus in his account of "The Superstitious Man", to show the prevalence and strength of superstition. It is shown by many incidents in history, and brought home by the religious inscriptions, the rites recorded by the antiquarian Pausanias, the fragments of mystical and magical literature. And there seems now to be evidence to show that the kind of conception which has hitherto been supposed to be characteristic of the decadence of the Hellenic world was really present in pre-Hellenic Crete.[1] There is no cause for surprise in this. Many words which occur in Homer disappeared in classical Greek only to re-emerge in late Ptolemaic papyri or in modern speech. The common people, in Greece as elsewhere, went on comparatively unaffected by the great spiritual and intellectual movements of Hellenism. Socrates or the Stoics might preach, Epicurus might disprove, but the Bœotian peasant went on placating the same old bogies in the same old way as his remote ancestors. And it is notable how the various periods of economic distress or prolonged warfare which fell upon the Greek world brought about a decline of culture and a revival of primitive beliefs.

Men are apt to regard their misfortunes as the punishment of unforgiven sins. The famous earthquake of Lisbon was expiated by the burning of a large number of Jews: the eruption of Mt. Pélée in our own day was followed by great public repentances. Greece was the home, from pre-Hellenic times, of rites of initiation or mysteries, such as exist in many barbarous tribes at the present day. In their simplest form these rites formed the initiation of the boys of the tribe into

[1] See Evans in *J. H. S.*, Vol. XLV, "The Ring of Nestor."

manhood, and the exposition to them of certain secret truths or doctrines that only the grown men of the tribe might know. But in practice we find that, as tribes disappeared or turned into voluntary societies, the rites began to have a different meaning. They brought purification from sin or pollution; they brought the communicant into close relation with some mediating god and gave him some assurance of bliss in the next world. Those who were not initiated, and thus accepted into the community of the faithful, would remain outcast from bliss. Plato and other writers are scornful of these doctrines and the votaries who live by them, professing to " forgive sins " and secure that an initiated thief would fare better in the next world than an uninitiated just man. But the doctrines lived and spread.

For similar reasons, perhaps, there had early been a religion of the ' Sôtêr ', the Saviour or Deliverer. Sometimes it is a mere title, as in ' Zeus Sôtêr ': sometimes it is ' the Saviour ' alone, or more especially ' The Third, the Saviour ' or ' the Saviour who is Third '. The origin of this conception seems probably to lie in the old agricultural religion which worshipped and created so many beings to represent the Year, or the Season, or the Vegetation, gods whose coming was the coming of spring or else of harvest, and whose annual death was celebrated when the harvest was cut or the vegetation died. The God had been killed—most often torn in pieces and scattered over the fields—by a second Being, his Enemy, through whose victory the life of the earth seemed dead, till there came a Third Being, a Saviour, who slew the Enemy and brought back the dead god, or was himself the dead God restored. Modern travellers have found remains of this worship in modern Greece, and something like it continues in many parts of Europe.

In Hellenistic times, and particularly in the terrible times of strain that came between the Punic Wars and the Battle of Actium, this Saviour religion took a more spiritual or mystical character. It was associated with many names from the old mythology or new oriental systems, from Heracles to Isis,

Sarapis, or Hermes-Thoth. Notably Asclepius, the divine physician, not previously a god of much importance outside Epidaurus, became for some generations the most passionately worshipped god in the eastern Mediterranean. The world was sick, and cried out for the Healer.

In some of the earliest and most primitive rituals, the climax of ecstatic worship was to bring the worshipper into ' communion ', to make him one with his God. The communion originally involved drinking the blood and eating the flesh of the god, though in some of the sects called ' Gnostic ' it came through ecstasy and contemplation. For to ' know ' God, in this context, meant to be made one with him. (*Gnôsis* = knowledge.) The Gnostic writings have come down to us mixed up with later additions from many sources, and it is hard to separate out the original pre-Christian doctrines. But the Saviour seems generally to be a ' Third ', the other two being God the Father and some such being as the Divine ' Wisdom ' (Sophia) or ' Spirit '. (In some sects the second person is still the Enemy, as in the old Year-Dæmon rituals, and ' the god of the Jews ' made into a kind of Satan.) The method of redemption is sometimes that of the dying or suffering God, as he appears in the oldest agricultural religions; sometimes that of the ' righteous man ' in Plato, who is happy though he be condemned of men and in the end impaled or crucified. In general the whole conception is influenced by astrology. In some Gnostic systems, for example, the Saviour descends, by his own will or that of the Father, through all the spheres of the planets, those sinister rulers of the earth, to save mankind, or it may be the Soul, the divine Sophia or Wisdom who has forgotten her true nature.

Many details might be added to illustrate the various forms taken by the Saviour religions, and the curious and often beautiful speculations which they engendered. But the main root of them seems to be a feeling of disillusion or despair of the world; the feeling of men in the presence of forces which they can neither control nor understand. They cry to their God because there is none other to hear or help them. It is

not a national Messiah that they want, but a personal Saviour: not a Zoroastrian millennium in which the kingdom of the good God will eventually be realized, but a deliverance of the soul here and now from the body of this death. They seek to be saved not by 'justice' or wise conduct, but by some act of sacrifice or purification, some intensity of adoration. The forms and theories are merely those which happen to be supplied by old tradition or by the customs of some foreign hierophant, perhaps from Egypt or Babylon.

10. Mithraism.

Historically the most important of these religious communities, at once the nearest and the most hostile to Christianity, came not from the Levant but from higher and remoter regions of the East. There were worshippers of Mithras in extreme antiquity, before the ancestors of the Persians separated from those of the Hindoos, and even under the Roman Empire they liked to worship in caves, as they had before temples existed, and to draw their myths and parables from pastoral life, as it was before the building of cities. Of old Mithras had been a high God; but now he had lost in rank and gained in vitality. He was a hero, a redeemer, a mediator between man and god, a champion ever armed and vigilant in the eternal war of Ormuzd against Ahriman, light against evil and darkness.

This religion hardly touched Greece at all. The severe Iranian dualism held out against the general hellenization which followed the conquests of Alexander almost as rigorously as the monotheism of the Jews. There are no Greek names derived from Mithras, as there are none from Jehovah, though 'Isidotus', 'Serapion', &c., are fairly common. Mithraism is said to have come to Rome from Cilicia and Pontus, after the campaign of Pompeius against the pirates and the rebel King Mithridates (65–61 B.C.). From thence onward it was carried by a stream of slaves and captives to Rome and the Mediterranean ports, and still more by a stream of soldiers to the legions. Mithraism stretched at this time from the Indus to

the Euxine Sea, and covered some of the best recruiting grounds. It spread along all the frontiers of the Empire, especially on the east and north, where life was most dangerous.

It was the religion for a man and a soldier. It had no place for the emotional women who swarmed in the oriental cults and had a considerable influence in Christianity. We hear of no priestesses or female initiates: only of virgins, to share the worship of a virgin soldiery. It was in many ways more like an order of chivalry than a religious sect. There were ascetic vows, and an organized self-denial. The Mithraic might accept no earthly crown: " His crown was Mithras." There were rites of baptism and confirmation; but the confirmation was preceded by stern ordeals, and the baptism was not a dipping in water but a branding with hot iron. The adherent of Mithras was throughout life a warrior, fighting for Ormuzd, for the Light, for the Sun, as against all that was dark and unclean. Now, since Mithras was " The Sun, the Unconquered ", and the Sun was " the royal Star ", the religion looked for a King whom it could serve as the representative of Mithras upon earth: and since the proof that the ' Grace ' of Ormuzd rested upon a king was, of course, in addition to his virtue and piety, his invincibility, the Roman Emperor seemed to be clearly indicated as the true King. In sharp contrast to Christianity, Mithraism recognized Cæsar as the bearer of the divine Grace, and its votaries filled the legions and the civil service.

Yet the similarities between Mithraism and Christianity are striking, and may be taken as signs of the spiritual and psychological needs of the time. Mithraism arose in the East, among the poor, among captives and slaves. It put its hopes in a Redeemer, a Mediator, who performed some mystical sacrifice. It held a Communion Service of bread and water. It rested on the personal *Pistis* (Faith, or faithfulness) of the convert to his Redeemer. It had so much acceptance that it was able to impose on the Christian world its own Sun-Day in place of the Sabbath, its Sun's birthday, 25th December,

as the birthday of Jesus; its Magi and its Shepherds hailing the divine star, and various of its Easter celebrations.

On the other hand, its Redeemer, Mithras, makes hardly any pretence to have had an earthly history. It is all myth and allegory: elaborate ritual, sacraments, and mystic names, with all the varied paraphrasing that is necessary for bringing primitive superstitions up to the level which civilized man will tolerate. Above all it differed from Christianity in that, having made its peace with Rome, it accepted not only the Empire but the other religions of the Empire. Rome saw in the second century the usefulness of Mithraism, and the Emperor Commodus was initiated: Mithraism became inextricably involved in the other Sun worships as well as those of Isis and the Great Mother, and thus sank into the slough of turbid syncretism in which the Empire of Septimius Severus and Elagabalus tried to find a universal religion.

Mithraism must have lost much of its purity and vigour before it met its great military disaster. In the Dacian Revolt of 275 Mithras proved too weak to withstand the barbarians. He was no longer "The Unconquered". His cave-chapels, or Mithræa, were destroyed all along the frontier where they had been at their strongest. The sect never recovered. Doubtless they had encouraged persecution of the Christians in previous times, and now the Christians had their chance. The little chapels, never with a congregation of more than a hundred, were a fairly easy prey to large mobs. A candidate for Christian baptism in St. Jerome's letters offers as a proof of his piety his exploits in wrecking them. Excavations of the Mithræa, which are exceedingly numerous all over the imperial frontiers, show sometimes how the priests had walled them up, with the holy objects inside, in the hope of reopening the worship in better days; sometimes how the Christian mobs had polluted them for ever with the rotting corpses of the faithful. A bloody and cruel story, like so much of the history of religion; but it is clear that Christianity gained in strength by defying the Roman world longer than Mithras did, and by denying instead of accepting its numerous gods.

11. What the Age Needed.

A study of the Gnostic and Hermetic collections, and such evidence as exists about the worships of Isis, Serapis, Mithras, and various Saviours, together with the magical remains and the accounts of early heresies, leaves on the mind the impression of a mass of emotional and spiritual aspiration, marred by nervous and intellectual wreckage. The world passed through a bad period after the Second Punic War, and another in the troubles of the third century A.D., and then in the final fall, but it is difficult to assign dates to movements of which one does not know the local or social origin. The mystic literature as a whole bears a message of despair and consolation, despair of living a good life by one's own efforts in so unrighteous a world, and consolation by promises of ultimate reward whose extreme splendour makes up for their uncertainty. Here and there the future bliss for ourselves is crossed by a vision of the well-deserved torments that await our enemies and persecutors. It is the cry of the failure of the old Græco-Roman civilization, though, of course, that failure may have been felt in different degrees at very different places and dates.

It seems clear that any new religion which was to have a chance of success at this time must be one that appealed to the ignorant masses—though no doubt it would be a great advantage if it were capable also, like Stoicism, of being adapted to the needs of the philosopher. It must not be content, like Judaism, to expect a national restoration through the public action of a Messiah. It must promise a personal salvation by the active help of a personal god, who must also be as solid and human as possible. A god who was pure thought "without body parts or passions" would be of no avail. It must be a religion of the poor, though whether the rich should be given their deserts now or left to receive them in hell was a point which depended upon circumstances. (In 130 B.C., when suffering was intense, the madder alternative had been tried with disastrous results; in the first century of the empire there was peace and good government,

and consequently far less suffering and more meekness.) It must in the main satisfy man's moral nature, for the present discontent was not merely due to personal suffering but also to a rage against the injustice of the world and a feeling that such misery must somehow be the punishment of sin. Lastly, it must clearly profess doctrines which were natural and acceptable to the masses of the Mediterranean world; that is, it must be based on the old religions. At the same time it could not belong to one nation only, but must have some wider appeal, the old familiar emotion being stimulated by the new revelation. Thus the Hermetic system is derived from Greece and Egypt, Mithraism from Iran and Babylon with a touch of Hellenism, Christianity from Greece and Israel, but an Israel which in captivity had learnt much from Zoroastrianism.

Whether Christianity is to be explained as a natural development from the existing factors, or whether it is a miraculous revelation vouchsafed after long delay to a world that had been allowed to grow exactly ripe for it, is a problem which cannot be settled by historical research and must be answered by each man according to his own bent. But it is curious how all the main articles of Christian faith and practice were already latent in the ancient religion. The parts of Christian doctrine which a Levantine Pagan of the first century would deny are chiefly the historical statements. Like Paul before his conversion, he would be ready enough to discuss the doctrine of a Hebrew Messiah or a Hellenistic ' Saviour ', but would refuse to believe that this supernatural being had just arrived on earth in the person of a certain Jew or Nazarene. He would feel no surprise, though he might feel admiration, at the moral teaching; he would have met parts of it in the Jewish tradition and parts in Stoicism. At worst he might be alarmed at the revolutionary tone of certain parts and the exaltation of a condemned criminal as the ideal man. The rejection of bloody sacrifice he had learnt from the Peripatetics and the Jews; conceptions like the Good Shepherd, the Mother and Child, the worship of a divine Baby, the halo round the heads of

saints, and innumerable other incidents of Christian tradition, were, of course, not new inventions but things ancient and familiar. The transition consisted largely in giving a new name and history to some object of worship which already had had many names and varying legends attached to it. Nay more, in the metaphysical and theological doctrines formulated in the Creeds, except where they were specially meant to controvert the old system, he would at least recognize for the most part ideas which he had heard discussed.

12. The Creeds, Christian and Pagan: the Area of Agreement.

He believed in God as a 'Father' and would have no quarrel with a Christian as to the exact meaning of that metaphorical term; the attribute 'Almighty' he accepted, though both Christian and Pagan theologians had the same difficulty in dealing with the implications of that term and explaining how the All-good and Almighty permitted evil. The average Greek did not think of God as the "maker of heaven and earth"; the thought was Hebrew or Babylonian, but was not strange to the Hellenistic world. The idea of an "only-begotten son" of God was regular in the Orphic systems, and that of a son of God by a mortal woman, conceived in some spiritual way, and born for the saving of mankind, was at least as old as the fifth century B.C. In grosser forms it was much earlier. That this Saviour "suffered and was buried" is common to the Vegetation or Year religions, with their dying and suffering gods; and the idea had been sharpened and made more living both by the thought of Plato's "righteous man" and by the various "kings of the Poor" who had risen and suffered in the slave revolts. That after the descent to Hades He should arise to judge both the quick and the dead is a slight modification of the ordinary Greek notion, according to which the Judges were already seated at their work, but it may have come from the Saviour religions.

The belief in God as a Trinity, or as One substance with three '*personæ*'—the word means 'masks' or 'dramatic rôles'

—is directly inherited from Greek speculation. The third person was more usually feminine, the divine Wisdom, or Providence, or the Mother of the Son: the ' Spirit ' or ' Breath of God ' comes from the Hebrew. Belief in the Holy Catholic Church was again not the Pagan's own belief, but it was the sort of belief with which he was quite familiar. He accepted belief in some church or community, be it that of Mithras or Hermes-Thoth or some similar Healer. If the " communion of the Saints " originally meant the sharing of all property among the faithful, that practice was familiar in certain congregations; if it meant, as is now generally understood, the existence of a certain fellowship or community between those who are ' pure ', whether dead, living, or divine, it was an idea prevalent in Stoicism. The " forgiveness of sins " was a subject much debated in antiquity as at the time of the Reformation. The traditional religion dealt largely in ' purification ', which involved forgiveness of sins and slipped from time to time into a mechanical or mercenary treatment of the matter, which roused the usual protest of indignation and denial. It is interesting also to note that a closely cognate idea, the " forgiveness of debts ", was one of the regular cries of the proletarian movements. A connexion was probably felt between a generous Leader—like Cleomenes III or C. Gracchus—who annulled poor men's debts on earth and a God who forgave them their debts in heaven. Of the Resurrection of the body we have already spoken; it was a concession to the uneducated, who would not be content with a " life everlasting " of the soul alone, freed from bodily substance and form, and perhaps even from personality.

The greatest blot upon Christianity was the emphasis which it laid upon the doctrine of Hell—and that a Hell specially reserved, not so much for the wicked, but for those who did not belong to the Christian community. Yet here also there is nothing new. Mithras and Isis and even the God of Neo-platonism tolerated some tormenting demons. And, after all, Hell for the persecutor in the next life is the natural retort of the victim who cannot hit back in this life. No doubt the

followers of Spartacus, Aristonicus, or Mithridates believed in a Hell for Romans. And the peculiar notion of treating false belief as a form of sin, and a particularly dangerous form, goes back to the wise and gentle Plato himself.[1]

In the same way, if we compare briefly with the Christian creeds the document drawn up by Sallustius for the education of the young Pagans in religion, we shall not find much that a modern Christian would care to deny, though we shall notice how much more intellectual, abstract, and in a sense aristocratic is the doctrine of the Neo-Platonist.

The young are to be thoroughly trained in the knowledge that God is free from passion and change, eternal, unbegotten, incorporeal, not in time or space. He is good and the cause of good; He is never angry nor appeased. (Much of this would clash vividly with parts of the Hebrew and Christian story but not much with modern theology.) They are to know that the ancient myths are all allegories; they mean not what they say, but reveal hidden wisdom. (This is the usual refuge of a society which has outgrown its sacred book.) The Cosmos is eternal and can never come to an end. (The Christians, of course, were eagerly expecting the end of it.) The first Cause is the Good; i.e. all things throughout the Cosmos move from love of the Good, though as a rule they do not know it: there is no positive evil, and, of course, no evil caused by God. The soul is immortal; human freedom, Divine Providence, Fate, and Fortune have all their place and can be reconciled. Virtue consists in four parts, Wisdom, Courage, Temperance, Righteousness. Men worship God, not to benefit Him or show honour to Him; for, of course, we cannot affect Him in any way. We merely rejoice in Him as we rejoice in the beauty of the Sun. Similarly those who deny or reject God (i.e. the Christians and Epicureans) do Him no injury; they are like men in the sunlight who cannot see the Sun, either because they are blind or because they insist on looking away from it. Goodness is not a painful thing to be rewarded by future bliss; it is blessedness both now and hereafter.

[1] *Laws*, p. 908.

13. Christianity on the Side of Progress.

It is difficult at this distance of time to form any judgment about the comparative morals of the early Christian communities and the Pagan societies in which they lived. We may indeed be fairly sure that the average mass of sensual men, with their commonplace vices and dishonesties, did not trouble to become Christian before Constantine made it the easier course, nor dare to stay Pagan afterwards. The polemical writings of the Christians are preserved, those of the Pagans have mostly perished; but we can see that the lurid accusations hurled by each against their opponents are nearly all based on what is called constructive evidence. The Pagans argue that people who deny the gods, who worship a condemned criminal and who pray that the whole world may soon be destroyed must be very wicked and malignant; the Christians, that people whose mythical gods committed cannibalism must themselves be ready for any enormity. Such accusations are like the stories circulated about Jews and Anabaptists in the Middle Ages. They are only symptoms, not evidence.

In general we must remember that the Christians belonged mostly to the seething town proletariat of the eastern Mediterranean; the Pagans, as that name implies,[1] were the pious stupid unprogressive peasants of the country villages. One can easily understand how the excesses of the town mobs would be attributed by the timid respectable classes to the terrible inroads of Christianity. But the mob was really neither Pagan nor Christian. The idealists, rebels, reformers, among the working-class, would be mostly Christians or followers of some other mystic sect, though the more intellectual might become philosophers. The Jewish element in Christianity, also, was a separating influence and made for a higher morality. The Jews uncompromisingly denounced certain practices, notably infanticide and abortion, which the world as a whole tolerated and only philosophers and certain special com-

[1] Harnack understands *pagamus* in its other sense, 'villager' or 'civilian', as opposed to the 'soldiers' of Christ.

munities condemned. The crusade against the lusts of the flesh which marked the centuries just before and after the Christian era was by no means specially Christian, though doubtless here as elsewhere Christianity was against the dead mass and for the reforming few.

But there is certainly one point in which Christianity, at any rate in its earlier forms, did a signal service to the world. In its rejection of superstition it stands far higher than the rival religions, higher even than the Neo-Platonism of Proclus and Julian, infinitely higher than the Paganism of the vulgar. When Julian condemns the Christians as 'atheists' or 'rejectors of God', he is giving them the highest praise. The beautiful dialogue *Octavius*, attributed to Minucius Felix, shows how, to an educated man, Christianity came as a liberation from the perpetual presence of objects of superstitious worship. It performed the same cleansing task as Judaic monotheism among the worshippers of the Baalim, as Islam among the Arabian pagans, and as one side at least of the Reformation. The ancient world, as civilization declined, was overburdened by the ever-increasing mass of its superstitions, and its thought devitalized by a blind reverence for the past. Philosophy as well as religion could hardly find life except through a process of which the first step was a vigorous denial of false gods. That step once taken, it is curious to observe how little of Ancient Philosophy has perished, how much has merely been taken over by Christianity, and how few new ideas in the realms of metaphysics or morals have occurred to the human mind since the fourth century before Christ.

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CHAPTER IV

Mystery Religions

Public Religion in the Ancient World.

Every member of an ancient community was, as such, associated in the worship of the communal god or gods. This was true of the citizen of a Greek city-state: an Athenian took part, by right of his citizenship, in the state worship of Athena and the other public cults of the city Athens. The citizen-body itself, in these Greek city-states, was an aggregate of smaller communities—tribes, demes, phratries—into one or other of which each citizen was born, and these smaller communities also had their communal worship of particular deities, communal assemblies, and festivals, in which each member of the community was supposed to take part. Or again some cities might group themselves in federations, and the federation would have its federal sanctuary, and worship would be offered on prescribed occasions in the name of all the associated cities to some god or gods. All this religion—the worship of the gods of the city, the tribe, the federation, in which a man took part by virtue of his being born a member of some community—constituted the public religion of the ancient world.

At the time when Christianity entered that world this public religion was in full vigour. No doubt, amongst the more educated, belief in the old mythology was largely dead, yet, whether a man was religiously minded or not, he might be attached to the public worships, for they meant holidays and processions, beautiful pageantry and impressive rituals, and in these things the people of the sunnier lands delighted then as

they do now. There was also the motive of civic patriotism, when a city gained distinction from a legendary connexion with some deity—the mark of Poseidon's trident on a rock, or the possession of an image which had fallen from Zeus, some meteoric stone, no doubt, of rudely human shape. To deny the truth of such stories brought the anger of the multitude on a man's head. And when the city's public cult, combined often with athletic or musical contests, brought crowds of votaries and visitors from other parts of the Greek world, there was yet another motive, the commercial, which worked strongly amongst the craftsmen of the city. The story of the riot at Ephesus in the Acts of the Apostles shows vividly how sensitive the multitude there was in regard to the prestige of the patron-goddess of the Ephesians. It would not therefore be true to say that in the first century of the Christian era the public city-cults and the old religious legends had lost their hold upon the hearts of men, but it would be true to say that the motives which attached men to them were largely not religious motives. Those who felt the need of some more thrilling contact with the supernatural had to turn elsewhere for satisfaction.

Voluntary Associations.

Beside the public worships just described there was quite a different sort of religion going on in the Græco-Roman world —a sort of religion which did not appeal to everybody, and was confined to limited groups of people in the various cities. We come here to what to-day are commonly spoken of as the " mystery religions " of the ancient world. All over that world there had sprung up associations of men voluntarily banded together for the worship of some particular deity. These associations were called by different names. One common name was *thiasos*. The word meant properly the rout of revellers who, according to the myth, had accompanied the wine-god Dionysos in his progresses over the earth. Dionysos was one of the gods often chosen as the special deity of such associations, and the name *thiasos* indicated that the members of the associa-

tion were a body of people attached to Dionysos like his followers of old. Another common name, borne by a large number of associations, was *synodos*, which means simply a 'coming together'—our word 'synod'. In the case of some associations the motive which led to their formation was the religious one: men had a devotion for a particular deity and satisfied a religious need in banding themselves together for the worship of this or that god or goddess. But very often the real motive which brought men together was not religious. Every association in the ancient world, for whatever motive it came into existence, expressed its communal being by communal acts of worship. This, as we have seen, was the case with the state, and the smaller bodies composing the state: it was also true of the family. Men who banded themselves together for athletic exercises in a gymnasium set up images of Herakles and Hermes as the patron-gods of the gymnasium. Schools of philosophers organized themselves as associations for the worship of the Muses, and often had a shrine of the Muses, a *Museum*, connected with the premises of the school, somewhat as a college to-day has a college chapel. The great university founded at Alexandria by the Greek kings of Egypt at the beginning of the third century B.C. had such a worship as its formal centre, and was therefore called the Museum. From that the word 'museum' has passed into modern languages in quite a different sense. In many of the private associations of the Græco-Roman world at the beginning of the Christian era the interest which drew this particular group of persons together was something quite distinct from religion, though when they had come together they inevitably expressed their fellowship formally by some communal cult. Sometimes the association was formed by craftsmen working at the same craft and had more the character of a trade-guild. Very often apparently the motive was just social and convivial, the association was a kind of club, which had indeed some secret ritual but which chiefly attracted adherents by the feasting and wine-drinking connected with the worship of the communal deity. It has been observed that, in the large number of inscriptions

bearing on the life of these ancient associations which have been discovered in modern times, the interest seems to a noticeable extent to be directed to the ample provision of wine.[1] No doubt even if we knew much more than we do about the inner life of these associations, it would be hard to draw the line between those formed from a religious motive and those formed from a convivial motive, for the two motives must have run together, sometimes one predominating and sometimes the other, perhaps in the same association one more in one member, and the other in another member.

Unquestionably some of these associations attracted men, because in them men found a kind of religion more emotionally satisfying than in the public cults of the city. This kind of religion was distinguished from the public religion by three main marks. (1) Whereas a man became a member of the public community—city or tribe or phratry—by right of birth, as a matter of course, and took part, as such, in the public acts of worship, he was the member of an association by an individual voluntary act of adherence. (2) The associations in many cases banded men together without regard to the public communities into which they were born, or the social standing which they had by no choice of their own: the citizen and the stranger, the free man and the slave, were here united in fellowship. Certain analogies to Freemasonry to-day suggest themselves. (3) The ritual practised by the association was secret: it was imparted to new members by initiation, at which they took an oath not to disclose what they had heard and seen.

At the opening of the Christian era, as has been said, such associations existed in great numbers in the Mediterranean world. Their increase was no doubt due in part to the fact that politics in the city-states no longer had the interest which they had had when the city-states were sovereign communities, before the Mediterranean world had been brought under the rule of great powers, first Macedonian and now Roman. Hence many Greeks found a scope for communal activities in these

[1] F. Poland, *Geschichte des griech. Vereinswesens* (1909), pp. 259–63.

close private societies. But how had such groups, formed by voluntary association, with secret religious rituals, come in the first instance to exist in the Greek cities?

Origins of Greek Mystery Religion.

The origins of Greek mystery religion go back into a past only dimly lit up by our existing documents and must be a matter rather of conjecture than of demonstration. One thing seems clear—that some secret cults were a copying of cults which had not at the outset been secret. The question is: Why should a cult be started as a secret cult behind closed doors, if it was the continuation, or the copy, of a cult which had been carried on in the open air? The answer to this question must be more or less conjectural, but three likely ways may be suggested in which a mystery association came to exist.

The Eleusinian Mysteries.

First: where the ruling religion in any part of the Greek world represented the religion of a conquering Hellenic people who had come in with their own gods and worship upon an older people, the cults of the older people might still be locally carried on here and there, in a kind of suppressed way, somewhat as in Mexico to-day rites belonging to the older heathenism are still carried on in secret behind closed doors. Such a community in the Greek world might, as time went on, admit by initiation fresh members from outside, and an old agricultural cult turn into the ritual of a voluntary association. Something of this kind evidently happened in the case of the mystery-cult of Eleusis. An agricultural cult must have existed at this place some twelve miles from Athens, before the city of Athens brought Attica as a whole under a single government. After that the old local cult went on as a secret religion. Its original agricultural character continued to be strongly marked. The deities to whom it was addressed were the 'Corn-Mother', Demeter, and her daughter, 'the Maiden', Korē, who had been carried off by the god of the underworld, had been sought by Demeter with mourning, and had ultimately come back to

the upper world, though on terms which compelled her henceforth to spend half the year with Hades and half with her mother. It was a dramatization of the annual story of the grain, cast each winter, as dead, underground and returning each spring in new life. The sacred objects used in the cult were agricultural implements, the winnowing-fan (*mystica vannus*) and so on. The supreme moment of initiation was reached when it was given to the initiate to see the priest reap in silence an ear of corn.

As in other mysteries, so at Eleusis, the cult did not consist in any profound doctrines about the universe being communicated to those initiated—that idea, once common, has long been exploded; it consisted in the exhibition of certain sacred objects and the performance of certain sacred acts, rites which once had been supposed to have magical power to make the crops grow. Later on, as mystical rites, they did not give the votary any new knowledge but an emotional experience. In mystery religions, as Aristotle said (quoted in Synesius, Orat. 48), *οὐ μαθεῖν τι δεῖ, ἀλλὰ παθεῖν*, "you have not to learn anything, but to be given a certain feeling". For a period before his initiation, each candidate had to fast, and especially abstain from beans. The disclosure of the sacred objects was preceded by an ordeal in which the candidate was led about in complete darkness, so that the sudden illumination came with strong emotional effect. Amongst the sacred objects disclosed, which the person being initiated had to handle in a certain way, some almost certainly were sexual emblems. The formula he had to say was one whose meaning can have been made fully clear only by the thing done, and what that was we are never told. "I fasted, I drank the mash (*kykeōn*), I took out of the chest; when I had wrought therewith, I put away into the basket, and from the basket into the chest."[1] It is likely that jocular indecency had its place in the proceedings. Such indecency and the use of sexual emblems no doubt went back to primitive agricultural magic and had at the outset an essentially practical purpose. It was

[1] Clem. Alex. *Protrept.*, ii. 21; Arnob. *Adv. Nat.*, v. 26.

Photo. Alinari

D 919

DEMETER AND KORE INSTRUCTING TRIPTOLEMUS

From the relief in the National Museum, Athens

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believed that the force impelling men to reproduction and the renewal of plant life were manifestations of one great generative power working through all nature, and that the exhibition of this in men might stimulate by sympathy its effective operation in the vegetable world.

Those participating in the Eleusinian mysteries probably also witnessed at some stage in the proceedings a kind of dramatic presentation of Demeter's sorrow and the Maiden's return, associating themselves with the divine mourning and the divine joy when the lost returned to new life.

The Athenian state took the Eleusinian cult under its especial patronage. This gave the cult a peculiar status, between that of an ordinary mystery religion and a state worship. It continued to be a mystery religion, in so far as no Athenian received initiation except by his voluntary individual choice, and it was gross impiety for an initiated Athenian to divulge what he had seen to his uninitiated fellow-citizens. Further, admission to the cult was not confined to Athenians. It was extended to all Greeks, men and women. Public slaves (and possibly slaves in domestic bondage) were admitted. The proclamation made at each celebration warned off all 'barbarians', together with the impious and those infected with blood-guilt; yet, as time went on, the term 'barbarians' was given a liberal interpretation. Non-Greeks, like the Romans, were admitted on an equal footing, and finally any civilized person, without distinction of race, so that Cicero could describe Eleusis as a "holy and august" place "where peoples coming from the ends of the earth were initiated",[1] and Aristides, in the second century A.D., could call it the "common sanctuary (τέμενος) of the whole earth".[2]

At the same time the Eleusinian cult was in a way part of the public religion of the Athenian state. Every year in the month Boëdromion the sacred objects, inclosed in their chests, were brought to Athens and housed for a few days in a temple called the Eleusinion on the side of the Acropolis. They were then carried back in procession to Eleusis, escorted publicly

[1] *De Nat. Deor.*, i, 119. [2] *Eleusin.*, 256.

by the Athenian people. It was after their return to Eleusis that the celebration of the Great Mysteries took place—the normal time for initiations. The chief ministers of the cult had to be chosen from certain Athenian families, the *hierophant* (i.e. the " shower of the sacred things ") from the Eumolpidai, the " herald " and the *daduchos* (" torch-bearer ") from the Kerykes. These were no doubt families belonging originally to Eleusis, who had been connected with the cult before it was englobed in the domain of Athens.

Again: the cult of Eleusis differed from that of a *thiasos* or *synodos* in that the initiated did not form any permanent community. Just because it drew men from so many lands far apart, the initiated could not form a community, as the members of an association all resident in one place could. There does not seem to have been any special tie of brotherhood which bound together those who had ' seen ', when they returned home, any more than there is one to-day binding together those who have witnessed the passion-play at Oberammergau. It was an individual experience for each man or woman, that was all.

The Bull Festival in Crete.

Another place in which primitive agricultural cults, perhaps pre-Hellenic ones, of deities who had died went on into the historical period was Crete. The Cretans showed a tomb of Zeus: that was held by the other Greeks to bear out the Cretans' reputation as liars, but no doubt it was really a case of giving the name ' Zeus ' to a local deity, originally quite distinct from the Olympian Zeus, who was thought of as having undergone death. There was probably somewhere in Crete an annual country festival at which the votaries, having worked themselves up into a state of frenzy, tore the flesh of a living bull with their teeth.[1] Though Firmicus Maternus brings the Zagreus story (which he rationalizes) into connexion with this festival, it is not shown that it was a mystery religion.

[1] This seems proved by Firmicus Maternus, *De err. profan. rel.* 6, p. 16, (Zeigler).

It may have been a crude old agricultural festival publicly celebrated.

Foreign Cults in Greek Cities.

The second way in which mystery religions came into existence was by a foreign cult being introduced into a Greek city, usually by people who came from the country to which the cult belonged. There were at Athens, for instance, resident groups of foreign merchants, Phœnicians, Egyptians, and others; there were also numbers of slaves from different regions of Asia. It might well be that slaves from Phrygia, let us say, would join together to carry on amongst themselves some Phrygian worship familiar to them in their old home. A cult started within some restricted group resident in a strange city would naturally take on the character of one closed to outsiders, even if it had not been a secret cult in its original country. Then, since in religion the strange and exotic has a kind of appeal which does not belong to the customary and well-known, such a foreign cult might attract the curiosity of others outside the racial groups, and such outsiders might be admitted to the group by special initiation. In that way a cult which had been an ordinary one of the country in Phrygia might be transformed into the cult of a closed association without racial distinctions in some Greek city.

Cults founded by Individuals.

Yet a third way in which a mystery cult might start was by the desire of a particular individual in a Greek city or of some group of individuals. Probably far the largest number of mystery associations in the Græco-Roman world were founded in this way deliberately at some date within the preceding two or three hundred years. And the motives which might lead a man to found a mystery association were as various as those which induced people to join one already existing—the desire to be reverenced as a prophet or holy man, special devotion to some particular deity, the craving for emotional religious experiences, or simply the social motive

which led men to found new convivial clubs. Often, it appears, the motive might be a family one; someone might institute an association in which he or she would be continuously remembered or worshipped by members of that particular family in later generations; a wife might found such an association for the cult of her dead husband as a ' hero ', and so on. Further, since all such associations were due in the first instance to an act of individual choice, their organization and rules and forms of worship would be equally determined by individual choice and show wide differences.

Egyptian and Phrygian Worships.

At the beginning of the Christian era two foreign religions had obtained especial vogue in the Græco-Roman world—an Egyptian and a Phrygian one—the worship of Isis coupled with Sarapis or Osiris, and the worship of the Mother of the Gods coupled with Attis. A common idea underlay both, in so far as both went back to the primitive conception of a divine being, standing originally for the principle of vegetable life, who dies and comes to life again. In the Egyptian religion the votaries associated themselves in an annual celebration round about November with the grief of Isis, when she searches for the scattered members of the slain Osiris, and then with the joy of Isis when she possesses Osiris again, alive with new life. In the Phrygian religion the votaries, in an annual celebration which extended from 15th March to 27th March, lamented, as the Mother of the Gods had lamented, the death of Attis, and then rejoiced, as the Mother had rejoiced, at the god's resurrection. The mourning in the case of Attis took on a character of frenzy as the bull-festival did in Crete, but here the unnatural act which marked the height of the frenzy, in those worshippers who attained to it, was not the tearing of raw flesh by the teeth, but self-castration with a sharp stone. This took place on the eighth day of the annual celebration (24th March), called significantly the Day of Blood. Those so emasculated were called in Greek *galloi*, and the priests of Attis were taken from amongst the number who survived the

operation. The chief priest was called the *archigallos*. This practice too probably went back to agricultural magic, the amputated organs cast upon the ground having been originally supposed to communicate new generative power to the earth. Certain primitive village cults in Greece, Asia Minor, and Egypt had been just such an enactment of the death and resurrection of the vegetation spirit. For nature herself continued to play before the eyes of primitive men her annual drama of the apparent cessation of vegetable life at the cold of winter or the heat of summer and the marvellous renewal of that life each spring. Parallel with this was another drama in the sky—the apparent gradual failure of the sun's force, as the darkness encroached more and more upon the day, and then at a certain moment the rebirth of the sun-god to new power and victory. In each case the things upon which the life of men depended seemed to undergo a process of decay, and for all primitive men knew, that process might one day end in the utter extinction of vegetable life or of the sun. When therefore men enacted the drama of the god's resurrection this had probably at the outset not been a mere pageant, but was thought, according to the principles of sympathetic magic, to have actual power in ensuring that the renewal of vegetable life or the rebirth of the sun-god took place.

In time the original significance of such rites would be forgotten, and the god who dies and rises again would get a more personal form with an individual name—Osiris or Attis or Dionysos—and be thought of as a divine being who had been on earth long ago; a story of human interest and pathos would come to be told about his passion and resurrection. In such a cult as the Cretan festival it may well be that the bull torn to pieces had originally been identified with the god, as anthropologists affirm, so that in eating the raw flesh the votary was supposed to eat the god himself and draw in the divine life; there is no trace of a survival in the historical period of the idea of ' eating the god '. Had such an idea existed in that age, we could hardly have failed to hear of it in the Christian polemics against pagan religion. The tearing

of victims with the teeth is spoken of either as a memorial dramatization of what had happened to the god long ago, or as a sign that the votaries had carried their frenzy to a point at which they could do things impossible to them in their normal condition.

The Orphic Movement.

So far as we have hitherto surveyed the cults in which the death and resurrection of the deity comes in, they appear as mere survivals of savage superstition. But we have now to note that when Greek civilization reached its maturity a much higher meaning had come to be read into them. We must go back to what is sometimes called the ' mystical ' movement which swept through the Greek world in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. This is the movement connected especially with the Orphics. Possibly the word Orpheus had not been originally a proper name applied to one mythological figure, but a term denoting any one of a class of men who communicated new beliefs about the soul and new ritual practices associated with these beliefs to small close groups of persons under certain conditions of secrecy. The word may be akin to *orphanos*, and connote loneness: the traditional father of the mythological Orpheus was Oiagros, which might be taken to mean the ' lone man of the fields ', or it may be connected with the word *orphnē*, ' darkness '.[1] At any rate by the sixth century B.C. a single personal Orpheus had come to be established as a figure of current mythology—some one who had himself made the journey to the dark world of the dead and come back with an occult knowledge which he imparted to the favoured few. There were written poems in hexameter verse in circulation among the initiated, embodying the doctrines of Orpheus, and believed to have been composed by Orpheus himself. Fragments of this literature have come down to us in quotations by later authors. Those who obtained knowledge of this lore and observed the rules delivered by Orpheus were called ' Orphics ', *Orphikoi*.

[1] O. Kern, *Orpheus*, Berlin, 1920.

The main ideas of Orphism can be made out. The soul in man is itself a divine being which has become imprisoned or entombed in the body. The body a tomb, *sōma sēma*, was one of the catchwords. Unless delivered by the Orphic way of salvation, the soul was condemned to pass through a series of bodies, human or animal. But if delivered, it could return to the company of the gods after bodily death, declaring its own divine nature: " I come, pure and of the pure, O Queen of the dead. . . . I claim to be myself also of your blissful race."

One prescript of the way of salvation was to observe a number of taboos in the matter of food—to abstain from eating beans, eggs, and especially not to eat the flesh of animals in which kindred souls had dwelt. Another was to maintain a certain separation from the unclean multitude. The bodies of Orphics must be buried apart from those of common men. Detailed instructions were given as to the topography of the other world, which would serve to direct the discarnate soul on its unfamiliar journey. " On the left hand in the abode of Hades, thou wilt find a fountain, and standing beside it a white cypress tree. To this fountain approach not, so much as a step. Then thou wilt find another fountain, of cold water, running from the Lake of Memory: warders stand before it. Say: ' I am a child of Earth and of the starry Sky: yea, I too am of heavenly race, and that ye yourselves know. But I am parched with thirst and I perish: give me quickly of the cold water that flows from the Lake of Memory.' And they will grant thee to drink of the divine fountain, and thereafter thou shalt reign with the rest of the glorified dead." [1]

In the Orphic sacred books a story was told how the divine ' Huntsman ' (Zagreus), identified with Dionysos, was torn to pieces by the Titans, but afterwards reborn in Dionysos, the son of Semele. This story was no doubt given great religious significance in the secret ritual of the Orphic lodges. But it is doubtful whether the Orphic poet connected the passion of Zagreus with the tearing of the bull in Crete, or how far

[1] Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena to Greek Religion* (1903), pp. 661 ff.

he went upon any local religious traditions at all, how far he drew upon his imagination. It may be that the deity in whose honour the Cretans held the festival was called by them Zagreus or Dionysos. But there is no evidence that the Orphic secret ritual included anything like eating the bull. The Orphics regarded it as sinful to eat the flesh of animals at all, and though there may be cases in which an action regarded as normally sinful is performed as a special religious act, there is no evidence that the Orphics ever ate flesh. The fragment from the *Cretans* of Euripides (doubtful both in text and interpretation) will hardly bear the structure of theory which has been erected upon it.[1]

Interest in the Destiny of the Soul after Death.

The destiny of the soul beyond death was the thing of main interest with the Orphics. They seem to have been organized in a number of local lodges or confraternities under directors called *Orpheotelestai*. But the influence of Orphic ideas spread widely through the Greek world, for the interest in the destiny of the soul beyond death, when once awakened, was something which there was little in the ordinary tradition

[1] The chorus of the play is commonly identified with the Orphics on the ground that they (1) worship Zagreus, and (2) abstain from animal food. But Zagreus was a god long before the Orphics existed, and was not worshipped by the Orphics exclusively, and even if, in filling in the picture of these Zagreus-worshippers of the heroic age, Euripides borrowed the feature of vegetarianism from the Orphics, we have no warrant for saying that the other feature of ὠμοφάγοι δαῖται, is Orphic. The apparent incompatibility of banquets of raw flesh with vegetarianism is got over by those who take this fragment as an exact description of Orphic religion by the supposition that though the Orphics ordinarily abstained from flesh they ate raw flesh as a sacramental act. That is a pure supposition founded on this single passage. St. Jerome explained the apparent contradiction by taking the ὠμοφάγοι δαῖται, here to be banquets of uncooked *vegetable* food. It may be noted that in the Greek descriptions of Indian holy men, the details of which were seemingly drawn in good part from the Pythagorean ideal of life, they are represented as living on raw vegetable food. But I think it is doubtful whether any Greek would have understood by ὠμοφάγοι δαῖται, anything but feasts of raw flesh, especially if the eating of raw flesh was actually a feature of some orgiastic religions. It seems to me more likely that Euripides simply made his picture of these ancient Zagreus-worshippers by taking features generally associated with religious enthusiasm without noticing or caring that two of the features mentioned might be incompatible with each other.

of Greek society to satisfy: the interests of this world were sufficiently vivid for the Greek citizen generally, and the public state-religions were concerned exclusively with the good things of this life. The Greek world was an almost virgin field for the propagation of such ideas.

Pythagoras of Samos (died about 510 B.C.) evidently drew largely on Orphism when he founded his community in South Italy. The Pythagoreans too were organized in confraternities with an esoteric doctrine, and the destinies of the soul, in transmigration from body to body, took a prominent place in their philosophy. They too had a system of taboos, including abstinence from flesh food and from beans, the observance of which would further the soul's salvation. And Pythagoras himself soon came to be transfigured in legend as a kind of second Orpheus, a man half divine, who had made, like Orpheus, a journey to the other world and come back. Again, the Sicilian philosopher Empedocles in the fifth century B.C. presented himself as a divine being who for some prenatal sin had been condemned to incarnation, and one of his poems was called 'Purifications' (*Katharmoi*). It set forth the way by which the imprisoned souls of men could cleanse themselves of the defilements which prevented their return to their divine home. But it was through Plato that Orphic ideas established themselves as part of the Greek philosophical tradition for all time to come. Plato makes indeed one of the characters in the *Republic* speak with contempt of the popular Orphic charlatans, who claimed that by certain taboos and lustrations they could secure anyone a heaven of gross satisfactions;[1] yet it is certain that Plato's own doctrine of the soul and its destinies owed much to the suggestions of Orphic and Pythagorean lore.

When such ideas were in the air, the mystery cults could not but be affected by them. Rites which at the outset had been meant only to secure the fertility of the fields now came to be understood as bearing on the life of man after death. It was easy to establish the connexion, since, if the rites had originally set forth such a victory of life over death as might

[1] *Republic*, 364 *e*.

be seen in the annual renewal of the vegetable world, the men who associated themselves with the death and resurrection of the god might well believe that by such association they too won a new life after bodily death. At Eleusis as early as the date of the Homeric Hymn to Demeter (seventh century B.C.?) the belief seems to have become rooted, that those who had 'seen' would have after death a better lot than the uninitiated, and in later times it was habitually emphasized, as the great benefit to be derived from initiation at Eleusis, that the initiated died with bright hopes.

Initiation in Isis-worship.

In the case of the mysteries of Isis, which, as has just been said, spread through the Greek world in the third century B.C., the association with the life after death had already been made in Egypt. For centuries past Osiris had been the god of the dead, and the dead man by identification with Osiris—by becoming himself 'Osiris'—would triumph over the perils and the enemies which awaited the discarnate soul. The priests who presided over the temples of Isis in the Greek and Italian cities were apparently often Egyptians by race: even where this was not so, they were habited as Egyptian priests—shaven heads and white robes—and, whilst the public prayers were in Greek, for the secret ritual a written Egyptian liturgy was used. Our chief document for the Egyptian mysteries is the account given in the romance of Apuleius, whose hero Lucius undergoes initiation. Those initiated are 'called' in the first instance by Isis herself, who reveals her will to the priest in some way we are not told: "Give to this man the name of a soldier in my holy army." The candidate then goes through a period of preparation, spent in religious offices in the temple and in converse with the priests. For a period before the great day he abstained from animal food and from wine. The ceremony takes place at night in the inner chambers of the temple. The candidate is made to imagine himself (by dramatic mimicry or by hypnotic suggestion) transported to the other world, where he sees the sun shine while it is night on earth,

and comes face to face with the gods, and is then brought back to earthly life. At dawn, clad in twelve vestments, representing the twelve spheres, and a gorgeous robe, he is presented to the company of his fellow-initiates on a pedestal erected in the middle of the temple before the image of the goddess. He holds a burning torch in his right hand; his head is adorned with a crown of rays, made of a palm branch, to symbolize the sun. "Those who by the providence of the Goddess are in a manner born again are now set to run their course in the new road of salvation."

The Mysteries of Attis.

At Athens in the fourth century B.C. we hear of the worship of the Great Mother and Attis as a mystery religion. In that case the purification which secured a blessed immortality consisted of smearing the body of the initiate with a mixture of mud and bran.[1] We do not know how far the form which the cult had in fourth-century Athens corresponded with the form which it had in other places 500 years later. At the end of the second century A.D. the formula used by the newly initiated to declare that they had fulfilled the conditions ran apparently in a sort of rhyming jingle, *ἐκ τυμπάνου βέβρωκα, ἐκ κυμβάλου πέπωκα, κεκερνοφόρηκα, ὑπὸ παστὸν ὑποδέδυκα, γέγονα μύστης Ἀττεως*.[2] "I have eaten out of the timbrel, I have drunk out of the cymbal, I have carried the sacred dish, I have gone into the chamber, I have become an initiate of Attis." The formula shows that some of the things which the person initiated had to do were acts of eating and drinking.

It was probably also the cult of Attis in which another formula given us by Firmicus Maternus was said. After the lamentation for the dead god had reached its term in darkness, the priest entered with a light, smeared the throats of "the votaries with oil, and said (in two Greek iambic verses): "Be of good cheer, initiates, for the god is safe and

[1] Demosthenes, *De Corona*, xviii, § 259.

[2] Firm. Mat. *De err. profan. rel.*, xviii. 1; Clem. Alex. *Protrept.*, ii. 15; Scholium to Plato, *Gorg.*, 497 *c*.

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sound, and for you too there shall be salvation from trouble."

But at this point it is necessary to make a cautionary observation. There is a great deal of loose writing to-day which seems to identify mystery cults generally with the worship of a deity who dies and rises again. It is true that the death and resurrection of the deity was a feature of *some* mystery religions, but there is no ground at all for making it a general characteristic of the mystery religions so numerous in the Roman Empire. Mystery associations were founded for the worship of many other deities beside Attis and Dionysos and Osiris and Persephone; we hear of associations which worship as their special deity Zeus, Athena, Apollo, Artemis, Aphrodite, Hermes, Poseidon, Herakles, the Muses, Asklepios, Sarapis. For all we know, the great majority of mystery associations had no reference at all to a death of the deity, and represented the god or goddess worshipped to be simply present as invisible guest at the communal feasts.

Spread of Mithras-worship.

In the second century of the Christian era a cult of a somewhat different character from the Phrygian and Egyptian ones was carried to the extremities of the Roman West—the cult of Mithras. Mithra was a very old god of the Aryan peoples, worshipped from the dawn of history in Persia and by the Aryan invaders of India. He appears both in the Avesta and in the Rigveda—originally perhaps a personification of the sunlit sky. The reformed religion of Zoroaster probably discarded at the outset the deities of the older polytheism, but, as time went on, Mithra reasserted himself within the framework of the Zoroastrian religion, as chief minister of the Supreme God, " set by God to keep watch over the world ". The Achæmenian kings worshipped Mithra, and his name is, of course, embodied in the name common amongst the Persian nobility of the Achæmenian empire—Mithridates (properly Mithradates—' given by Mithra '). Persian nobles established themselves as great barons in Asia Minor, and when the Macedonian Empire created by Alexander the Great broke

up, some of these Persian houses carved out kingdoms for themselves in Asia Minor, which lasted, more or less Hellenized, till Macedonian supremacy in the East gave way to Rome: the house of Mithridates in Pontus, the house of Ariarathes in Cappadocia. It was from Asia Minor that the worship of Mithra—or, as the Greeks called him, Mithras—was carried in the first century A.D. into Europe and reached its greatest extension about the end of the second century. And this Mithras-worship was no longer a purely Persian religion. In Asia Minor it had become contaminated with other elements, Phrygian, Cappadocian, Babylonian. Here the worship of Mithras was transformed by the little bodies of Magians (Persian priests) established in an alien country from a public worship into a mystery religion. In some Western inscriptions the 'unconquered Mithras' is identified with the 'unconquered Sun (*Sol invictus*)'; in others Mithras and the Sun appear portrayed as two different personages. The Mithraic books which would have told us the doctrinal content of the religion have perished, and we can piece together only an imperfect knowledge of it from dedicatory inscriptions, pictorial representations, and chance bits of information in pagan writers or Christian Fathers.

In the Mithraic religion great significance was attached to the death of a particular being. But it was not the death of Mithras: it was the death of the Bull at the hands of Mithras. A sculptured group depicting this took in the Mithraic religion the place taken in the Christian religion by the crucifix: in the Mithraic chapels it was set where in a Catholic church would be the altar; hundreds of small replicas of it were made for the private devotions of Mithras-worshippers. Some copies of it can to-day be seen in most large European museums. The invention of the type was certainly a contribution made by Greek art to the religion; it was an old motive of Greek sculpture adapted in the manner of the Pergamene school, probably some time in the second century B.C. If, at the outset, in pre-Zoroastrian Persian religion the sacrifice of bulls had been part of primitive agricultural religion, we may believe

that out of this there arose the idea that all the life of the world, animal and vegetable, sprang from the blood or the seed of a cosmic Bull, slain at the beginning of things. In Zoroastrianism, as we have it in its surviving documents, the slaying of the Bull has come to be an evil act perpetrated by Ahriman. In Mithraism, on the contrary, it was evidently a beneficent act performed by Mithras. As a sky-god Mithras had probably at the outset nothing to do with the Bull; it may have been interest in the destiny of human souls after death which brought Mithras and the Bull together in men's minds: if souls went to the sky, according to one primitive belief, Mithras became their guide and protector; on the other hand, there are indications that the soul of the slain cosmic Bull was thought of as going to the sky and somehow communicating to human souls the power of ascending likewise.

If there was such an association it would explain how the *taurobolium* came to be attached to Mithras-worship. In the rite known as *taurobolium* the votary was placed in a pit covered with boards, and a bull was slaughtered upon the boards in such wise that its blood flowed down through the boards and drenched the votary below. Sometimes the sacrificial victim was a ram, when the rite was called *criobolium*. In either case the blood of the sacrificed animal was believed to communicate to the votary a new divine life, a life which continued after bodily death. One person who had undergone this bath of blood is described as "renatus in æternum", "born again unto eternity".[1] Apparently rites of this kind belonged to old religions of Asia Minor; they were among the alien elements attached to Mithras-worship in Asia Minor, which accompanied it when it was propagated in the West.

Certainly the interest of Mithras-worship centred always in the hopes it held out of a blessed immortality beyond death. The ascent of Mithras through the seven spheres—visibly represented in the Mithraic chapels—to the supreme heaven

[1] Hepding, *Attis*, 89, No. 37. Only one instance has been found of this phrase, and in 376 A.D. the possibility of Christian influence cannot be ruled out.

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MITHRAS SACRIFICING THE BULL

From the Roman sculpture in the British Museum

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secured the ascent of his worshippers. The imagery of the chapels showed Mithras welcoming his faithful follower by a grasp of the hand, reclining at the heavenly banquet with a figure who wears a crown of rays—his comrade the Sun, perhaps, or, it may be, his glorified follower shown in the similitude of the Sun. The worshipper was never in Mithras-worship identified with the god, as in the case of the worship of Attis and Osiris: Mithras remained a person distinct from the worshipper—Mediator, Saviour, and Guide. Nor does Mithras-worship seem to have involved orgiastic frenzy as the Dionysiac, the Phrygian, and the Egyptian worships did.

For all the alien elements which became attached to the original Persian nucleus, Mithras-worship continued to be on a definitely higher moral level than the other mystery religions. It was mainly a religion for men, for soldiers. The Roman troops which had been recruited in Asia Minor, or had been stationed for long periods in Asia Minor, had carried the worship with them when they were moved to other places in the long line of imperial frontier defences. The service of Mithras was still conceived as a warfare, a *militia*—the warfare against the evil powers which had been the ideal of the old Zoroastrians. But, unlike Zoroastrianism, Mithras-worship was a definite mystery religion. Its rites and doctrines were disclosed only piecemeal to initiates under vows of secrecy, as they passed upwards through a succession of grades or orders. The highest grade was that of a Father (*pater*); then came the Sun-runner (*heliodromus*), the Persian, the Lion, the Soldier, the Concealed (*cryphius*), the Raven. It would seem probable that in the ritual those belonging to grades with animal names actually wore animal masks and acted in character—a bit of very primitive magic-mimicry, which was no doubt explained in Mithras-worship as symbolical of something in the life of the soul.

Mithras-worship had its sacraments with a sufficient external resemblance to the Christian sacraments for Christian fathers to regard them as deliberate counterfeits produced by devils. There were lustrations connected with initiation, and a com-

munal partaking of bread and a chalice of water; a sign was imprinted upon the forehead of the man admitted to the grade of Soldier; the first day of the week was sacred, as the day of the Sun. In one point there seems no doubt that the Church did borrow from Mithraism—the fixing of Christmas on 25th December, the birthday of the " Unconquerable Sun ", when after an apparent gain of darkness upon the day, the Sun seems to gather new strength and drive back the darkness.

Resemblances between Christianity and Pagan Mystery Religions.

It was into a world so permeated by mystery religions that Christianity was introduced. Attacks on Christianity in our time have largely taken the form of representing the Christian societies established amongst the Gentiles as nothing else but new mystery associations similar to the pagan ones already existing. It is unquestionable that the Christian churches present certain points of resemblance. Membership in both the churches and the pagan associations was by voluntary individual adherence, in contrast with the public religions in which men took part as members of a state into which they were born. And one may take note of that in connexion with a theory regarding the Church in England, which is current to-day in certain circles—the theory which makes the Church of England co-extensive with the nation—" simply the ' nation ' (as the phrase is) in its spiritual aspect ", so that every member of the British state is *ipso facto* a member of the English Church. Such a view is worse than a corruption of Christianity: it is a denial of the very essence of the Church, of the character which it had from the beginning as a society in which membership represented a personal individual act of will; it is an assimilation of Christianity to the state religions of paganism.

Again, in the Christian churches, as in many of the mystery associations, men met in fellowship without respect to their race or social standing—Greek, barbarian, bond, free. Again, in both those mystery associations which worshipped Dionysos-Zagreus, Attis, Osiris, Adonis, or Persephone, and in the

Christian Church worship was directed to a Divine Being who had undergone death and had risen again. In both, the virtue of the Divine Being's resurrection was believed to be communicated to the members of the society, so that they too claimed to have acquired an immortal life, which could not be impaired by bodily death. In both, bodily washings were used which were believed to have an effect in the sphere of the soul. In both, the union of the society was expressed in communal meals, in the partaking together of food and drink, and in both certain acts of eating and drinking were held to have religious value. Nor would it be just to deny to many of those who joined some mystery-cult a genuine religious craving. Such cults may in their measure have "articulated and transmitted" to men "the touch, the light, the food of God".[1]

These resemblances are certainly striking, even if they are not worked up to make the parallel more striking still. Of course if one writes an imaginary description of the Orphic mysteries, as Loisy, for instance, does, filling in the large gaps in the picture left by our data from the Christian eucharist, one produces something very impressive. On this plan, you first put in the Christian elements, and then are staggered to find them there. Possibly in some cases the resemblance between the inner life of a primitive Christian community and that of a pagan mystery association did become closer in practice than was compatible with the real character of Christianity. This is quite understandable when one considers that most of the members of the young Christian churches had once been pagans, and many of them had, no doubt, been in the old life members of some *synodos* worshipping Isis or Attis or Dionysos. We have seen, for example, that in many of the pagan mystery associations the liberal consumption of wine at the communal feasts had been a principal feature, and St. Paul evidently had a difficulty in making some of his converts at Corinth understand that the Christian communal meals were of quite another character (*1 Corinthians*, xi. 20).

[1] F. v. Hügel, *Essays and Addresses*, First Series, p. 235.

Differences between Christianity and Pagan Mystery Religions.

Yet, when one has given full consideration to the points of resemblance between the pagan mystery cults and the worship of the early Christian churches, the differences remain equally striking. It must be remembered that the pagan mystery associations were not the only organized religious groups in the cities to which the Christian preachers came; there were also almost everywhere the local Jewish synagogues. And with the synagogues the Christian churches had at the outset much closer relation than with the pagan associations, the Church being indeed, one might almost say, an outgrowth of the Synagogue. If the great majority of the members of the Christian churches were of Gentile origin, numbers of them, it seems, had come to Christianity through an intermediate stage in which they had been attached, as proselytes or semi-proselytes, to the synagogues. And the antecedents of much in the Christian communal organization and worship are to be found in the synagogues, not in the pagan associations. The attempt made by Edwin Hatch in his Bampton Lectures (*The Organization of the Early Christian Churches*) to prove that the internal organization of the Christian churches, the arrangements for government and administration, were borrowed from pagan precedents is now generally regarded as having failed. To what an extent the forms of worship in the Church were taken over from the synagogue has been shown in Professor Oesterley's *Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy*. Excommunication, again, as we find it described in St. Paul's epistles, has no analogy, so far as has yet been discovered, in the pagan societies, but has very close analogies in the Jewish synagogues.

A Christian church, in fact, was something quite new in the world, neither altogether like a synagogue nor altogether like a pagan association, in some features resembling one, in some features resembling the other, but in the essential principle of its life a new creation. We may note these points

of unlikeness between the Church and pagan mystery associations.

Christian Worship addressed to Some One Real.

1. The Divine Being whom the Christians worshipped as Lord was Some One who had been known as a real Man upon earth only a short while before, not a nebulous figure in an imaginary past. Christian devotion had a basis in solid historical fact. The actual words of Jesus gave his person, as the Church apprehended it, a distinct character of supreme moral power. That both in the case of the Christians, and in the case of those who worshipped Zagreus or Osiris or Attis, the Divine Being was believed to have died and returned to life, would be a depreciation of Christianity only if it could be shown that the Christian belief was derived from the pagan one. But that can be supposed only by cranks for whom historical evidence is nothing. The death at any rate of Jesus was an unquestionable fact admitted by everybody, and the belief that Jesus was risen again certainly began in the primitive community of his disciples almost immediately after his death —amongst a group, that is to say, of Aramaic-speaking Jews in Palestine, the people least likely to be influenced by Hellenistic mystery religions. Nor is it really anything strange that some pagans also should have worshipped a god who died and came to life again; for nature itself presented primitive man, as we have seen, with the spectacle of the periodic failure and revival of life in the physical world, and man everywhere, without any need of foreign suggestion, feels death as something dreadful; his desire for victory over it drives him to imaginations in which he sees it conquered. Just so, man imagined gods like Asklepios who cured human diseases; for he knew at first hand the ills of his own earthly existence, and if any real divine power came at any time to meet human need, the reality inevitably corresponded to a certain extent with what man had antecedently hoped and imagined. Jesus cured human diseases; it would be extravagant to suppose that the early disciples would never have pictured the Divine

Compassion doing that, unless the idea had been put into their minds by the pagan cult of Asklepios.

The Descent of the Saviour.

2. The Lord Jesus had come down from heaven and had undergone death by a voluntary humiliation for love of men. That was of the very essence of the Christian conception. "Though he was rich yet for our sakes he became poor." No parallel to this has been found in pagan ideas of the Slain God. Osiris and Attis were not divine beings who had become men, but beings subject to death, slain against their will, who had become gods.[1] The main content of the Christian idea, the belief to which Christian devotion responded, was lacking.

The World-wide Brotherhood.

3. Each local Christian church was vitally united with all others as part of the one Divine world-wide Church, the Body animated by the Spirit of Christ; there was one 'brotherhood'. On the other hand no close band seems to have connected an association worshipping Isis or Attis in one place with associations worshipping Isis or Attis elsewhere. Each little group existed for itself, and made laws for itself. In this respect, again, the affinity of the Christian Church is not with the pagan religions but with the world-wide brotherhood of

[1] "The most distinctive characteristic of Christian doctrine, as compared with that of other religions of the time, was the conception of a 'Saviour', i.e. a divine Person who has descended from a higher world to rescue human souls from their fallen condition. . . . Analogies to the Christian notion of a 'Saviour' may, no doubt, be discovered here and there in other religions of the Roman Empire. For instance, such an analogy may be seen in the *Kore Kosmu*, where we are told that Isis and Osiris came down from heaven to earth to civilize mankind. But, in the main, the distinction holds good. The gods of the Pagan mystery-cults might be called 'saviours', but were not held to have 'come down' in the same sense of the Christian Saviour."—Walter Scott, *Hermetica*, ii, p. 9 (Clarendon Press, 1925).

As a matter of fact, the slain gods of paganism were *not* commonly called 'saviours'. That term, *Sotēr*, is regularly applied to Zeus, to the Dioskūroi (who saved sailors at sea), and to Asklepios, whose death was not ritually celebrated, and was *not* coupled with Dionysos and Attis. The common practice in modern books of describing the pagan slain gods as 'Saviour-gods' merely shows how, in order to make a closer parallel to Christianity, things are thrown uncritically together which did not go together in reality.

Israel, the "people of God" of which the Church claimed to be the true continuation.

Moral Earnestness.

4. From the Hebrew tradition the Christians drew a conception of God, by which righteousness, the morally good will, was all important in His service. There was no such moral earnestness in the service of Isis or Attis. It was there a question rather of new sensations, through which a man believed that he had become magically immune from death, than of a new direction of will, a character with a new set. In this the rebirth of the pagan votary differed essentially from what Christians understood by being born again, though in Isis-worship an ideal of chastity sometimes seems to have been held up.[1] Mithras-worship indeed does seem to have contained an element of moral strength. But it has to be remembered that Mithras-worship had one of its main roots in the religion of Zoroaster — a religion strikingly different from Græco-Roman paganism, with a strong original conception of truth and righteousness as the essential character of the One Supreme God, more like the religion of the Old Testament than anything else outside it.

The Christian Sacraments.

5. Of the two sacraments of the Christian Church, Baptism has its antecedents rather in the Synagogue than in the pagan mystery association. Of course the idea of bodily defilement disqualifying from approach to the deity is one which may occur anywhere, where man is man, and bodily washings and lustrations are found practised in religion all the world over. In the pagan mystery religions such lustrations had a place. But it is in Mithras-worship only that we get an indication of washing with water as part of the ritual by which a new member was admitted to one or other of the grades in the Mithraic system. Christian baptism, as a rite by which a new

[1] Nock, in *Essays on the Trinity and the Incarnation*, edited by Rawlinson, 1928, p. 71.

member is incorporated in the Body, a rite never repeated, is something quite different from the washings which in many religions come frequently into ritual worship. Christian baptism may quite well originally have been connected with the bath which had to be taken by a proselyte who was admitted to the community of Israel—an act by which he symbolically washed off the defilements of his heathen life, before beginning a new life as a member of the People of God.

How does the matter stand with the eucharist? " It is remarkable," wrote the late scholar, Albrecht Dieterich in his *Mithrasliturgie*, " that a sacramental meal should play so large a part in the dominant cults of later antiquity." This illustrates how people see what they are determined to see. Scholars of the school of Dieterich were determined to see in paganism close parallels to the Christian eucharist, and so they see sacred meals as the central thing everywhere in the mystery religions of the ancient world. But it is a case of ' auto-suggestion '. The odd thing rather is that we hear so little about sacramental meals in connexion with the ancient mystery cults. In regard to the Orphics they are never mentioned. One would have thought that Dieterich, having said that they played " so large a part ", would find, when he went on to give instances, a large number of signal ones ready to hand. But what he gives comes to hardly anything at all. He mentions the formula of the Attis-cult, " I have eaten out of the timbrel, &c." But all we can gather from that is that amongst a number of ritual acts which a person being initiated had to do, one was to eat something out of a timbrel, and drink something out of a cymbal. There is nothing to give these actions of eating and drinking any significance above that of a number of other symbolical acts which had to be done at initiation. It is never suggested, for instance, that the community all together, as a regular act of worship after initiation, partook of food out of a timbrel. That would have been the parallel required.

The only other instance Dieterich can find is in an inscription from Tomi in the Black Sea, giving the rules of an association which worships the Kabeiroi of Samothrace. One fragment

of it says that it will be the duty of the priest to divide and proffer the sacred cake and pour out "the drink (τὸ ποτόν)" for the associates. That is all. It goes almost without saying that the members of any association expressed their fellowship by meals taken together, as any set of men is apt to do all the world over. Certainly the ancient religious associations had such communal meals. And the meals would naturally be connected with the feasts in honour of the deity, or deities, of the association. That we may gather from a number of the inscriptions. But the meals appear rather as an expression of fellowship which the members have with one another and with the god than as the partaking of some food of particular significance. As has been pointed out, the convivial aspect is often prominent, and the plentiful supply of wine a concern. At such meals the priest would often be the natural president and be responsible for the due distribution of the food and the drink. But it is possible that at Tomi the association did partake in a meal, at which the cake and the drink, distributed by the priest, were something special. If so, we may grant that here something with a resemblance to the Christian eucharist may be found. But what a poor basis for the statement that a sacramental meal played "so large a part" in all the mystery religions! Amongst the hundreds of inscriptions relating to mystery cults, Dieterich can find only one from the Black Sea which seems even remotely to point to a sacramental meal!

In Mithras-worship alone amongst the ancient mystery religions we have the clear statement of something which looked like the Christian eucharist. Before the initiate there was set a piece of bread and a cup of water over which the priest uttered a ritual formula. Here, where the resemblance existed, the Christian Fathers took note of it. They said it was due to a deliberate imitation of the Christian eucharist by devils. It is likely that had the other apparent parallels, which scholars of the school of Dieterich and Reitzenstein try to-day to find, existed, contemporary Christian writers would have noticed them too and given the same explanation.

Christian Ritual and Doctrine not Secret.

6. The worship and the doctrines of the Church were not concealed by a veil of secrecy, but disclosed freely to the world. Here again the Church resembled the Synagogue, not the pagan mystery cults. No doubt, where Christianity was persecuted, the Christian meetings would be secret, but such secrecy was not an essential characteristic of Christianity: it was only a temporary expedient in order to escape violent attack. Apart from the peril of an enemy bringing trouble upon the Church, there was no objection to an unbeliever witnessing what took place at a Christian meeting and hearing what was said. As for the doctrines of Christianity, so far from being concealed from the world, the world was earnestly invited to listen to their proclamation.

Intolerance of Christianity.

7. Still resembling Judaism, Christianity was marked by an intolerance quite unlike the temper of the pagan mystery religions. No doubt when the Church became powerful in the world its intolerance took the form of imposing pains and penalties upon those who did not profess Christian beliefs; but that was the evil outgrowth of a kind of intolerance which really did belong to the essence of Christianity. The God of Jesus was still the God of Moses, the ' jealous ' God, who said " Thou shalt have none other gods but me." The different pagan cults were content to live all together as a happy family. Isis had no quarrel with Mithras. Indeed the same man is sometimes found receiving initiation in more than one mystery religion.

If the Christian Church had been content to form one in this happy family, to compromise with the pagan religions, with Emperor-worship and all the rest, it would probably have escaped persecution. It would also have perished, as all the rest have perished. But the Church steadily refused to compromise: it declared strongly that black was black and white was white, that Christianity was right and the other

religions were wrong; and it refused to allow anyone who associated himself with any pagan worship to go on partaking of the Table of the Lord. So the Roman state bent its strength to break Christianity; and Christianity, with Judaism, the one other 'intolerant' religion standing on the old Hebrew foundation, survived.

Christian View of the Time-process.

8. Lastly, Christianity, with its essential Hebrew core, remained predominantly eschatological. Whereas for pagan thought the world-process was an eternal vain recurrence, a circular movement leading nowhere, for Jews and for Christians it was movement from a unique beginning to a unique end, from Creation to the final Judgment and realization of the kingdom of God. For the pagan, the deliverance offered by a mystery-religion was a merely individual escape to a higher plane of being; for the Christian, salvation meant being incorporated in a society, which had a cause to fight for in the world and a confidence of ultimate victory. This made a profound difference to the feeling of the Christian in regard to everything around him. The German philosopher, Heinrich Rickert, has laid his finger on this as the principal reason why Christianity prevailed in the end over pagan religion: for the Christian the time-process was a series of unique events, whereas for the Greek it was indefinitely repeatable.[1] Such a view of the time-process had been Hebrew before it was Christian; but not Hebrew only; it was also Persian, Zoroastrian. The important thing to grasp when we look at that bewildering medley of religions in the first century A.D. is that they belong to two main types—the type for which the time-process was a vanity, to which Greek Stoicism and Hellenistic mystery-religions belonged, and the type with a strong eschatological outlook, represented by Zoroastrianism, Judaism, and Christianity.

[1] Quoted in F. von Hügel, *Essays and Addresses*, second series, pp. 30, 31.

Comparative Diffusion of Christianity and the Mystery Religions.

Probably two generations after the Lord's Resurrection Christianity had attained a diffusion in the Roman Empire wider than that of any mystery cult. The fact that monuments connected with the worship of the Phrygian Great Mother or of Isis or of Mithras are found in places far apart in Europe has probably given a false idea of the popularity of these cults in the West. The evidence, as it has been carefully analysed by Toutain,[1] seems to prove that the only Oriental worship which had any popular extension in the Latin west was that of the Great Mother, and that her popularity was mainly due to a belief in her power to give fertility to the fields. In Greek lands the worship of Isis and Sarapis was perhaps widely popular, but in the Latin-speaking west it is found established only where there were groups of Greeks or Orientals settled, or where it was promoted by government officials, because Isis-worship was patronized by the Imperial court at Rome. Mithras-worship did not get its extension westward till the field had already been occupied by Christianity and seems then never to have penetrated far outside the army. It was soldiers, perhaps themselves natives of Asia, who put up the Mithraic monuments found in northern Britain near the Roman Wall. The Mithraic chapels which have been discovered do not give the idea of large communities of Mithras-worshippers. Since Mithras, according to the sacred story, had originally issued from the rocks his worship was carried on either in caves or in buildings simulating caves. His chapels have the form of crypts, sunk in whole or in part below the surface of the ground, and reached by steps from the entrance-hall. They are rarely large enough to contain more than a hundred worshippers. No doubt, where the Mithraic community was larger than that in any particular place, it may have been served by more than one such chapel. Still the fact that no large places of worship have been discovered

[1] *Les Cultes païens dans l'Empire romain*, Vol. II.

suggests that the Mithraic communities were generally small ones. In view of all this to speak of Mithraism as a rival which ran Christianity hard and almost captured the Roman Empire—language which has often been used by scholars in the past—seems excessive.

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CHAPTER V

Palestine in the Time of Christ

The Jews: Topography: Political Conditions

Palestine, the southernmost portion of maritime Syria, comprises geographically the basin of the River Jordan together with the adjoining coastlands of the west. Its physical boundaries are, in the north, Mount Hermon and the westerly reach of the lower Leontes; to the east and south the partial deserts of Arabia; and on the west the Mediterranean Sea. But by the time of Herod the Great political developments had already tended to modify the natural boundaries of this territory. The fact that it was now a portion of the Roman Empire, which enfolded it on all sides, deprived the physical features, both external and internal, of all active political significance, notwithstanding the dominant rôle which these had played in the earlier history and development of the land. The briefest consideration of these features will then suffice.

The Jordan rises in the western and southern slopes of Mount Hermon, and flowing southward through two lakes of increasing size (Lake Huleh and the Sea of Galilee), it falls steadily in its course until it finally discharges into the Dead Sea at a depth of 1300 feet below the level of the Mediterranean. The total length of the river valley, measured direct, is not much more than 100 miles; but to this must be added the length of the Dead Sea, which completely fills the valley for a further distance of nearly 50 miles. Between the great rift, which forms the bed of the river with its lakes, and the Mediterranean coast, lies Palestine proper, or Western Pales-

tine, a tract of varying character about 50 miles in width and 150 miles in length from north to south. Eastward of the rift and bounded in its turn by the North Arabian deserts is the ' Country beyond Jordan ', Eastern Palestine, an elevated area variable in extent but more uniform in character than its western neighbour. Towards the deserts it comprises broad acres of alluvial soil which can be irrigated. Some of its rivers also, notably the Yarmuk and the Jabbok, unlike the waters of Palestine, are copious and perennial; and the land is generally fertile and more generous. Here certain prosperous cities lying between Damascus and Philadelphia (Amman), already strongly Hellenized and submissive to the Roman suzerainty, were suffered to retain their administrative and defensive alliance, in short to manage their own affairs, under a measure of supervision and imperial control. This group formed the Decapolis.

Physical Features and Communications.

The leading physical features of Western Palestine are three, and these, like the river and coastline, lie generally parallel with one another from north to south. They are the coastal plains, the central highland ridge, and the Jordan Valley itself. Each of these leading features may also for convenience of description be regarded as consisting of three chief portions. The coastlands include three smaller plains, those of Akka, Sharon, and Philistia. The central ridge comprises the highlands of Galilee, Samaria, and Judæa. Neither of these main features is, however, completely continuous: both are interrupted at one-third of their length. The Plain of Akka is divided from that of Sharon by Mount Carmel, a bold headland which juts into the sea; while the uplands of Southern Galilee are separated from those of Northern Samaria by the inland plain of Esdraelon. This plain is roughly triangular in form; Mounts Carmel, Tabor, and Gilboa, 15 to 20 miles apart, almost indicate its angles. It is watered by innumerable tributaries of the River Kishon, and to the north-west it is linked with the Plain of Akka by a narrow passage between

Carmel and South-west Galilee, through which the river itself finds its way. Through the middle of its south-western border of hills the Wady Arah leads into the Plain of Sharon, a historic pass guarded in Canaanitish times by the walled city of Megiddo. Eastward from Esdraelon the Vale of Jezreel, an open passage some twelve miles in length, descends by the foot of Mount Gilboa towards the Jordan, and is guarded at the junction of the valleys by the old city of Bethshan. Save for these breaks the main features of plain and ridge are practically continuous towards the south. The distinction in name between the coastal areas of Sharon and Philistia, as between the highlands of Samaria and Judæa, reflects historical rather than physical divisions. The third parallel feature, the Jordan Valley, may also for our purpose be divided into three portions, whereof the northernmost includes the sources of the Jordan and the Sea of Galilee; the middle is the broader tract of country around Bethshan, which though on the opposite side of the river was attached to the Decapolis; and the southernmost is the valley itself, varying from eight to twelve miles in width, between Bethshan and Jericho.

Looked at from north to south the country is thus divided into three parallel strips; plain, ridge, and deep valley; and down the full length of each of these there ran a highroad of internal communication. The first, from Akka southwards, skirted the southern slopes of Carmel by the Wady Milh, and kept for the most part to the foothills that fringe the plains, until, after passing Antipatris and Lydda, it sought a route nearer the coast, by Azotus (the Philistine Ashdod) and Askalon, on its way to Gaza. The second descended from Nazareth to the Plain of Esdraelon, and skirting the sources of the Kishon it entered at Jenin (Ginea) a narrow valley which emerged on the small Plain of Dothan; whence, leading southwards, it crossed two intervening ridges before passing below the hill and city of Samaria, at a distance of 40 miles from Nazareth. Continuing, it passed near ancient Shechem by Joseph's Well; and entering Judæa it followed for the most part the tortuous watershed between the valleys of the west

Orographical Map of
PALESTINE
English Miles
0 10 20 30
Sidon
Mt. Lebanon
Mt. Hermon
DAMASCUS
Tyre
Caesarea Philippi
L. Huleh
Hazor
Akka
GALILEE
Sea of Galilee
Tiberias
R. Yarmuk
Mt. Carmel
Nazareth
Mt. Tabor
Gadara
Edrei
Dora
Megiddo
Lejjun
Caesarea
Ginea
Mt. Gilboa
Bethshan
DECAPOLIS
Bosra
SHARON
SAMARIA
Samaria
Gerasa
R. Jabbok
R. Jordan
Joppa
Philadelphia
Lydda
Beth-horon
Jericho
JERUSALEM
PHILISTIA
JUDAEA
DEAD SEA
-1292 feet
Askelon
Beit Jibrin
GAZA
Hebron
Beersheba
Above 6000 feet
3000 to 6000 feet
1500 to 3000 feet
500 to 1500 feet
Sea Level to 500 feet
Below Sea Level

and east, passing as it neared Jerusalem by the ancient sites of Bethel, Beeroth, Mizpeh, and Rama. From Samaria to Jerusalem the distance is 50 miles. Beyond Jerusalem, this road still pursued its southerly direction, past Bethlehem and Hebron; after which it descended to the southern plains upon Beersheba. This route, though modified at various times in detail, was ever that most used by the people of the land, and so remains. The third descended the whole length of the Jordan Valley from Cæsarea Philippi to Jericho. At the head of the Huleh Basin it connected with the coasts of Tyre and Sidon by a crossing of the Leontes (above which is Belfort of the Crusades); and at the foot of Lake Huleh it was joined, near the abandoned site of Hazor, by the main road from Damascus. Continuing south, it passed around the western shore of the Sea of Galilee, below which it was joined by two roads from the Decapolis; then south past Bethshan, and down the deepening, sultry valley to Jericho. This last sector of 50 miles, however, is little used: it is scorched by the enclosed sun-heat, and meets on the west bank certain difficulties which even the Roman engineers avoided. The hill track on the whole is safer, and at all times to be preferred.

Political Factors.

Looked at from west to east, the land resolves itself also into three belts, which though resembling one another are not in themselves continuous or uniform, comprising successive portions of plain, mountain, and deep valley. Akka-GALILEE-Tiberias, Cæsarea-SAMARIA-Bethshan, Joppa-JUDÆA-Jericho, form three parallel systems readily visualized, and all-important to a proper understanding of the social and political organization of Palestine in the time of Christ. For each belt was traversed by its roads, radiating no longer from inland Jewish centres but from Roman ports. From Akka in the north several roads crossed lower Galilee, linking it with the shores of the lake and Nazareth; but these roads passed onwards by the ford of Huleh to Damascus, or by Bethshan and the Yarmuk Valley to other cities beyond Jordan. This was now

a main line of communication, not indeed of Palestine but of the Roman Empire; it led not to Jerusalem but to the Græco-Roman cities of the Decapolis. By it passed merchants, travellers, officials, and soldiers speaking all languages and worshipping all gods but the God of the Jews themselves. In the south, it is true, the several roads that led up to Jerusalem by Lydda, Emmaus, and Beth-horon, like that from Gaza by way of Beit Jibrîn, though they continued by Jericho to Philadelphia, the Decapolis, and Peræa, at the same time provided also for the Jewish peoples from all sides the routes to their common objective, Jerusalem and the Temple. But the establishment of the administrative and military head-quarters at Cæsarea, and the development of that port, on the coast opposite Samaria, itself now a Roman city, placed in the hands of the Procurator an invaluable strategic centre. Cut off by deep sand drifts from the interior, it looked towards the sea and Rome; and when Roman organization had bridged its difficulties, it commanded at a distance of twelve miles both the internal communications and those of imperial purpose that passed through the country. Not only did roads radiate thence to Jerusalem, to Samaria, and to the north, but the imperial high-road from Egypt by Gaza towards Damascus entered at that point the Wady Arah, to emerge into Esdraelon, where the legionary head-quarters at Lejjun had replaced the Canaanite Megiddo as guardian of that historic pass. The roads that now radiated from west to east, crossing those that led as of old from north to south, or vice versa, formed effectively a network of imperial bonds that closed with each upheaval more tightly on the Jewish people, strangling little by little all remaining hopes of ultimate independence.

Those Jews who still harboured such hopes, indeed, must already have found cause for apprehension in the development of the imperial system. On every side they saw Græco-Roman cities, prospering under the Roman freedom, with their Hellenized populations, alien customs, worship, and laws taking deeper root in the soil of the country. The coast was lined with them; Akka, Dora, Askalon, and Gaza were Roman

towns; along the Shephelah, where their forefathers had disputed the territory with the Philistines, the same alien influences were planted, though the Jewish element predominated in several of its town. In the interior, Samaria had been remodelled by Herod upon a Roman plan; and, even in Jerusalem, the palace and the Temple itself, with its majestic colonnades and porticoes, disclosed the same hand at work. Beyond the Jordan the cities of the Decapolis were all Roman, and the population was already Hellenized or Greek. From the nationalist standpoint the military situation was critical. The country was occupied by foreign troops, and the strongest positions were in their possession. The garrison at Lejjun, and the alienation of Scythopolis (Bethshan), potentially separated Galilee from the south. It was much the same situation that in the childhood of the nation had called forth Barak and Deborah to the Plain of Esdraelon; and almost identical with that more fateful episode, when a thousand years before Saul had attempted to stem the tide of Philistine aggression, only to meet with defeat and death. With the confirmation of Herod's will, resulting in the division of Palestine into separate administrative areas, coupled with the detachment of Akka to Phœnicia, and of Scythopolis to the Decapolis, and the attachment of Galilee to Peræa beyond Jordan, the disunion and dismemberment of the country were already far advanced. Galilee and Peræa were apportioned to Herod Antipas as tetrarch; and the northern territories beyond Jordan (Batanæa, Trachonitis, and Auranitis) to Herod Philip; while Judæa, Samaria, and Idumæa, the only integral fraction of the former kingdom, fell with the title of Ethnarch to the lot of Archelaus, whose subsequent misrule and maltreatment of the Jews led to revolting massacres and sacrilege. Finally, in A.D. 6, on the unanimous petition of Jews from all parts, supported even by the other sons of Herod, Archelaus was deposed, Palestine was annexed to the province of Syria, and a Roman procurator (in the person of Coponius) was appointed to supervise the government of the country. By these measures a crisis was postponed; but there remained the causes of

anxiety and unrest that lay deeper than the successive imperial representatives could appreciate. The imposition of taxes in accordance with the Roman fiscal system led to open defiance in Galilee followed by the sacrifice of many lives; and under Pontius Pilate (A.D. 26–37) further outbreaks were precipitated by a series of inconsiderate acts. In particular, the introduction of Roman standards into Jerusalem, the attempt to hang brazen trophies in the Temple, and a proposal to employ the Temple funds for public works, though perhaps conforming with Roman practices elsewhere, were viewed by the devout Jews as an impious violation of their religious liberties; and though rebellion was quelled by force of arms, this was not effected without relentless bloodshed and brutality, opening a new wound, and rousing again among the outraged and exasperated Jews the passionate desire for freedom and the supreme hope of a divine deliverance.

Environment and Social Conditions.

In seeking to understand the violent reactions and swift developments in the history of these times, certain material factors in the situation merit our attention. Palestine is a land of contrasts, some of which are due to nature and always present. In the spring time clouds cover the sun, the gullies resound with splashing water, the valleys fill; the whole land is bedecked with verdure and with flowers, and hope revives with the approach of harvest. In the autumn all is changed: from a cloudless sky the sun parches the soil. Agriculture ceases, except in those rare spots where the springs do not run dry. The rocky hills are the first to suffer. The flocks mostly seek the plains, where the reserve of moisture and the dews barely suffice to produce a daily ration.

No contrast, again, could be greater than that between the environment of Jerusalem, at any time, and that of Nazareth, Genneseret, or Jericho. Jerusalem is placed on a small rocky plateau, which is broken at once by scoured valleys that fall steeply towards the Jordan. The eastern slopes of the great descent are desolate and wild, torn by deep rifts, bare

of all but a meagre trace of verdure, almost without life. The effect is awe-inspiring; and the deep gulf of the Jordan Valley, visible below, seems almost unnatural. The climate is severe; for Jerusalem stands exposed. In winter biting winds drive over the ridge; and in summer there is no protection from the burning sun, though the direct heat is tempered in some seasons by an occasional sea breeze. Galilee by contrast seems like a country of green uplands and small plains, pleasant to behold; while around the shores of the lake all is peaceful. Here and in Nazareth the winter months are relatively mild, and the heat of summer is softer owing to the neighbourhood of lake and sea, the moisture from which gives also abundant dews. In Jericho again, the city of date palms, the atmosphere and conditions are almost tropical. The distance between these places is small; the change is great.

In addition to these contrasting influences of nature we should bear in mind the reality of the innovations due to Roman influence and not then old enough to have been absorbed. Hellenism as an element of the general civilization had at first been a matter of steady growth, which the ultimate resistance of the Maccabees had restrained from overrunning the heart of Judaism, but had not eradicated. The Roman cities and Roman buildings that sprang up during and after the reign of Herod were, however, fresh and durable creations, the elegance and comfort of which appealed to the vanity of those who prospered, while to the Zealots they were an omen of their national submergence. Most of the Jews were poor, and their lives were simple: to many the idea of decoration must have been abhorrent. The Jewish quarters that have been excavated on the slopes of the Hill of Zion show the houses to have been plain low buildings, without architectural pretensions, closely packed together, in ignorance or disregard of those principles of civic design and sanitation that the Romans had adopted. In the villages, though the contrast was not so obvious, the clustering houses with their flat roofs and formless streets retained altogether their primitive oriental character, picturesque, maybe, but squalid. The art of building, notwithstand-

ing the ages of experience and experiment, was neglected to the extent of evident discomfort, if not of danger. Of all the thronged villages that nestled under the hills around the north-western shores of the Sea of Galilee (Bethsaida, Capernaum, Genneseret) there remains hardly a trace. Chorazin, that overlooked the lake from above Capernaum, is now nothing but a patch of scattered stones, not one upon another, save the foundations of a later synagogue. If the fallen ruins now partially re-erected at Capernaum contain, or reproduce, as is probable, the features of that synagogue which a " certain Centurion " had constructed, this was by contrast a solid structure of good squared stones. In general design and in such detail as the columns with debased Corinthian capitals, and the friezes decorated with floral and even animal designs, it savoured of Roman rather than of Jewish art.

Penetration of Roman Influence.

Though Palestine was reputedly more populous then than now, we do not know the sites of many Jewish towns, about sixty-five only being mentioned in contemporary sources; and excavation has added little yet to our information as to their nature and distribution. If we look, however, at the greater cities that Herod had favoured with his munificent attentions, we find all the additions and reconstructions to be Græco-Roman. Samaria, upon its hill, was surrounded with a battlemented wall, its gateways protected by extra-mural towers. Within, a colonnaded street from gate to gate was a *via principalis*. From it a similar street led off directly to a columned forum, and by the side of this stood a Senate House with its semicircular tiers of seats and cloistered ambulatory. In the highest part of the city, upon the ruins of Ahab's palace, rose the central place of worship, not a synagogue but a temple with a columned portico and a marble statue of Augustus. At Askalon, Herod's birthplace, where there was a large Jewish community, the innovations were of like tendency. Excavations have laid bare the foundations of the Senate House, greater in size and more elaborate in design. Herod himself adorned

it with a famous peristyle of columns which have been traced. It is all of Græco-Roman work, in detail often beautiful; its columns and fine Corinthian capitals are wrought in Greek marble, and possibly many of them were imported from overseas. Here met the local council, now called, according to an inscription, the Boulē, where the benefactions of Roman officials were lauded and recorded in memorial tablets.

If we turn to Jerusalem itself, though it is less easy to see the city as it was, the tendency was visibly the same. The palace of Herod occupied the site of the present citadel: excavations have probed the foundations of its towers, disclosing fragments of Roman pottery and red 'Pompeian' stucco, in addition to the mighty building stones upon which it rested. Otherwise there is no material trace, but its general character and magnificence are well known. Oriental in general arrangement, it borrowed largely from the luxurious Alexandrian style of the later Lagides, the whole forming an imposing series of buildings interspersed with gardens and cloistered courts. The Temple itself, the centre of the Jewish world, was distinguished also and made famous by its colonnades and porticoes, in themselves Western features. Apart from the elegance of many details, generally of classic style, and of its internal vistas, the full beauty of the Temple was probably most evident when seen as a mass from the Mount of Olives. Looking down from there, at a distance of less than a mile, it would be possible to appreciate the full intention of the design, with its broad open court and rising tiers of masonry, resplendent with marble surfaces, to all of which the fortress of Antonia must have formed an imposing background.

As for the rest of the city at this time, no complete picture can be reproduced. Its position and general arrangement are, however, fairly clear. It stood more to the south than the present walled city, which is also smaller. The site is a rock plateau of uneven surface, placed between the two converging valleys of Hinnom and Kedron, watercourses which descend rapidly and unite at the Pool of Siloam. This point marks the southernmost extension of the city, and its boundaries on the

east and south are defined by the valleys themselves; the upper slopes of these were protected by a masoned wall, traces of which have been found here and there and include the western corner. The north wall is more difficult to locate precisely, but the records give a general indication of its line. The plateau itself, it should first be noted, was divided down the middle by the Tyropœan valley; and on each side there rose two small hills, one in each case higher than the other. On the eastern half, the lower eminence was largely covered by an enclosed platform upon which stood the Temple. It thus overlooked to the south, down towards Siloam, the lower city, which covered the site of the original stronghold of the Jebusites on Mount Ophel. The Temple area was dominated in its turn to the north by a rocky scarp upon which rose the fortress of Antonia. The foundations of this fortress and of the wall that retained the Temple platform are still traceable from the massive masoned blocks of which they were constructed. On the other side of the Tyropœan valley, towards the west, the highest ground was covered with the regal palace. The intervening valley was crossed by a viaduct, which led from near the south-western angle of the Temple platform, wherein may still be seen the stout supports of an arch, one of a series which has been traced. Higher up this middle valley, where it was less pronounced, ran the North Wall of the city, connecting Antonia with the northern towers of Herod's palace; and to the south of the palace was a hill covered with buildings, later called Zion. Apart from these meagre details there is little to be seen; but the general appearance of the city is described and can be visualized. The point of view to take is again that of the Mount of Olives, which from the east overlooks the city. From the low ground to the left, from the Pool of Siloam, it rose in ascending groups of buildings, crowned in the foreground with the Temple and the fortress of Antonia, and dominated in the background by the Palace of Herod. The whole area was enclosed in its turn by a circuit of masoned walls, above which rose its towers and gateways. In the bright sun this city must have appeared to visitors the realization of

their dreams. It is one of the misfortunes of this age devoted to research that so little space is available for investigation. The accumulation of centuries obscures the further details.

Though few and ruinous the remains of the Roman Age in Palestine resemble so nearly in character and disposition those well preserved at Gerasa (Jerash) and other sites of the Decapolis, that we may regard these as models towards which was tending the reconstruction of Jerusalem and of other western cities. Gerasa was a walled city which seems to have been laid out upon open ground. Its two main gates were 1000 yards apart, and they were connected from north to south by a continuous wide paved street, which has in recent years been cleared of debris. Along the whole length on both sides there ran a continuous row of columns, the capitals of which are in some cases Ionic, but for the most part Corinthian. Though many of the architectural details now visible cannot well belong to the time of Christ, excavations have traced the planning of the city and the inception of its chief features to the Augustan Age. On either side of the main street the site was divided into three zones, separated by transverse streets, which also were flanked with columns. In the middle zone to the west, on the highest part of the city, rose an imposing temple, fronted with a double portico of six columns. From the spacious temple area, which also was enclosed by columns, a succession of broad marble steps led down through a triple gateway to the main street. On each side of this street was a raised footpath, paved, and bordered with an overhanging cornice, interrupted by niches and other ornamental details at intervals. These side-walks were also covered, it would seem, from end to end by a continuous veranda, supported by the columns and the buildings which lined the other side. The junctions with the side streets were shaded by domed structures, and near the middle a Nymphæum, covered with a semi-dome that reposed in front upon four giant Corinthian columns, provided a cool resting-place and drinking water for those passing along the street. Looking backwards there was to be seen, standing upon a hill directly in the line of view, a Grecian temple with

a double portico of eight Corinthian columns, and surrounded by a complete peristyle, uniform in style. Near by, exposed to the north, was a theatre capable of seating some 6000 people. Other features outside the city, like the Triumphal Archway that marked the approach, and the Stadium, are probably of later construction. The Senate House is ruinous, but, like other buildings, can be traced in outline.

All the cities of the wide Decapolis, the ruins of which are visible, Philadelphia, the present capital, Gadara, overlooking the Sea of Galilee, Edrei, at the head of the Yarmuk gorge, Bosra, and others, were not less 'Hellenized' than Jerash. The inscriptions found in them are mostly Greek, sometimes written in Latin script. Scythopolis, which enclosed the older city of Bethshan, with its theatre and fortifications, shared in the new development. Most of these cities adopted, as their basis of dating, the year of Pompey's campaign, B.C. 63.

Political Factors.

In general the material signs of Roman penetration were less marked in the cities of Galilee and Judæa, where the Zealots, the active nationalist section of the Jews, viewed all these innovations with mistrust. The very rapidity of the movement could but aggravate their fears. The Hellenizing of earlier centuries had been, as we have said, rather a gradual process, not marked by conspicuous stages, tolerated until it came into visible conflict with the undying aspirations of the Jews, who then had risen unitedly against it. The present tendency was more disquieting, alike from its deliberate character as from the schism which it was provoking in the heart of the people, some of whom, notably the Herodians, allowed their material prosperity or hope of favours to obscure the growing menace to the hard-won liberties of their race. Not that it was any part of the imperial policy to interfere with the popular religion and its inherent customs. In Asia Minor and elsewhere religious tolerance was an established principle; but the observance of it in Palestine was rendered doubly difficult, firstly by the inter-relation of the Jewish religious and political

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TRIUMPHAL ARCHWAY, GERASA (JERASH)

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organization, and secondly by the personal tendencies of the Idumæan family to whom the administration of the country and the execution of the imperial will had been entrusted. The Herods were ambitious: they firmly believed, it would appear, in the beneficence of Roman rule, and of this they had abundant demonstration on all hands. But on the side of Rome was power, and the Jews had riches. Pandering to the one, they became intolerant to the other, for whom they had no natural sympathy. Their task demanded, in fact, a measure of statemanship that was beyond their ability, an impartial attitude which was foreign alike to their nature and their interests. The path to Rome along which they led the way was lined with images of false gods, regarded with abhorrence by the Jews, the record of whose spiritual determination was written on pages of history in their blood. But the Herod pursued his course, unmindful of the past, reckless of the consequences.

The problem before the rulers was, in fact, peculiar and complex. The form of government which was historic in the land was clearly theocratic. This did not present in itself any special difficulties. Other areas of the empire, constituted on the same lines, had been pacified, but their system had been monarchical; the appeasement of the ruler or his death had led in most cases to a solution. But here the theocracy was in a sense representative. The Sanhedrin, which now replaced the Council of Elders, was elected from ' the congregation ', though shorn by Herod of a number of its members and its powers, and packed by his nominees, chosen mostly from the aristocracy. The Sanhedrin judged all cases in accordance with the Mosaic Law, and though the power of life and death was taken from it, and the Roman procurator was able to intervene in the nomination of the high priest its president, the still large number of its members ensured a representation of various political and religious factions. This constitutional interrelation of politics and religion was in itself a complication, and though the quarrels between the different factions played for the time being into the hands of the Roman procurator,

they aggravated at this time in the heart of the nation that tendency to excitability and restlessness of temperament to which Jewish people were already prone. If we would understand the tides of emotion that swept Jerusalem during the life of Christ we must bear in mind the various divisions and strata in Jewish society and thought.

Notwithstanding the political upheavals various sections of the community prospered under the Roman rule, particularly in Jerusalem. This city was the meeting-place of numerous merchants and traders, many of whom made it their headquarters. The land also was developed, terracing and irrigation did much to mitigate its natural disadvantages, and there was apparently more woodland than at the present time. But with the inevitable growth of capitalism, the distinctions between rich and poor, merchant and trader, landowner and labourer, became more marked and extended the social scale. There was nothing unusual in this development; more peculiar and potential were the older divisions of political and religious character. The three philosophical sects among the Jews, Josephus tells us, were the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes. Of the two former we hear much in the New Testament, and though the last named are not mentioned, they formed a body whose principles and customs are of peculiar interest.

The Pharisees, or the 'separated ones', as they were called, were essentially a religious body, whose first endeavour was to preserve their ancient religion intact, and to uphold the sanctity of the law. They were thus averse to the Roman occupation and all it stood for, primarily because it increased their difficulty in keeping the heathen world from tampering with their faith. As by reaction against their drawn-out struggle with adversity, their very enthusiasm led them to excess of zeal, so that, interpreting the law from the standpoint of their objective, they came to sanctify every act of daily life, and finally adopted the tenet that the oral traditions were at least equal in value to the letter of the Scriptures. The Sadducees, or 'The Righteous', were the religious opponents of the

Pharisees, from whom they chose to differ on almost every point. The very nature of the sects differed, the Pharisees being the popular party, and the Sadducees being almost exclusively confined to the aristocracy. But their reactionary spirit led them equally to extremes. Setting aside the weight of tradition, they upheld the principle of assimilation to environment, adapting their lives and thoughts (including their interpretation of the law) to the changing circumstances and political conditions of the day. Tolerating thus, if not welcoming, the Greeks and Romans, they became the party of the high priests, the tools of Herod.

The Essenes were essentially a religious sect, and they alone entered little, if at all, the political arena. Josephus gives a vivid description of their character and ideals. Striving after absolute purity, they lived away from the pollution of towns and practised a rigorous discipline among themselves. Their settlements were communistic and children were adopted. The poor were always aided by the common funds. Pious and hospitable, they manifested a desire to assist all comers. To this end they studied the properties of natural medicines, wherewith to heal any sick that might seek their aid. Their ideas of worship differed from those of their fellow-men. Though they observed the Sabbath scrupulously, according to Hippolytus, they remained indifferent to the Temple; and moreover they practised mystical rites which aroused considerable attention and curiosity. Of their own choice they lived apart from the turmoil of the age; a small faction, it is true, but a potential factor in the World of Christ.

In addition to these leading religious sects a number of sections divided Jewish society, and at times brought schism to their ranks. Among these appear the Nazarites or Nazirites, devout persons under vows to God; also the Samaritans, whose enmity to the Jews, from whom they differed in race, dated back to the return from Exile, and had been embittered by the refusal of their help in the erection of the new Temple. They had set up a rival Temple on Mount Gerizim, and disparaged that of Jerusalem, even maintaining that theirs was the

original religion. Though a certain amount of intermarriage was practised, and individuals maintained relations, the feud remained a further element of discord. The question of language was also a constant cause of difference and rivalry, for a number of Jews, pilgrims in particular, spoke Greek.

A pervasive element of the community comprised the Scribes, whose functions, historically religious, had secured for them, with the development of a legal system, an independent status. They were the learned men amongst the Jews, influential because they knew the ancient Hebrew, and as the common language was now Aramaic, they alone could read the Law of Moses. It is probable that the code of common law, later incorporated in the Mishna, was already taking shape; and its administration necessarily relied at this stage to an unusual extent upon the scribes themselves. Their position as lawyers, or law-interpreters, was one of special authority of which some took full advantage, intervening, as a matter of course, in political disputes, and apparently not always averse to lending the weight of their special knowledge to factions.

The purely political parties, it has already been seen, were divided into two camps: those who favoured the Romans, and those who opposed them. The former party styled themselves the Herodians. Their members were chiefly Sadducees; but some, who considered even Herod to be a barrier between them and Rome, were Pharisees. The Herodians were vehemently opposed by the Zealots, who were strict nationalists, and upheld all that was Jewish. The extremists of these parties formed a branch of the ' Assassins ', a secret society that had resorted to the dagger. It becomes clear from this mere enumeration that the radical divergence between the numerous sects and groups among the Jews must have resulted in constant conflict of views and bitter quarrels, that in these days of suspense and recurring crises roused intense feeling. Indeed, nearly all the problems of the day affected the vital matter of their religion.

Jewish Home Life.

The impression remains from a study of the distinctions among the Jews, and the causes of their unrest, that religion was the basis of their daily life. By contrast with the tumult of the market-place and the passionate outbursts of the Sanhedrin, the home life of the Jews presents a peaceful picture of duty and contentment. It was a Jewish principle that love should begin at home, and Jewish family life commands respect owing to its noble ideals and examples. There was at the same time a strong sense of discipline, and the house-father was almost revered by the rest of the family. He won this loyalty partly from ancestral tradition, and partly from his religious functions, for he was the ' priest ' of the home, who led the family in their corporate prayer. The father also had to see that the members of his household entered with proper spirit into the life of the community, which was considered to be nearly as important as the family itself. Servants and slaves, though they were kept fast bound by a rigorous authoritative discipline, were shown more humanity by the master and mistress than was found in any Greek or Roman household. The Essenes actually did away with slaves, and the lenient attitude in general to that class may perhaps be explained as a natural reaction. Women were much more the equals of their husbands than was the case in other Eastern nations, especially in religion. Theirs was a life of hard work but comparative happiness, and the crowning joy of any mother was to be delivered of a son. Children were brought up and taught by the mother till the boys were taken in hand by the father at about twelve years of age. These were well educated, and their education was permeated by religion. The father was their first teacher, and later he sent them to a school to learn the law, whilst he himself at home taught them a trade. Recreation was of the simplest kind. Organized games, due in the first instance to contact with the Greeks, were at the first banned as heathen practices. But as views broadened, wrestling, jumping, throwing, dancing, and archery, were

admitted into the daily life, though the Place of Exercise, the Circus and Theatre of Herod, were regarded with suspicion by the stricter Jews. The next important epoch in the household was naturally the marriage of the children, which, as in ancient Athens, was considered to be a social and religious duty. The marriage contract was made by the husband or his father with the family of the bride, to which he paid a suitable dowry. There was no special religious rite; the bride was simply led, with great ceremony, from her own house to that of her husband. Notwithstanding earlier custom and the latitude allowed by the law, the tendency of the age was towards monogamy, and not the least striking feature of the Jewish home was the relation between husband and wife. On the other side, divorce was in the sole power of the husband, who could send his wife back home if he had just cause; but this practice was restrained by the loss of the dowry originally paid. In general the Jew in his daily life was preoccupied with varied business affairs or politics; but the arrangement of the social day can be sketched in outline. It may be presumed to have begun with an informal and plain breakfast; the other meals, of which we read in the New Testament, were, lunch, taken just before noon, and supper, at sunset. Guests usually came to supper, at which meat was served, but they sometimes came at noon. The host greeted male guests with a kiss, whereupon servants washed their feet and anointed them, and conducted them into a supper chamber. The Jews had by this time begun to take their meals reclining on low couches. There was little cutlery. A servant did the carving, and served the food on one dish. During and after the meal entertainment would be provided in the form of music and riddles.

The last stage in the life of a Jew, old age, was recognized and reverenced; and when death took his toll, genuine grief was felt alike by family and friends. The body was washed, anointed, and sometimes wrapped in suitable garments and spices. Embalming was unknown and there was no coffin. The burial took place within twenty-four hours. There was

no formal religious service, but funeral orations were common; and the relatives of the deceased followed the bier to the tomb. This was nearly always rock-hewn. A rich man would be buried in the family burying-place ' with his fathers ', and the poor in a public cemetery outside the walls. Hired mourners and musicians were frequently employed; and the mourning generally lasted for seven days.

Such in sum was the *milieu* of Christ. Born into a devout Jew's home, inspired with the sense of marital and parental devotion, He was surrounded in early years at Nazareth in Galilee with an atmosphere of tribulation and self-sacrifice; and went forth, into a land of sharp contrasts, to find in Jerusalem a people perplexed, divided against itself, goaded to despair, and torn by emotions, from the storms of which the wilderness and the shores of Galilee brought peace. Politics, inseparable from Jewish religion, claimed their place in His thoughts and teaching; and reading clearly the signs of the times, He warned His hearers repeatedly against the dire consequences of the impending breach with Rome.

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CHAPTER VI

Judaism, the Religion in which Christ was Educated

The general outlines of the religion in which Christ was educated are well known to every student of the Bible. The importance attached by the Jew of that period to his monotheistic conception of God, to the Temple, the synagogue, the Law, the Sabbath; the obligation to observe the great festivals such as the Passover, the Feast of Weeks, the Feast of Tabernacles, the Feast of the Dedication, as well as the solemn summing up of the year on the Day of Atonement; the limited but very real power of the Sanhedrin; the opposing forces of Pharisaism and Sadduceeism; the Jewish hatred of Samaritans and contempt for Gentiles and all those associated with them; a very vivid expectation—at least on the part of some Palestinian Jews—of a coming world-catastrophe, a golden age, and a Messiah differing in many respects from the descendant of David described by prophets—all these features of Judaism have been familiar to us almost from childhood. The last mentioned ideas have, however, frequently been ascribed to all Palestinian Jews of that period in one and the same fixed form. They have popularly been supposed to constitute the sum total of all that is interesting in the cultural and religious outlook of the whole Jewish race in every part of Palestine at the time when Christ was born at Bethlehem, when during His boyhood He lived at Nazareth, when He embarked on His public work in Galilee, and carried out His daring ministry not only among tax-gatherers and sinners but also among the

hated Samaritans, when He inaugurated His esoteric teaching of chosen disciples on the borders of Tyre and Sidon, and in the vicinity of the Græco-Roman city of Cæsarea Philippi, till finally He met His death at the hands of the Jewish hierarchy at Jerusalem.

Modern Investigations.

But the Judaism in which Christ was educated is deserving of closer inspection. In regard to some of the subjects mentioned above opinion stands where it did fifty years ago; but, in regard to others, a fuller knowledge of the period and of the earlier and later history of Judaism, together with the broader outlook of the twentieth century, has resulted in a somewhat different conception with regard to more than one of them. Much more, for instance, is now known as to the various phases and forms of the Jewish Messianic hope; the principles animating the opposing forces of Pharisaism and Sadduceeism are more clearly grasped. The impact of Hellenism and other cultures on Judaism is now more clearly realized and their impedance is seen to vary within the different political, geographical, and religious divisions of Judaism; for example, the results of such contact are bound to be different in various localities of the Diaspora and—of special importance for the present study—even in various parts of Palestine itself, in Jerusalem and Judæa on the one hand, and in Galilee on the other.

The Modern Attitude to the Problem.

But even apart from these issues much that was taken for granted when Edersheim's *History of the Jewish Nation* was first published in 1860 is now seen to be open to question. Details, as well as larger problems, are viewed from new angles, and consequently the lights and shades in the picture have changed considerably. Twentieth-century scholarship rightly hesitates to pass a final judgment on not a few points of fundamental importance: at any rate very inconclusive and contradictory verdicts are pronounced by this scholar and that

on various issues of the utmost interest. Expert opinion tends to find in some details of the picture, which to earlier generations seemed of small significance, the clue to a new reconstruction of certain aspects of Judaism. The end is by no means yet in sight. For, though much has already been accomplished, much remains still obscure and calls for further study on the part of those equipped with the necessary knowledge of Hebrew and Aramaic, and of the earlier and later Judaism. Too often the work has been undertaken in the past by Jewish and Christian writers who have embarked on the task with religious prejudices which have necessarily warped sound judgment and rendered their conclusions open to suspicion.[1] In addition Christian theologians, avowedly men of note and judgment in other spheres of Christian dogmatics, though too often ignorant of Hebrew and Aramaic, and therefore without first-hand knowledge of the pertinent literature in its true setting, have at times rashly supposed themselves competent to dogmatize alike on primitive Christianity and on its Jewish background.

Some Problems still Unsolved.

Many issues will probably always remain open to question and incapable of definite decision owing to the paucity of Jewish literature dating from the period immediately under review, as well as by reason of the evident lack of homogeneity in Judaism prior to the Fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. This latter fact makes it impossible for the cautious student to depend too much upon the copious literature dating from a time later—mostly much later—than the Fall of Jerusalem, in

[1] The work of the late Israel Abrahams and of C. G. Montefiore stands out among that of most Jewish scholars by reason of its scientific and unprejudiced spirit; these writers are full of love for Judaism and of reverent admiration for all that is admirable in Christianity, though unable to accept its central doctrine. On the Christian side, in addition to much important work achieved by Continental scholars, the work of F. C. Burkitt (e.g. in his *Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, 1914), W. O. E. Oesterley (*The Books of the Apocrypha*, 1916), and G. H. Box (e.g. in Oesterley and Box, *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, 1907) must be especially mentioned in this connexion.

which a homogeneous and well regulated religious system is expounded and Rabbinism reigns more or less supreme. Without in the least unduly ignoring that later literature he will best envisage Judaism, as it was known to Christ, if he views it in the light of the literature extant in His day, in so far as that still survives in the twentieth century, and in the light of the criticism of that literature, of archæological discovery, and of the results obtained by the comparative study of religions.[1]

[1] The scope of the present volume and the limits of this section of it make it impossible to discuss at length the non-biblical literature extant in New Testament times, and the comparative value of various sections of it for the present study, or to discuss the arguments for and against the use of Jewish literature of a later date as a primary witness to the religion of New Testament times. The following brief statement must suffice. To the last-mentioned class belong: (*a*) the *Mishnah*, the codification made *c.* A.D. 200 of the oral tradition of the rabbis and subdivided into a number of tractates, some of which contain matter of considerable value for our present subject; (*b*) the *Jerusalem Talmud*, which may be assigned to the fourth Christian century, and (*c*) the *Babylonian Talmud*, which belongs to the fifth or sixth Christian century; (*d*) the numerous *Midrashim*, some belonging to the earliest Christian centuries but none traceable with any certainty whatsoever to the actual opening of the Christian era; (*e*) the *Targums* or Aramaic paraphrases of the Old Testament, the use of which doubtless goes back to our period; but no extant edition of these, though doubtless based on earlier versions, can be held to go back to the first half of the first Christian century. Against the claim made by some that such sources should be regarded as primary authorities for our period must be urged the fact that, in their present form and as written documents, they are not the work of a contemporary of Christ. Those which, had they been contemporary, would have proved most valuable (Mishnah and Talmud) are far removed from His date, and must inevitably reflect to a great extent the standpoint of the Judaism which assumed its definite and distinctive characteristics *after* the catastrophe of A.D. 70, and also of the Judaism which had experienced many years of acute controversy with early Christianity; two circumstances which could not fail to leave their mark on the religious outlook of its exponents and on the way in which they depicted the doctrines, practices, and aspirations of their predecessors. On the other hand, the reader must be on his guard against the tendency of some writers wholly to ignore the contents of this literature in their reconstruction of the Judaism of our Lord's day. C. G. Montefiore's *Synoptic Gospels* (2nd edition, 1927) can be especially recommended to the reader on account of its sanity, the absence of prejudice, and the excellent marshalling of rabbinical parallels to the sayings attributed to Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels in E. Klostermann, *Das Matthäus Evangelium*, 1927. See also G. Kittel, *Die Probleme des palestinischen Spätjudentums und das Urchristentum*, 1926. As an example of a work of a more partisan character, in which the Pharisees are vigorously defended by a Gentile writer and in which more stress is laid on rabbinical, and less on a scientific examination of pre-Christian sources of information, Travers Herford, *The Pharisees* (1924), may be mentioned. Further, among original sources, the great Jewish

The Origins of Judaism.

The Judaism in which Christ was educated was itself the product of a long religious education: and that education was not completed even when the period represented by the New Testament writings came to a close. It is in part because that earlier development is too much ignored, alike by its critics and its apologists, that the New Testament phase of Judaism appears, as depicted by them, so insular and cold in its self-satisfaction, so inhuman in its outlook on its neighbours, whether Greek or barbarian, and so bigoted in its condemnation of every creed other than its own, while itself failing to appreciate its own noblest ideals or to practise the very virtues upon which it most prided itself. An understanding of the origins of a religious system does not of itself involve an equal

historian Josephus must necessarily be taken into account, though the specific purposes for which he wrote and the topics on which he chiefly dwelt do not very materially help us in regard to most of the issues in dispute. Considerably more importance must inevitably be attached to literature known to have been in existence prior to the Fall of Jerusalem and especially to that which can be traced back to the very beginning of the Christian era. Without intruding a complete catalogue of such literature attention may be drawn, e.g., to the extensive Enochic literature (of varying dates, chiefly 170–64 B.C.), *The Psalms of Solomon* (*c.* 40 B.C.), first-century works such as *The Book of Jubilees*, the *Assumption of Moses*, and possibly the Zadokite Fragment (see p. 155 below, n. 1). To the closing years of the first Christian century belong the *2nd* (*4th*) *Book of Esdras* (partly edited by a Christian redactor) and the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, which are closely related to each other. *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, *The Ascension of Isaiah*, *The Apocalypse of Moses* are also valuable; in their origins they are pre-Christian, but they long retained their popularity and attained their present form in Christian circles as late as the second Christian century. The text of most of the extant documents of this nature with introduction and brief notes may be read in Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (4 vols., 1913). Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums* (3rd edition, revised by H. Gressmann, 1926), is indispensable for every department of the study of Judaism during the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era, and S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archæologie* (Vols. 1–3, 1910–4), serves the same function for that of the succeeding centuries. For more popular treatment of the subject see Edwyn Bevan, *Jerusalem under the High Priests* (1904), *The People and the Book* (1925), L. E. Browne, *From Babylon to Bethlehem* (1926), *The Legacy of Israel* (1927). For the latest scholarly work on Judaism see G. F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim* (2 vols., 1927), while Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus* (1890–1, but latest German edition, 1901–9) still remains indispensable.

understanding of the full-grown product, or an adequate appreciation of its spiritual significance for its adherents in its later developments. Conversely, however, to ignore entirely its origins and subsequent development is to run the danger of misinterpreting the relative proportions of essential and accidental characteristics to be found in the full-grown faith.

Its Earliest Ancestry.

The ancestry of Judaism—though then countless generations removed—included animism, totemism, polydæmonism, polytheism; it included gods both of tribes and of localities, nature worship and henotheism.[1] Even after the religion seemed to have passed successively through and beyond each of these early stages of development and to have embarked on higher possibilities, each and all of them, now separately, now inextricably blended, reappeared, with tragic results, as reversions to primitive type, marring and warping alike the religion itself and the mental and spiritual experience of its adherents, yet at times serving by their very terminology to give expression to truths newly enunciated which might otherwise have failed to gain a hearing.[2]

Its Debt to Neighbouring Religions.

To this extent the early ancestry of Judaism differed in no respect from that of most religions of antiquity. But Judaism was more immediately the descendant of the ' Hebrew Religion '. The latter presumably first assumed characteristics differentiating it from other Semitic religions when Moses, and subsequently the people whom he led forth from Egypt,

[1] See the brief but illuminating résumé of this in T. H. Robinson, *An Outline Introduction to the History of Religions* (1926), Chaps. 1–3.

[2] Of the beneficent result of the perpetuation and development, instead of the banishment, of the old and the substitution of something less intelligible, the history of the " Spirit " terminology is an excellent illustration: see the present writer's paper on " The Spirit in the Old Testament and Apocrypha " in *The Spirit in Life and Thought*, 1927, pp. 61–75. " There was little if any spiritual waste. The lower did not perish in the birth of the higher, but persisted. . . . The primitive is the permanent " (Israel Abrahams, *Some Permanent Values in Judaism*, 1924, p. 16).

passed through the unique experience of entering into covenant relationship with Jehovah and of becoming conscious, though dimly at first, of His moral attributes. Long centuries followed during which the Hebrew learned by bitter experience how unenviable was the lot of the little nation wedged in between two great Empires, Egypt on the one hand and the successive masters of Mesopotamia on the other hand, while other small nations around it plotted and counterplotted each other's ruin. Moreover from those Empires, sometimes directly, more often indirectly through neighbouring nations and the remnants of the former inhabitants of the country, the Hebrews absorbed much of the culture, the humanistic literature, the mythology of Mesopotamia and Egypt; they also adopted certain elements of their liturgical formulæ, psalmody, festal calendar, and sometimes even their cults. This process had gone far before the eighth century ushered in the era of the great Hebrew prophets with their revelation of the divine attributes such as righteouness, loving-kindness, and holiness, and their declaration that corresponding virtues were demanded of Israel.

The nation had scarcely begun to attempt the translation of these ideals into legislation, much less to appreciate Jeremiah's teaching of individual fellowship and his own life of communion with God, when Nebuchadrezzar transplanted the flower of the nation to Babylon, where Judaism was born. Its birth was, in part, the direct result of Ezekiel's synthesis of ' prophetic ' and ' priestly ' religion, his doctrine of the responsibility of the individual in Jehovah's eyes, his belief in the resurrection of the whole nation and in its restoration to Palestine, and in Jehovah's return to a reconstructed Temple and an ideal social system. In part it was due to the mystic, or mystics, to whom we owe *Isaiah* xl–lv, with their revelation of the Divine transcendence and of the truth of monotheism which henceforth remained a primary article of the creed of Judaism. Yet even this last momentous doctrine was probably not achieved by Judaism unaided by outside influences. Iranian thought, which contributed so much to the development of angelology and to the ideas of resurrection and judgment

which were prevalent in the Palestinian Judaism of the New Testament, may well also at this earlier time have helped the nascent Jewish Church to formulate this doctrine. But Judaism never slavishly followed any foreign models. Not only did it moralize and spiritualize all it borrowed: it 'judaized' it, and gave to it a form which enabled it to find a place in its religious system, literature, and theology.

The Rise and Eclipse of the Universalistic Tendency.

Thus far the history of Judaism might seem at first glance to point to its becoming the reconciling medium whereby all the tenets of other faiths might be purified and merged into a loftier conception of the essentials and demands of true religion, and eventually the universal religion of all mankind. Such indeed might well have been the destiny of Judaism had its leaders listened to the message contained in the 'Servant Songs', in which it was called to be a "light to lighten the Gentiles", a call to a world-mission set forth still more trenchantly in the Book of Jonah. But the natural hatred of their Babylonian foes and, after the Return, of the half-caste Samaritans whose first friendly overtures were rejected, and of the Edomite and other invaders of their territory, proved too strong for the triumph of this missionary and universalistic strain in Judaism. The narrower ecclesiasticism foreshadowed in Ezekiel quickly found itself in the ascendant under the leadership of Zerubbabel. It was driven by Nehemiah to its logical conclusions in the political sphere, and in the ecclesiastical by the ever-increasing demand for separation from the heathen made by Ezra and his spiritual successors. It is this narrower exclusiveness in Judaism, intensified by circumstances yet to be mentioned, which meets us almost everywhere in the New Testament. Only occasionally[1] do we find in Jewish literature the generous universalism exemplified in Simeon's salutation of the Infant Christ as "a light to lighten the Gentiles"

[1] See *Test. of XII Patriarchs, Naph.* viii. 3–4, and the summary of all the extant passages which reflect this point of view in H. J. Wicks, *The Doctrine of God* (1915).

(*Luke* ii. 32) and the Pauline stand for the free entry of Gentiles into the Christian Church. But the aged Simeon's song, unless it be an insertion into its context under the influence of the later Paulinism, certainly reminds us that the circles which influenced the boyhood of Jesus probably taught a simple piety which trustfully believed that in His own good time the God of Judaism would indeed gather all nations into His fold. The principle underlying the saying attributed to Jesus in the Fourth Gospel, " other sheep I have which are not of this fold ", may well have been among the earliest of those which he learned at His Mother's knee.

The Stereotyping of Official Judaism.

As early as the end of the Persian Period (331 B.C.) Judaism had become the religion of monotheism in which the Temple and the Law were all important: in addition, it had a more developed sacred Calendar and well-defined seasons of especial religious obligation, while certain institutions such as circumcision and the Sabbath assumed an importance comparable to that of Baptism and Sunday in strictly orthodox Christian circles. The rise of the synagogues, too, may well go back to the Persian Period. Officially Judaism now began to conserve all that was best in its heritage from the past by preserving the writings of the prophets and by editing the ancient traditions of the race. Since it was believed that the divine revelation was complete in the Law, the utterances of new prophets were discouraged and attention began to be concentrated upon the study and safeguarding of the Law, and the handing down to posterity of the traditional exegesis of the scribes of earlier generations.

The Rise of New Problems.

But, unofficially, wide circles of Jewry sought to penetrate deeper into the problems of life and theology which confronted them. Some of these problems resulted from new circumstances in the political sphere, others were contingent on the progress in thought made during the Exile. Only two

or three outstanding ones can be even briefly indicated here. If Jehovah was transcendent, removed and isolated from His Universe, instead of being localized as of old in Palestine, and more recently in the Temple, how could He any longer take an intimate interest in it? If He did, through what media did He communicate His will, through what instruments or agencies did He speak to men? Again, if Jehovah was the God of the Universe and not merely, as of old, of Palestine, could His rule of that Universe, viewed in the light of the tragedies of international relations, be regarded as just? How was it to be justified in view of the sin and wickedness of its heathen inhabitants and the obviously unjustifiable sufferings of His own people at the hands of the heathen? Or again, Jehovah was the God not only of the race, but of the individual: could His dealings with individuals be held to be just? How could His providence be justified in view of the physical sufferings of men such as Job, and of the mental and spiritual as well as physical sufferings of those who died for Judaism and Jehovah, as did the martyrs of the Maccabean struggle and others who in later days defied the majesty of Rome? Moreover, when faith or reason, or both, answered that God's rule of the universe and His providence in regard to the individual were alike moral, and designed for the ultimate benefit of both, the further question arose as to how a synthesis of the eschatology of the Church and nation on the one hand, and of the individual on the other could be constructed. These are but three of the many new issues which confronted the thoughtful Jew of post-exilic days, and the answers to which made an indelible mark on the Judaism in which Christ was educated.

The Various Reactions to these Problems.

Men of loose morals and of low intellectual standard—there are such in every nation—might be impervious to the impact of such questions. They would continue to pay lip-service to the official religion and, for the rest, resort to magical rites and beliefs in demoniacal agencies, and find comfort in those survivals of earlier phases of religion, to the repeated

recrudescence of which reference has already been made. Men who held official posts as the guardians of the sacred Temple might well be hostile not only to such depraved tendencies, but also to honest searchers after answers to these questions, and to the formulation of hypotheses to explain them which found no justification in the Temple liturgy. Conservative exponents of the Law would similarly hesitate to accept new theories of life, the universe, or God, unless they were deducible from the Law, either directly or indirectly by means of some involved or intricate method of exegesis to which they were gradually becoming accustomed.[1] Moreover, the very occurrences which made some of these questions all the more urgent—Antiochus Epiphanes's attempt to extirpate the Jewish religion, Pompey's entry into the Temple, to mention no others—intensified the devotion of the devout Palestinian Jew alike to the Temple and the Law, and strengthened his determination to remain religiously separate from the heathen enemies of his religion. In the face of circumstances such as these a dispassionate examination of the religious beliefs of other peoples and a *conscious* borrowing from any of them was impossible in the case of those Palestinian Jews who were the true spiritual descendants of men who, when many of their compatriots embraced Hellenism at Antiochus Epiphanes's behest, sacrificed their lives in defence of Temple, Sabbath, Circumcision, and all that endeared Judaism as a religion to its adherents. Consequently the Pharisees, the spiritual descendants in question, were entirely oblivious of the extent to which they had all unwillingly borrowed certain of their distinctive doctrines, or at least the forms in which they expressed them, from foreign sources. The Sadducees, because at heart descendants of the *political* and *nationalist* followers of Judas Maccabæus, had no such progressive theology and therefore, from this point of view, had no need to borrow theological ideas or terminology; they had less

[1] How very far removed from the scientific exegesis of the twentieth Christian century their exegesis could become is well exemplified by St. Paul's recourse to it in *1 Cor.* x. 1–4; *Gal.* iv. 21–31.

antagonism to foreign ideas as distinct from foreign political domination.

The Reaction in 'Wisdom' Circles.

The type of question outlined above had already been asked, and partial solutions had been offered even before Antiochus Epiphanes's mad persecution had prejudiced the Palestinian Jew for long years to come against every form of Hellenistic culture and philosophy. And the Jew, as of old, had already drawn upon the religious experience of the outside world—the world both of Mediterranean civilization and of the Further East. Two great outstanding movements of thought were now gathering force. One of them, the 'Wisdom Movement', though typically Semitic in its origins and always remaining essentially Jewish, approximated, especially in Alexandria, to Greek ways of thought, Greek ways of visualizing these problems, Greek ways of answering them. Its greatest Alexandrian Jewish exponent was a contemporary of our Lord, Philo, whose works reveal the effort of a Jew, who was never disloyal to Judaism, to enrich his faith from Greek thought, and above all to deck it out in a Greek dress.[1] Greek philosophy of 'the street corner' has also been detected in the Alexandrian Book of Wisdom. Apart from the Book of Proverbs, only one Wisdom Book, Ecclesiastes, finally found a place in the Palestinian Canon of Scripture. But Ecclesiasticus, though in Hebrew it now survives in a fragmentary form only, is also the work of a Palestinian Jew; in Palestine no less than in the Jewish Diaspora and later in the Christian Church, it was a chief favourite; in its Hebrew form as well as in its Greek translation, it underwent more than one revision. Its contents, like *Prov.* viii, well exemplify the limited extent to which Palestinian Jews were prepared to go in accepting the Hellenization of native Hebrew conceptions of Wisdom, and of the relations between the transcendent Deity and His Universe. Another book which falls into the category of Wisdom Litera-

[1] For a clear statement of Philo's position see, e.g., W. Fairweather, *Jesus and the Greeks* (1924), pp. 164–217.

ture, most probably of Egyptian Jewish origin, the Book of Tobit, reflects even less of the specifically Hellenistic spirit, though remarkable for the brilliant combination within itself of varying literary and religio-ethical models ranging from those of Persia to those of Egypt.[1]

The Reaction in Apocalyptic Circles.

The other movement, however, flourished more especially among Palestinian Jews and was practically unchecked by any official condemnation; only in official Sadducean circles can its specific tenets be said to have failed entirely to obtain a hearing. So far from receiving a set-back through the onslaughts on Judaism of persecutors such as Antiochus Epiphanes, this type of thought flourished the more in times of adversity. It nerved the Hasidæans to sacrifice on sacrifice, and itself received new inspiration from every calamity which befell the Jewish Church and individual members of it. It was not with the specifically Greek, but with the emphatically Eastern elements in Hellenistic culture that this movement had most affinities: it drew the greater part of its imagery, if not also of its essential ideas, ultimately from that Iranian circle of thought with which the Jews had become increasingly familiar from the time of Cyrus and Darius onwards. Thus, in describing the survival of the individual after death, it frequently utilized the imagery of bodily resurrection, where Jewish exponents of this doctrine who were tinged with Greek thought spoke of 'immortality'.[2] It developed the doctrine of a great final Assize and of places of punishment and bliss to which those thus judged were consigned. Endless were the fantastic descriptions and the involved imagery employed by numerous writers on themes such as these.

[1] See the introduction to Tobit in Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Vol. I. pp. 174–201. The book was probably amongst those read by our Lord in His childhood and, it would appear, influenced the Gospels writers, *ibid.*, note to xii. 16–22.

[2] For the development of Hebrew and Jewish speculations as to the unseen world in general see C. F. Burney, *Israel's Hope of Immortality* (1909), W. O. E. Oesterley, *Immortality and the Unseen World* (1921), F. Nörscher, *Altorientalischer und Alttestamentlicher Auferstehungsglauben* (1926).

Angelology and Demonology.

Instead of a personified (though scarcely ever thoroughly hypostatized) principle of Wisdom or 'Logos' or 'Powers' as the intermediary (or intermediaries) between the transcendent God and His Universe, Apocalyptic formulated a doctrine of angels and demons, respectively the loyal servants and deadly enemies of God. This, though not without warrant in Scripture, was ultimately swollen to excessive proportions and, at times, reduced to absurdity by the development of a bewildering series of orders and gradations among these superterrestrial beings, drawn in part more or less directly from Eastern sources, and in part from survivals of popular Palestinian demonology. Michael, the archangel, became the guardian angel of the chosen people, while Azazel, or Beliar, or Satan, or Mastema, as he is variously named, became the leader of the spirits of evil. Just as Michael was not independent of his Creator, so Satan and his satellites, fallen and defiant though they were, the tempters of men, the enemies of God and of Israel, were never regarded as the creatures of any god or gods other than Jehovah. No real Dualism is to be found in Judaism. Unlike those of the Wisdom Movement, the literary products of this trend of thought required no philosophical acumen or preparation on the part of their readers. The angelology, demonology, and descriptions of coming material prosperity for the righteous Jew in the heavenly Jerusalem and of torment for his tormentors, which appeared in various literary creations of this type, could not but appeal to the popular imagination. But the grandeur of its faith in God commended it to the devout in all classes of society—not merely, as some have thought, only to the Galilean peasantry—to whom religion, rather than mere external ecclesiasticism, was the mainspring of life.

The Spread and Ultimate Extinction of Apocalyptic.

Not all Pharisees necessarily accepted the Apocalyptists' philosophy of the past and the future in its entirety, but the

majority at least accepted its doctrine of the resurrection and shared its angelology: they ingeniously found justification for these tenets in the Law itself and defended them against the Sadducees. The latter either denied entirely the truth of conscious existence after death or, more probably, advanced a belief in a bare idea of immortality of the soul as against that of a bodily resurrection.[1] Its careful chronological data in regard to the past, linked with its apparent certainty as to the future expressed in terms which were capable of repeated reinterpretation, appear to have obtained for it, in increasingly widening circles prior to A.D. 70, a measure of unofficial respect second only to that in which the Law itself was held. Thoroughly pessimistic as to the present world-dispensation, it proclaimed a gospel of optimism and prayerful watching for the immediate and final revelation of God which was the very antithesis of Ecclesiastes's dictum, "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity." Properly understood, it was capable of leading its followers to higher ideals than those achieved by the older prophetic descriptions of political supremacy under the leadership of a Warrior Christ, even when the latter was ethically conceived. Thus understood it assumed, as His teaching in manhood preserved in the Gospels clearly shows, a very important part in the education of our Lord. Unfortunately it was banned by later Judaism, partly on account of its popularity among Christians, and partly too because, improperly understood, it had played no small part in inciting the Jewish populace to embark on the disastrous war of A.D. 70. In consequence the Book of Daniel [2]

[1] On this view, which is the more probable, see W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Books of the Apocrypha*, pp. 130–59, where the other important differences between Pharisees and Sadducees are discussed, including the former's admiration for the prophetical literature and the latter's refusal to give so much authority to it, their differing views on God, the work of providence in human life, their disagreements as to the lunar and solar calendar, &c. On their differences in legal interpretations see Foakes Jackson and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Part 1, Vol. I, Appendix D. Cf. also F. C. Burkitt, "Jesus and the 'Pharisees'" in *The Journal of Theological Studies* (July), 1927.

[2] On the theology of this book and its place in Jewish religion see J. A. Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel* (International Critical Commentary, 1927), pp. 78–87.

and *Isaiah* xxiv–xxvii are the only considerable sections of this numerous literature which have found a place in the Jewish Palestinian Canon.[1]

The Divergent Tendencies in Judaism intermingled with each other.

Such then were the most remarkable constituents of the Judaism which had been evolved by the dawn of the Christian era and then existed both in Galilee and in Jerusalem. This Judaism did indeed combine within itself the most diverse elements,[2] yet it must not be imagined that any one of these any longer remained, if indeed it had ever existed entirely separate and apart from the others, in, as it were, a water-tight compartment. Men did not clearly label themselves ' Apocalyptist of the advanced school ', ' Apocalyptist of the old-fashioned kind ', or ' Native Hebrew Wisdom adherent ', ' Advanced Wisdom adherent '. Elements of one system of thought were inextricably interwoven with those of another. The presuppositions of the seemingly old-fashioned exponent of the Warrior Christ of the prophetical type, if analysed,

[1] I.e. " the Old Testament " of the Christian (Protestant) Bible.

[2] The reader interested in this aspect of the subject may consult Erik Stave, *Ueber den Einfluss des Parsismus auf das Judentum* (1898); J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism* (1913), pp. 286–331; G. W. Carter, *Zoroastrianism and Judaism* (1913); C. T. Harley Walker, " Persian Influence on the Development of Biblical Religion ", in *The Interpreter*, Vol. I, pp. 313–20. For the pan-Oriental views of H. Gressmann in this connexion see his " Die Aufgaben der Wissenchaft vom nachbiblischen Judentum " in *Z.A.T.W.* (1925), pp. 1–32, and for a timely caveat against mistaking " half-Jewish, half-heathen " conceptions for " Judaism " see Kittel, *op. cit.*, pp. 73–6, especially p. 75, n. 4. On the possibilities of the influence of Buddhism see Georg Faber, " Buddhistiche und neutestamentliche Erzählungen, das Problem ihrer gegenseitigen Beeinflussung " (*Untersuchungen zum N.T.*, 4, 1913); H. Haas, " Bibliographie zur Frage nach den Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Buddhismus und Christentum " (*Veroff. des Staatl. Forschungsinst für vergleichende Religionsgesch. an der Univ. Leipzig*, No. 6, 1922). It would appear that Egypt was the original home of the " golden rule " of Hillel and Jesus, see the present writer's " Teaching of Amenophis and the Book of Proverbs " in *The Egyptian Journal of Archæology* (1926), and W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Wisdom of Egypt and the Old Testament* (1927), and for an attempt, first made by Gressmann, to find the original of the Parable of Dives and Lazarus in an Egyptian model, known to our Lord presumably in His boyhood in a Jewish dress, see Hans Windisch, " Overstrekking on Echtheid der Lazarusparabel ", in *Nieuw Theol. Tijdschr.* (1925), pp. 343–60.

might be found to include a clearly-marked apocalyptic dogma of a world-catastrophe and a judgment after death, and so on. Nor were men conscious that any of these distinctive opinions were traceable to foreign originals or were in any way influenced by, or had essential affinity with, those of any Gentile nation, Greek, Roman, Semitic, or Far Eastern.

The Many-sided Character of Judaism in Our Lord's Boyhood.

In the light of this retrospect it is self-evident that the Judaism in which our Lord was educated was rich and varied. It contained things new and old, ennobling and degrading; it mirrored man's highest insight into the unseen and the spiritual, while it preserved much that was no more than the petrified remnants of earlier strata of civilization and of comparatively blind, aimless searching after the Divine. It was no narrow school of religion although its education was by no means finished. No religion could be prouder of its heritage from the past: no adherents of any religion could be more determined to safeguard their faith from external influences even to the point of standardizing both its central tenets and its least important observances, than were the religious leaders of the Jews.

Judaism on the Defensive against New Inroads of Hellenism.

But this determination to maintain the Faith owed in part its vitality to the very fact that Hellenistic culture, cults, and speculations were still sweeping into Palestine, and their impact was becoming more constant and threatening. Only if we give full weight to this fact shall we have a rightful appreciation, even if condemnation be not entirely transformed into admiration, of the conservative leaders of Judaism. When most tempted, under the influence of the Gospel criticisms of them, to condemn the 'scribes' of the Pharisees and even the latter themselves, it bids us think of them, on the contrary, as really seeking to preserve a living religion against the en-

croachment of foreign cultures and faiths. These, though some of what they offered was admirable, would have forced upon Judaism much that was undoubtedly poorer than the lofty religious aspirations, spiritual ideals, and moral precepts which were characteristic of Judaism at its highest. Even if, to their own undoing, they well-nigh petrified religion in the process, the Jewish leaders' tenacious stand for these ideals deserves our admiration to a far greater extent than most Christian writers usually admit. It must be remembered too that Hellenism, when once the Syrian yoke was lifted from his neck and the Roman substituted for it, was no longer for the ordinary man the object of hatred which it had been previously. No longer a political menace, its insidious religious dangers to the welfare of Judaism might have been entirely forgotten by the man in the street but for this dogged antipathy to all things Gentile, this well-nigh blind devotion to ' the Law ', this devoted stand for ' the traditions of the fathers ', this self-satisfied conviction that they themselves were the sole exegetes of God's self-revelation, which characterized the Pharisees.

The Mentality of the Jewish Religious and Political Leaders.

True, they often, probably increasingly, fell far below their own standards of conduct and of humanitarian idealism in relation even to their own co-religionists—to minimize this fact in the desire to defend them is at once stupid and unscientific. But it was their misfortune, rather than their fault, that they failed to recognize the Divine in One who was, to their prejudiced and suspicious minds, only one of many popular leaders. He came forward with strange doctrines; He defied their purificatory laws; He had the audacity to denounce the hollowness of their regulations about ecclesiastical fasting; and, apparently wantonly, broke, and even mocked at, their well-intentioned Sabbath regulations. It was *these* leaders of religion whom He denounced most violently: and He did so doubtless because He saw in *them*, in spite of

their faults, the *best* there was in Judaism. He therefore summoned *them* loudly and boldly, not only to live up to their own ideals, but even to raise them to His own perfect standards. Their failure to recognize Him was indeed their misfortune—so He Himself summed it up at the end—" Father, forgive them, for *they know not* what they do." Their position of authority and leadership largely conduced to it, for authority all the world over, in the ecclesiastical as well as in the political sphere, can not tolerate the charge of ' hypocrisy ' and shrinks from all discussion as to the rightfulness of its dicta. It ever seeks to remove not the conditions of its own making which justify the charges brought against it, but those outspoken servants of God who make the charges. Some of the Pharisees were probably no better and no worse than many rulers of Christ's Church against whom the same charges of hypocrisy and oppression of the poor have been brought: but He Himself certainly did not bring against them indictments as sweeping and as horrible as those which historians have had to enter against several Bishops of Rome. Indeed the charge, for instance, that " they devoured widows' houses ", even if, in its original context, it referred to Pharisees as a whole and not to a definite class or individual among them under discussion, is only understood in its true significance when it is realized that, in the past at least, not only had they as a matter of ethical teaching, but, as Josephus emphasises, they had in actual practice, successfully justified themselves to their fellow-countrymen as the would-be guardians of the widow, the poor, the oppressed.[1] Neither in Jewish literature nor in the Gospels is it suggested that the poor hated them and regarded them as their enemies. The Romans, the Rome-loving and dissolute House of Herod, the Sadducean aristocracy, the oppressive landlord, the unprincipled tax-gatherers far more

[1] On the *'Am ha-'Areṣ* (" the people of the land "), their attitude to the leaders of religion, and to religion itself, see C. G. Montefiore, *The Synoptic Gospels*, Vol. I, pp. cvii–cxvi, and G. F. Moore, " The 'Am Ha-Aretz and the Haberim " in Foakes Jackson and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Part 1, Vol. I, Appendix E, as well as in his volumes already referred to.

deserved, fully earned and received the hatred of the populace.[1] But when the Pharisees joined hands with the Sadducees, the populace so far trusted the judgment of the former, or rather unthinkingly and loyally followed this Pharisaic leadership, as to allow Him to be crucified Whom they had lately hailed with 'Hosannah'. It was indeed the Pharisees who crucified Christ: but it was the Pharisees also whose devotion had kept intact alike from natural decay and from Hellenism, and had even made no mean contribution to, the Judaism in which Christ was educated.

[1] Not that the Roman authorities were more venal in Palestine than were officials of similar status among other subjects of Rome who showed a like implacable hostility to Roman culture and administration. Nor were the tax-gatherers wholly bad, unprincipled, or, at heart, necessarily apostates from Judaism. Similarly all landowners were not necessarily avaricious: in part at least the economic conditions of the times were responsible for much of the poverty of the day. Just as the Herodian family with its vicious propensities tended to fall *below* the standard of life which reigned in the best Roman families of the times, so the upper classes of the Jews, by reason of the religious bond which existed between them, probably practised in their dealings with their dependents and poorer neighbours a *higher* humanitarian ideal than did those of the Gentiles. So too the Sadducean priesthood, in spite of its conservative theology which went hand-in-hand with an unfortunate blindness to spiritual realities, in spite too of its aristocratic contempt for the point of view of the masses and its comparative friendliness towards a wider outlook than that of the Pharisees, less hostility to Hellenism, and greater subservience to the Roman authorities, must not be passed over as altogether vicious and contemptible. Judged not by the standard of their rivals, the Pharisees, but by that of the priestly authorities of *other* religions of their time, they emerge from the test much better men than they are often painted. Moreover, the "Zadokite Fragment", if it is rightly connected with their circles rather than with a sect of Christians (G. Margoliouth) or the Dositheans (Schechter), shows that they were far from dead to all spiritual realities. "Those who had entered a new Covenant", disgusted at the spiritual shortcomings of the Holy City, and being—either literally or spiritually—true "sons of Zadok" (*Ezek.* xliv, 15), withdrew, according to this document, to a community life near Damascus in order to restore the original purity and exact details of Israel's religious life in the wilderness. A ritual ceremony and solemn oath admitted the neophyte to the community, which was strictly monogamous and presided over by "the inspector" who "sat in Moses' seat". Mention is made of a "Teacher of Righteousness", the "only Teacher", "The Star", now supposed to be dead, now as coming in the future. The sect had an opponent, a "man of scoffing", and expected tribulations to precede the coming of "the anointed one", a Messiah not of Judean but of Levitical lineage as in *Jubilees* xxxi, 12 ff. and *Test. of Twelve Patriarchs, Judah* xxv. See further S. Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, Vol. I, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (1910); G. Margoliouth, "The Sadducean Christians of Damascus", in *The Expositor* (1911–2); C. G. Montefiore, *The Spirit of Judaism* in Foakes Jackson and Lake, *op. cit.*, pp. 97–101. The most important study of the Sadducees is that of R. Leszynsky, *Die Sadduzäer* (1912).

Galilean Judaism.

It is only if we try to visualize the ways in which, and as far as possible the extent to which, Hellenism in its various aspects was then succeeding in entering Palestine that we shall rightly understand either the peculiar environment in which our Lord was educated in His boyhood or that which drew from Him later His stern denunciation of that Judaism of Jerusalem which finally condemned Him to death. His earliest education, be it remembered, though in a family circle of simple piety and unaffected religious zeal, was not carried out in the sheltered atmosphere of a narrowly orthodox Pharisaic home nor under the shadow of the Temple in a worldly priestly family. It took place in Galilee. This district was originally so named because it was almost surrounded by non-Israelite territory: it was still the district of Jewry which lay nearest to the great Hellenistic world of which Antioch in Syria was the capital. Still nearer stood the confessedly Hellenistic city of Cæsarea Philippi. Even if the majority of the inhabitants of most of the villages of Galilee be held to have been at this time of pure Hebrew descent—and this is in doubt—the fact remains that new ideas, whether from Antioch or the Further East, would easily filter into Palestine by way of Galilee. On its southern borders, separating it from the head-quarters of Judaism, lay Samaria, against whose religious schism and mixed descent antipathy in orthodox circles showed no sign of abatement. Galilee, though in this way geographically separated from Judæa, avowed, in orthodox circles, allegiance to the same great fundamental principles as did Jerusalem; but it by no means follows that even these Galilean circles were at one with Judæa in regard to matters which were not regarded as fundamental.

The Influence of Galilean Judaism on that of Judæa.

To reconstruct, then, the main outlines of Jewish life in Jerusalem, and to transfer them without more ado to Galilee

in general and to Nazareth in particular is unscientific, and liable to give a false impression of the cultural and religious environment of the latter. On the other hand, we must not allow the pendulum to swing too far in the opposite direction, and, in the absence of reliable evidence, hastily imagine that the inhabitants of Galilee were at this period of so mixed a descent as to be excluded from the category of ' Hebrews ' or ' Jews '; that the Gospel record of Galilean piety, numerous synagogues, and meticulous care for the minutiæ of the ceremonial law are wholly untrue to fact. The very proximity of paganism always evokes a more lively religious faith in pious and orthodox circles who feel the challenge and therefore the more zealously practise with meticulous care those very customs and external rites which, whether they still retain any spiritual significance or not, are the recognized badges and symbols of the faith in question. For instance, in Galilean circles of a distinctively Jewish type, Sabbath observance, Synagogue attendance, and pilgrimages to the central shrine of Judaism for the great festivals, whenever opportunity offered itself, formed an essential part, not merely of Pharisaic formalism, but of real simple piety. Whatever problems the *differentiæ* of Galilean piety as compared with those of Judæa set us, they are more probably concerned with *additions* to the normal cycle of Jewish beliefs and practices than with subtractions from them. For instance, a pilgrim from Nazareth to the Temple at Passovertide brought with him as lively a faith in and as close an acquaintance with ' the Law, the Prophets and the rest of the books ' as well as with the traditions of the elders, and a determination to practise their ethical, moral, and ceremonial demands as had any inhabitant of Jerusalem who belonged to a similar stratum of society and had a like passion for the worship of the God of Israel. But there might well be this difference: the Galilean brought with him mental presuppositions, the products of closer acquaintance with certain phases of Hellenistic thought and life and Eastern speculation which had filtered into Galilee in a form with which the Judæan was as yet unacquainted, or only acquainted

through the medium of pilgrims from Galilee, or of traders who came to Jerusalem from the North.

Other Influences at Work in Judæa.

It was not, however, only from Galilee that the inhabitants of Jerusalem and Judah learned of Hellenistic ways of thought and life. The Galilean pilgrim to Jerusalem could, if he wished, and the trader would almost inevitably, transplant to Galilee Hellenistic ideals which had come to his notice during and because of his sojourn in Judæa.

The Diaspora as a Medium for the spread of Hellenism in Palestine.

The Judaism of the Diaspora, particularly that of Alexandria, acted as a bridge between Palestinian Judaism—more particularly that of Jerusalem and Judæa—on the one hand, and the unadulterated Hellenism of the Pagan world on the other. Hellenistic and other pagan ideas which Judaism would have rejected uncompromisingly from the time of Antiochus Epiphanes onwards, if presented to it directly by Hellenism, could still enter Palestinian Judaism unrecognized, because brought thither by pilgrims to the Temple who were representatives of the most pronounced Jewish piety of the Diaspora. Moreover, Hellenism in many of its salient features was already firmly established in Palestine itself: the Jew could not entirely cut himself off from contact with it, and constant association of this kind inevitably reacted to some extent in the long run upon all but the most prejudiced in their religious, national, and social ideals. Greek cities had arisen on the western seaboard of Judæa much as they had done in the vicinity of Galilee, ornate with Greek architecture, equipped with facilities for Greek games, in themselves advertisements for the spread of Greek civic ideals, and centres for the acquisition of a knowledge of the Greek language. That language from Alexander's day had become more and more the language of international relations, and in the time of Christ it was the paramount language. It was the language of the trader and of the mendicant,

of new religious ideas in all the Mediterranean coast-lands, and, not least important, the language in which Roman officials administered justice at its eastern end.[1] With Greek as the international language, with Roman roads and Roman organization of means of communication, East and West were coming closer to each other than ever before. Mithras was soon to journey Romewards as the soldiers' god, and the gods of Rome penetrated wherever the Roman Empire held sway; while the cult of the Roman Emperor himself was already on the eve of its victorious career in the East. Official Palestinian Judaism might—and it did with all its strength—resist the imposition of the worship of the gods of Hellenism and draw up minute regulations as to the correct etiquette and behaviour of the devout Jew in regard to the images of pagan gods,[2] and refuse to allow the Roman Eagle to be placed upon a porch of the Temple, but it could do no more than check—it could not entirely arrest—the invasion of Egyptian and Oriental, Greek and Roman ideas. Thus facilitated, Greek ideas must have spread at least among some sections of the Jewish people and have produced a recrudescence of earlier phases of superstitions, mythological speculations, and magical rites, and may indeed have added new ones. Some of them, partly clothed in Jewish forms, were already to some extent used, paradoxical as it may seem, to express characteristic doctrines of certain sects or aspects of Judaism.

Foreign Elements in Essenism.

Moreover, Hellenism no longer consisted of ideas derived from specifically *Greek* thought. That Oriental ideas of a very

[1] Thus 'Hebrew' was now the 'sacred' language. Since the Return from Exile Aramaic had become more and more the living native language or dialect of Palestine, spoken in their own homes by all who had not become wholly or partially Hellenized. See Dalman, *The Words of Jesus* (English translation, 1902). For a somewhat revolutionary view as to the home language of the Jews, scarcely tenable but demanding attention, see M. H. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (1927), and for the origins and linguistic affinities of the sacred language of our Lord's race see G. R. Driver, "The Modern Study of the Hebrew Language", in *The People and the Book* (1925), pp. 73–120.

[2] See the tractate of the Mishnah entitled *Aboda Zara* (i.e. idolatry).

pronounced character had already entered Palestine, and had successfully established themselves in some circles—whether in the train of Hellenism in general, or directly from the Orient —is put beyond dispute by the peculiar beliefs and practices of the Essenes. The members of this rigorist and ascetic sect of Palestinian Judaism, retaining as they did many distinctively Jewish beliefs and doctrines unaltered, modified certain dogmas and added others. They formulated for themselves a code of practical life which was perhaps partly Greek—possibly Pythagorean—but which was also in part certainly of Oriental and especially of Persian origin. In particular, the Essenes' *sacramental* treatment of common meals should warn us against a too hasty judgment in favour of the commonly accepted view, that not only in its origins was the Jewish sacrificial system not sacramental, but that also in New Testament times it was necessarily and always regarded merely as a 'good deed' to be performed, lacking all sacramental efficacy, and conveying no 'grace' whatsoever to those who took part in it.[1] Indeed, it is far too hastily assumed that, whatever may have been the extent to which the specific ideas and practices of the 'mystery-religions' held sway outside Palestine, and influenced the thought and practice of the Judaism of the Diaspora and of European Christianity, they did not enter Palestine at least sufficiently early to be reckoned among the religious ideas in which our Lord was educated, and in regard to which He sought to educate His disciples at the Last Supper.[2]

[1] Such, for instance, are in general the conclusions expressed in G. B. Gray, *Sacrifice in the Old Testament, Its Theory and Practice* (1925).

[2] Cf. J. W. C. Wand, *The Development of Sacramentalism* (1928), Chaps. I–V, who also favours the view that such sacramental ideas were innate in the Jewish sacrificial worship and were presupposed by our Lord in His words and acts at the Last Supper. See further Karl Völker, *Mysterium und Agape* (1927). On the allied question of the Jewish doctrine of baptism in general, and of that of the Essenes in particular, see Oesterley and Box, *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, pp. 255–64.

Were Ideas of a 'Mystery' Type Prevalent in Palestine?

Specifically 'mystery-religion' ideas, e.g. the idea of the dying and rising god, were certainly current in pre-exilic Hebrew religion and also in Alexandrian Judaism prior to our Lord's day.[1] Thus it is unjustifiable to argue from the lack of evidence in New Testament times that no ideas of this kind could have continued to exist in Palestinian Judaism. But it is equally uncritical to suppose that they *did*, at least in any definitely formulated manner, and to proceed upon that uncertain basis to argue that our Lord was educated in an environment of this kind, and further to read it, without more ado, into any of His teaching recorded in the Synoptic Gospels, or to use it to prove the genuineness of any sayings in the Fourth Gospel[2] which presuppose the terminology or ideas of the theology of the mystery-religions.

The Doctrine of God; Inconsistent Elements.

Enough has been written to demonstrate on the one hand the virile, undying devotion of its exponents to Judaism, and, on the other hand, the lack of homogeneity in the inherited characteristics and general atmosphere of Judaism as late as the first half of the first Christian century. It should not surprise us, therefore, to find a corresponding lack of cohesion even in the central doctrines of Judaism when examined in detail. The doctrine of God as we have seen was now definitely monotheistic: this much is beyond dispute. Though Jewish piety always conceived of God as 'at hand' (*Jer.* xxiii, 23), His transcendence was emphasized and over emphasized. Even His Name revealed of old to Moses (*Exod.* iii. 14) was

[1] See G. Kittel, *Die Hellenistiche Mysterienreligion und das Alte Testament* (1924), and, on Hosea, Gressmann, "The Development of Hebrew Psalmody" in D. C. Simpson, *The Psalmists* (1926).

[2] On Jerome's reference to the cult of Tammuz at Bethlehem and on various versions of the Jewish Midrash and on the possibility of the influence of the myth of Osiris on Judaism, see Gerhard Kittel, *op. cit.*, p. 83, and Excursus II, pp. 69–194.

no longer used; in its place epithets such as ' The Merciful ', ' The Holy One ', or periphrases like ' The Most High, the Lord of Heaven ' were employed, or, with a still greater recoil from all possibility of irreverence, terms such as ' The Name ', ' The Place ', ' The Word ' (Memra) were used.[1] His ethical qualities were also recognized—up to a point. Beyond that point inconsistencies become apparent, corresponding generally to the various types of thought and the presuppositions which contributed to the sum total of the adherents to the Jewish Faith. Thus all could apply the term ' Father ' to God —the philosophical writer Philo and the author of the Book of Wisdom need only be mentioned to illustrate its use in Alexandria, while the occurrence of the term in Palestinian literature, late as well as early, testifies to the universal employment of the expression. Every Jew of the period could have subscribed to the opening formula of ' the Lord's prayer '.[2] No greater mistake can be made than to suppose that it was Christ who first, or chiefly, employed the term, or who first emphasized the Doctrine of the Fatherhood of God. The word Father came naturally to Him, because He had been familiar with it from His childhood in prayer and speech at home, in Scripture, in Psalmody, and in discourses alike in Galilean synagogues and in the awe-inspiring environment of the Temple. But what was the exact connotation of the expression? Different *nuances* of the term have to be taken into consideration and various shades of meaning attaching to the word must be carefully differentiated. That God was a father to Israel was fully recognized; that, in a really ethical sense, He was a father to individual Jews was also to some extent appreciated. But was He in a real sense the ' Father ' of the Universe and of all mankind including the Gentiles? Here it was that

[1] On these and on *Bath Kol*, *Shekinah*, and ' *Metatron* ', which played so important a rôle in later days, see Box and Oesterley, *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, pp. 169–95.

[2] On the truly Jewish character of this prayer from beginning to end see C. Taylor, *The Sayings of the Jewish Fathers* (1897), and especially Israel Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels* (2nd Series), pp. 94–108, and *Some Rabbinic Ideas in Prayer*, *ibid.*, pp. 72–93.

opinion wavered. No Jew hesitated to see in him ' The King ' —not only ' our King ' but ' the King of the Universe '. But it is significant that, to judge from the Jewish literature still extant which emanated from the last two pre-Christian and the first Christian centuries, that in which the Gentiles were included within the orbit of the Divine providence and favour became more and more infrequent till the first Christian century, and that in which it was confined entirely to Israel increased. But, apart from this grave defect in their conception of the Divine Being, the God of the Jew was quite unjustifiably attacked by Marcion, who claimed that He was just, but not wholly good. However ' stern and relentless ' the God of the Old Testament and of the Judaism in which Christ was educated may appear to the twentieth-century mind, and however much ' this has darkened our later theology ',[1] to the imagination of His own worshippers both young and aged He ever appeared in the opposite light, whether they were simple village carpenters of Nazareth or skilled exegetes, Pharisees, of Jerusalem. On this issue the lessons learned at His Mother's knee and His own teaching in His manhood could have met no criticism at the hands of His bitterest Pharisaic opponent, however much the latter might have criticized Christ's practical application of it. But not even in our Lord's teaching is the doctrine of God's *universal* Fatherhood enunciated in a way which puts it beyond dispute; and it is inconceivable that He took a less liberal view than did the Judaism which in so many ways He sought to broaden and spiritualize. Moreover, if we judge this issue in the light of its natural corollary, namely the Jews' actual attitude towards Gentiles and their preconception as to the ultimate fate of the latter, we shall realize how little practical value the recognition of God's Fatherhood of the whole human race had at this time for the nation in general.[2]

[1] L. R. Farnell, *The Attributes of God* (1925), pp. 174, 178.

[2] See H. J. Wicks, *op. cit.*, for the teaching contained in the literature prior to the end of the first Christian century, and A. Marmorstein, *The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God*, Vol. I, *The Names and Attributes of God* (1927).

Messianic Expectations.

So too when we consider the Messianic expectations of this period, we meet with a similar lack of consistency. Even setting aside the worldly-wise practical outlook of the Sadducean hierarchy, which was ordinarily unwilling to build castles in the air, or deviate unduly from the line of common sense in any department of life,[1] we must not suppose that the rest of the population was agreed that a Messiah was at hand. Some were still content to concentrate their attention on a human Messiah, a Warrior Christ—a Judæan rather than a Levite, as had been thought in an age much nearer that of the Maccabees. Others—whether they were indeed numerous is very doubtful—expected a Messiah of more or less *heavenly* origin who would miraculously appear after, not before, the final tribulation, whose kingdom would not be of this world but was one to be unfolded only after the collapse of the present world-order.[2] Many were influenced by a comparatively large amount of Apocalyptic literature in which no Messiah has a place but where God Himself adjudicates, and, directly or through angelic mediation, establishes the New Order. The latter sometimes appears to have included a Messianic Banquet, a detail of Jewish eschatology which throws a flood of light on *Luke* xiv. 15–24, and may in part explain the original intention of Christ's institution of 'the Lord's Supper'. On this theory the latter was proleptically a celebration of that Messianic banquet, enacted without any intention of its being repeated till the Messianic Age had come (*Luke* xxii. 16). But in spite of all the uncertainty as to

[1] But see p. 155, n. 1, above, on the Zadokite Fragment.

[2] It is impossible to estimate to what extent Jews of our Lord's day spoke of the Messiah as "Son of Man". Even though the expression in *Daniel* vii. 9–14, may originally have referred to Israel or to the Archangel Michael, it was interpreted messianically in the *Similitudes of Enoch*, and "the Man" is somewhat similarly employed in *4 Ezra* xiii. 1 ff. In *Enoch*, however, this personage introduces the End and the Age to come, whereas in *4 Ezra* he introduces only the limited "days of the Messiah". On the various titles of the Messiah in existence at the time and so capable of having influenced our Lord's expectations of the End even in the days of His childhood, see Foakes Jackson and Lake, *op. cit.*, pp. 345–420.

which, if any, particular view of the Messiah and of the Messianic Kingdom was most widespread, it can be safely and definitely asserted that the stereotyped and self-consistent cycle of eschatological expectations presupposed by Schweitzer in his elaboration of Jesus's eschatological programme never existed either in Galilee or Jerusalem. Neither Christ nor any other Jewish boy was educated in an inelastic system of this kind. With equal certainty it may be affirmed that no department of Judaism had ever conceived of a Suffering Messiah; and outside Jewish-Christian circles *Isaiah* liii was not understood by Jews of the period as referring to the Messiah. Prophets had indeed worked and suffered in old times and, though according to official theory prophets of the old type no longer existed, individuals arose from time to time who, to all intents and purposes, acted as though they were prophets, and called men to repentance.[1] Like the false Messiahs or national leaders who occasionally appeared, some of them deceived themselves and their dupes. But once their day was over and their pretensions found false, such men were no longer regarded either as true prophets or as Messiahs who had been martyred in the cause of true religion. Thus the idea of a *suffering* Messiah was not found among the many diverse expectations included in any of the various and—logically, at least, from our point of view—mutually inconsistent eschatological theories of the period of our Lord. If, as seems certain, it was part of Christ's message, it must be included among the few important aspects of His teaching which had no counterpart in the Judaism which formed His environment, either in His boyhood home in Galilee or in His last days at Jerusalem.

[1] E.g. John the Baptist. A very different picture of him, however, is painted by Josephus: see K. Lake and Foakes Jackson, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Vol. I. For a clear statement of his significance in relation to Christianity see A. C. Headlam, *Life and Teaching of Jesus Christ* (1923), pp. 133–71; W. Fairweather, *op. cit.*, pp. 223–7; and also I. Abrahams, *Studies* (1st Series, 1917), pp. 30–5.

The Temple; its Religious Significance.

But widespread, speculative, imaginary, unreal, and often inconsistent as were these visionary hopes of an immediate and final interposition of God in the mundane sphere, they did not transform Palestinian Judaism into an other-world religion in a bad sense. Few if any Jews of our Lord's day adopted the point of view of some of St. Paul's converts to Christianity from the Judaism of the European Diaspora. The Palestinian Jew of our Lord's day did not, it would appear, argue that, as the Messianic Age was on the point of dawning, it behoved him to cease from the ordinary activities of life and devote himself either to a leisurely waiting for that era by doing no work, or to the formulation of an *Interimsethik* and the abandoning of the religious and moral ideas which he had inherited. In our Lord's day the confederation of the Zealots, who became so conspicuous on the eve of the fateful war with Rome, was already in existence, but it had not yet reached its final stage, when an insane disregard of the actual facts of the political situation and a perverted sense of what Judaism stood for involved its adherents in national disaster. The Temple still attracted its devotees. Herod had lately added to its area and had in part rebuilt it. Though that Temple was now less Semitic and less specifically Jewish—Hellenistic as was its latest builder and its general style—the veil still added an air of mystery to the innermost sanctuary of the building. In the court which immediately surrounded 'the House' the priests still offered the prescribed sacrifices. Outside and around it now stood another Court, that 'of the Israelites'. Outside the latter was the 'Court of the Women' containing the trumpet-shaped coffers in which were cast freewill offerings. Those learned in the Law discoursed within this court, and made their contributions here as much as in the synagogues to the sum total of what came to be known as 'Halakhah' (explanatory narratives enforcing the legal and ritual injunctions of Scripture) and 'Haggadah' (explanatory narratives of a homiletical character). Round all these Courts, which

successively typified the ascending scale of holiness in Israel's 'Holiest', ran the great outer Court or Court of the Gentiles, beyond which, as notices on the marble wall round the first of the inner Courts warned them, Gentiles might not penetrate. In this outmost Court men exchanged their foreign money for its equivalent in Temple coinage, bought animals for sacrifice, or used it as a short cut, if they wished to go from the city on the west of it to the Kidron valley, the Mount of Olives, or the villages lying to the east of it. In our Lord's time Judaism did not regard the Court of the Gentles as sacred in the sense in which the Inner Courts and the Temple Building were sacred. In addition to Gentiles traversing its area, Roman soldiers did sentry duty on the terraces above the colonnade of pillars which surrounded it. Only one Jew, our Lord Himself, is known to have urged by word and action that it ranked in sanctity equally with the remainder of the Temple area, in the sense that financial transactions such as then took place in it were derogatory to its sacred uses.[1]

The Religious and Social Significance of the Synagogues.

But though the sacrificial cultus had for centuries been confined to this one Temple at Jerusalem (save for the rival Jewish Temple in Egypt), and Jews in their masses flocked there for the great pilgrim festivals; though it was here that the great public, as well as private, sacrifices took place, accompanied by a worthy ceremonial of ancient origin, with liturgical formulæ of great antiquity, with psalmodic and musical accompaniments, the fact remains that the Temple was no longer the real centre of the inner spiritual life of Judaism. This spiritual life from youth to old age was nourished in the synagogues which were to be found in every city and village throughout the land. In them the Jew received his

[1] For the presence and activities of money-changers in the Temple see S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archæologie*, Vol. II, p. 411. How wide of the truth was Edersheim's dictum that "it needs no comment to show how utterly the Temple would be profaned" by such transactions; see I. Abrahams, *Studies* (1st Series), pp. 82–9.

education in biblical and doctrinal knowledge. In them on the Sabbath were gathered all Jews—probably the great mass of the nation—who separated themselves from their Gentile neighbours and from such of their fellow Jews as lived the lives of apostates (e.g. tax-gatherers and sinners)[1] or grew lax in the punctilious observance of the Sabbath and other outward tokens of the true child of Abraham (e.g. ceremonial washings). Hence the hostility of such Jews to our Lord when He seemed to be betraying the very aspects of synagogue amenities upon which most stress had come to be laid.

Jewish Liturgical Formulæ of Our Lord's Boyhood.

Much of the Jewish liturgy of to-day dates back to pre-Christian times. Thus from boyhood our Lord was familiar with the reading of Scripture and its exposition. Twice a week, and on feast-days, portions of the Law were read in Hebrew; additional readings were provided on Sabbaths and Festivals, and they were followed by an Aramaic translation. The *Shema* (" Hear, O Israel, &c.") assumed the importance of a credal confession in the services of the synagogue and its framework of blessings existed even then. Prayers, including praise, thanksgiving and intercession, and culminating in a doxology, were becoming stereotyped at this period. Not all, but still the majority of the *Shemoneh 'Esrah* was already in existence. The *Kaddish* was used as the Lord's Prayer is in Christian services, to mark off the various sections of the service, in which confession of sin also had a place. The Ten Commandments were already finding a place in the synagogue liturgy in connexion with the *Shema*, just as they had long before been used in the Temple from which the synagogue took so much, and upon the liturgical arrangements of which it, in turn, had no small influence.[2]

[1] On the teaching of Judaism in detail in regard to these classes see Israel Abrahams, *Studies* (1st Series), pp. 54–61.

[2] See further W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy* (1925).

Festivals.

But neither Temple nor Synagogue, with their opportunities for public prayer, for learning the Law and for its exegesis, were thought to exhaust the demand made on the individual to give himself to God in specifically religious exercises. Into the multitudinous ways in which religion was brought into close connexion with the everyday life of the individual it is impossible to enter in this essay. Not only the obligations and privileges of daily life, but the great ecclesiastical festivals were made real for him as *an individual* precious in the sight of God, and as a full member of the Church of that One Living God. Thus the Passover, even though celebrated under the shadow of the Temple itself, was distinctly a domestic festival: it was in his own private house that the individual celebrated it, and the purely domestic ceremonial acts which preceded it, of which the search for hidden leaven was the most spectacular, were no less important than those connected with the choice and slaughter of the Paschal lamb for each household.[1]

The 'Kiddush'.

Another observance which meant much for the individual and his personal realization of his worth in the sight of Israel's God was the weekly celebration of the *Kiddush*. Of its antiquity there can be no reasonable doubt. It is not only an excellent example of a ceremony which was domestic in its origin, but also it deserves mention as being adopted later by the synagogue though still retaining its earlier domestic im-

[1] See especially Oesterley and Box, *The Worship of the Temple and Synagogue*, pp. 355 ff. For recent and illuminating studies of the Passover see G. B. Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 383–97 and N. M. Nicolsky, "Pascha im Kulte des jerusalemischen Tempels", in the *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenchaft und die Kunde des nachbiblischen Judentums* (1927). The bearing of these details upon the vexed question of the date of the Last Supper and the apparent contradictions between the Synoptic and Johannine accounts of the events of the day preceding Good Friday naturally falls outside the present chapter. Nor is it possible here to discuss questions such as those relating to the powers of the Sanhedrin, procedure at trials, the varying views on marriage and divorce, &c.

portance. It also deserves mention as having been, in the estimation of some recent scholars, the occasion of the Last Supper, and therefore the parent of all the various forms of the Christian 'Communion Service'. Be that as it may, our Lord must have participated in this social meal with unfailing regularity at His home at Nazareth, and presided at celebrations of it when His disciples observed it. It ushered in the weekly Sabbath and also the great Festivals. The meal concluded with a sanctification ceremony in which the presiding host uttered a commemoration of the institution of the Sabbath, a blessing over a cup of wine, of which all partook, followed by a memorial of the Exodus, and a blessing over the bread which was then distributed to the participants in the *Kiddush*.[1]

Was the Law Burdensome?

To many other characteristics of the Judaism in which Christ was educated — ecclesiastical, religious, social, and moral—it is impossible even to refer in the present sketch. One issue has been reserved for this final paragraph, though obviously it can only be referred to without any attempt being made to discuss it fully. In the estimation of Palestinian Jews of the period of our Lord's boyhood was the Law a burden? We can only expect to answer this question with an open mind if we set aside not only the denunciations of it uttered by a certain Jew of the Diaspora, Saul of Tarsus, after he became a Christian, but also the lavish and indiscriminate praise of it which we find in Rabbinical writings. True, not much is left upon which to base a judgment as to the part which it played for ordinary men of our Lord's day who really had not the leisure to be 'busied with the Law' in all its ramifications, as had the learned 'scribes' who gave up the whole of their time to its study. And yet our Lord's condemnation of its

[1] See W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy*, pp. 79 ff., 167 ff. For other Jewish festivals, both of a private and public character, and the liturgical and ritual observances connected with them which reacted upon and influenced each other, see Oesterley and Box, *op. cit.*, pp. 265 ff.

abuses as producing a paralysis of the spiritual life, and His positive statement that He came to ' fulfil ' not to ' destroy ' the Law itself, should warn us against too harshly supposing that it invariably took the joy and spontaneity out of life, erected an impassible barrier between man and God, or inevitably obscured, rather than revealed, the Vision of God for the average man. Its prohibitions, as well as its sanctions, when compared with the far less highly developed moral and religious standards of other peoples, prove that in itself the Law was on the side of and to that extent made for good. Its maxims as enunciated by the Rabbis, when compared with those of the Sermon on the Mount, afford many a parallel to the teaching of Christ. But for His fuller revelation of the Divine, Judaism would have continued to hold its place as the noblest attempt made by man to apprehend the Divine and to translate high ideals into actions. As it was, Judaism played an essential part not only in educating humanity to receive His revelation, but also in His own education, just as John the Baptist served as His Herald. But, having done so, it was, unlike John the Baptist, unable to see the true magnitude of its work: hence its failure to grasp that " He must increase, but I must decrease". Like many a human parent it failed to grasp that its child was at last full-grown, and that its own task was then completed.

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CHAPTER VII

The Bible as Christ Knew It

The Two Languages of Palestine.

Palestine, at the time of Jesus Christ's life in it, may properly be described as a bilingual country. The native tongue was Aramaic, a Semitic language, akin to Hebrew but different from it, which the Jews had gradually adopted, after their return from Babylonia, from the people around them. Parts of the Old Testament (*Daniel* ii. 4*b*–vii, *Ezra* vi. 8–vi. 18, vii. 12–26) are written in it. Hebrew, the original language in which the books of the Old Testament were written, remained the literary language of the Jews until after the time of even so late a writer as Ecclesiastes, and the knowledge of it was never lost by the priestly class and the learned men; but by the beginning of the Christian era it was not understood by the common people. The Scriptures were read in it in the synagogues; but the reading of the Scriptures had to be followed by an interpretation into Aramaic, out of which eventually grew the officially recognized *Targumim* or paraphrases. Hebrew, therefore, was not a language of the people in the first century. The second language generally known in Palestine was Greek. As the result of the conquests of Alexander, Greek became the common language of the East, known not only by the highly educated but by all who were not illiterate.

The general knowledge of Greek appears from a consideration of many passages in the Gospels and Acts. Often, of course, there is no indication of the language used. Occa-

sionally an Aramaic phrase is actually quoted (" Talitha cumi ", " Ephphatha ", " Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani "); and it may be assumed that when (as in *Luke* iv. 16 ff.) Jesus preached formally in a synagogue, the address with which He followed the reading of the Hebrew Scripture was in Aramaic. The soldiers who came to John the Baptist (*Luke* iii. 14) *may* have been Aramaic-speaking soldiers of Herod, but Pilate certainly would not have spoken it; his arguments with the Jews (which were followed by the crowd as well as by the priests) must have been in Greek. In *Acts* the evidence is still more clear. Peter was regarded by the Sanhedrin as an " unlearned and ignorant " man (iv. 13); but his address to the mixed crowd on the day of Pentecost and that to the household of Cornelius must have been in Greek. So also must have been Philip's conversation with the eunuch. The apostolic message to the Churches (xv. 22 ff.) must have been drafted in Greek. It is true that the chief captain expresses surprise at Paul's speaking Greek (xxi. 37), but that is because he has taken him to be an Egyptian. It is more significant that, when Paul asks permission to speak to the people, the officer assumes that a speech must be in Greek, and that the crowd evidently expected him to speak in Greek, and to be able to understand him. It was a surprise, though a welcome one, when he spoke in Aramaic. Before Felix, Festus, and Herod, as in his missionary preachings in general, it is obvious that he spoke Greek.

The position, therefore, was not unlike that which exists in the bilingual parts of Wales: Aramaic spoken habitually by the people among themselves in ordinary intercourse, but Greek essential, not merely for literary purposes but for intercourse with officials, with commercial travellers, with the Jews of the Dispersion who visited Palestine in large numbers, and with all kinds of strangers. The ' Grecian Jews ' mingled with the native Jews at Jerusalem in the earliest days of the Church, and though there might be jealousies, there is no trace of any difficulty in intercourse and common worship. All Jews outside Palestine knew Greek as a matter of course and of daily

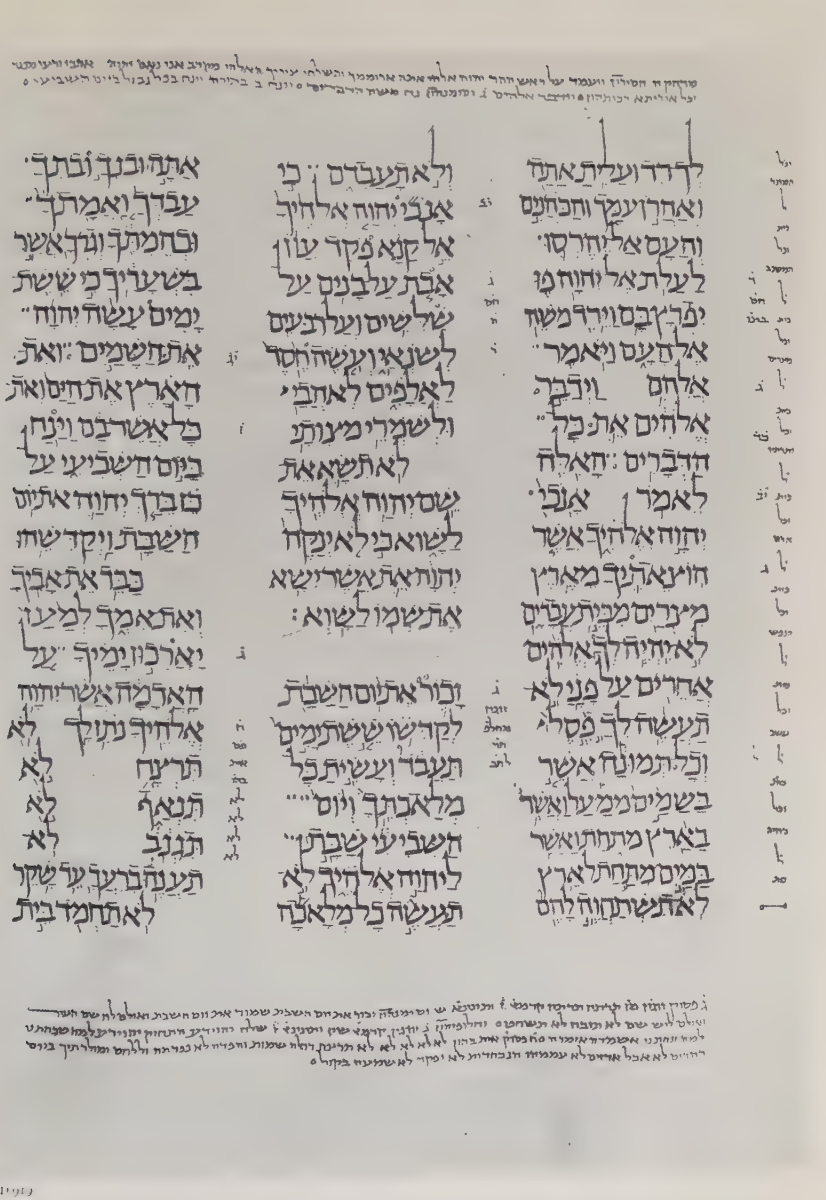
usage, and all Jews within Palestine, except the wholly illiterate, must have been able to understand and make use of it.

Of Jesus Himself we can be certain that He knew Hebrew, since the synagogue roll was given to Him to read from; Aramaic would be a matter of course, even if there were not record of His use of Aramaic phrases; and for the reasons already stated it may be regarded as certain that He was acquainted with Greek.

In what form then was the Bible accessible to Him and to the population of Palestine in his days? Not in three languages, as might be expected from what has gone before, but in two. No Aramaic version of the Scriptures existed as yet; for although the paraphrasing of the Hebrew in Aramaic was, as has been said, a normal procedure in the synagogue, the interpreter was strictly forbidden to commit his paraphrase to writing, lest the written paraphrase should come to challenge the authority of the original Hebrew. Apart from the Samaritan version of the Pentateuch, which will be mentioned later, the Scriptures were accessible in two languages only, the original Hebrew and the Greek translation which originated at Alexandria in the third century B.C., and which is known as the Septuagint.

The Bible of Our Lord.

A further question arises: what, precisely, were the Scriptures as known by the Jew of Our Lord's day? In a sense it may be said that the Bible of Our Lord was the Old Testament; but the phrase is loose and in some respects misleading. Strictly speaking, there was no Bible and there was no Old Testament, as we use these terms. That is, there was as yet no closed Canon of sacred Scriptures. The Hebrew Canon of the Old Testament was not definitely formed until the end of the first century of our era, after the fall of Jerusalem. At the beginning of the first century there were three groups of sacred books: the Law, the Prophets, and the (miscellaneous) Writings or Hagiographa. The Law consisted of the five books of the Pentateuch. The Prophets included the Earlier Prophets, i.e. *Joshua*, *Judges*, *Samuel* and *Kings*, and the Later



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Prophets, i.e. *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel* and the twelve Minor Prophets. The Hagiographa comprised *Psalms*, *Job*, *Proverbs*, *Ruth*, the *Song of Songs*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Lamentations*, *Esther*, *Chronicles*, *Daniel* and *Ezra* (including *Nehemiah*). Reference to this division is made in the Prologue of Jesus, the son of Sirach, who describes his grandfather as " much given to the reading of the law and the prophets and the other books of our fathers ". The three divisions no doubt represent three different stages of canonization, and a descending order of authority; the Law being the first and most authoritative group of sacred books, recognized as such at least from the days of Ezra, the Prophets being accepted as a definite group at latest by the end of the third century before Christ, while the limits of the Hagiographa can hardly be regarded as finally determined before the Synod of Jamnia in (or about) A.D. 90. The uncertainty attaching to the last group did not, however, affect the full acceptance of certain books in it at an earlier date, notably the *Psalms*, the references to which in the Gospels show that it was unquestionably regarded as inspired Scripture.

Fundamentally, therefore, " the Bible as Christ knew it " consisted of the Hebrew Scriptures classified in these three divisions, and embodied in leather rolls preserved in the synagogues. No such thing as a Bible in a single volume existed then, or for several centuries after. There was a roll of the Law; a roll (or more probably two or more rolls) of the Prophets; and detached rolls of the Hagiographa. And these rolls were not, at any rate normally, held in private possession. They belonged to the Synagogue. Only the trained scholars who understood Hebrew could read them; and although the Rabbis must have had means of private study, the educated Jew in general would not be likely to possess a private copy of the Scriptures in Hebrew. Such acquaintance as he had with them, apart from hearing them read aloud and paraphrased in the synagogue, was due to the great translation known as the Septuagint, or the Version of the Seventy.

The Septuagint.

The Septuagint may be compendiously described as the Bible of the Dispersion. Its existence was due to the dispersion of Jews throughout the Greek world which was the outcome of Alexander's conquests; and its birthplace was Alexandria, the head-quarters of Hellenistic scholarship. The story of its origin is recorded at great length in the document known as the *Letter of Aristeas*, a work purporting to be written in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (283–247 B.C.), but actually no doubt a century or a century and a half later. The story as there told has many features which are obviously legendary, but its main outline is supported by such subsidiary evidence as is available. There is no reason to doubt that the translation of the Law into Greek was made at Alexandria in the reign of Philadelphus, and it is not impossible that its inception was due, as the Letter narrates, to the encouragement of the monarch himself, then engaged in forming the great Library of Alexandria. The translations of the other books followed at uncertain dates, and were the work of various hands; and it is certain that most, if not all, of the books included in the Hebrew Canon had been translated into Greek before the beginning of the Christian era.

Its Contents.

The contents of the Septuagint, however, are not identical with those of the Hebrew Bible. Certain other books, of which no Hebrew original exists, or, in some cases, ever existed, were included in the Greek Old Testament as it ultimately took form. These are the books which in our English Bibles are grouped apart as the Apocrypha. In the Greek Bible they are scattered among the other books, according to their nature, the exact order varying in different lists and in different early manuscripts. Thus *1 Esdras* is a variant version of the end of *2 Chronicles* and *Ezra-Nehemiah*, with additional matter, and is naturally placed with *Chronicles* and with *2 Esdras*, which is a more accurate version of *Ezra-Nehemiah*; *Tobit*,

Judith, and *Maccabees*, as historical or quasi-historical books, are generally attached to these; *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus* are placed with the other 'Sapiential' works, while *Baruch* and the *Epistle of Jeremiah* are naturally appended to that prophet. All of these books are excluded from the Hebrew Canon as finally fixed at the Synod of Jamnia, and are therefore either excluded or segregated in versions which follow the Hebrew Canon, such as those of Luther and the English translators from Tyndale onwards. They were also rejected by Jerome, but survived from the Old Latin, which was based on the Septuagint, and so form part to-day of the Bible of the Roman Church.

Its Text.

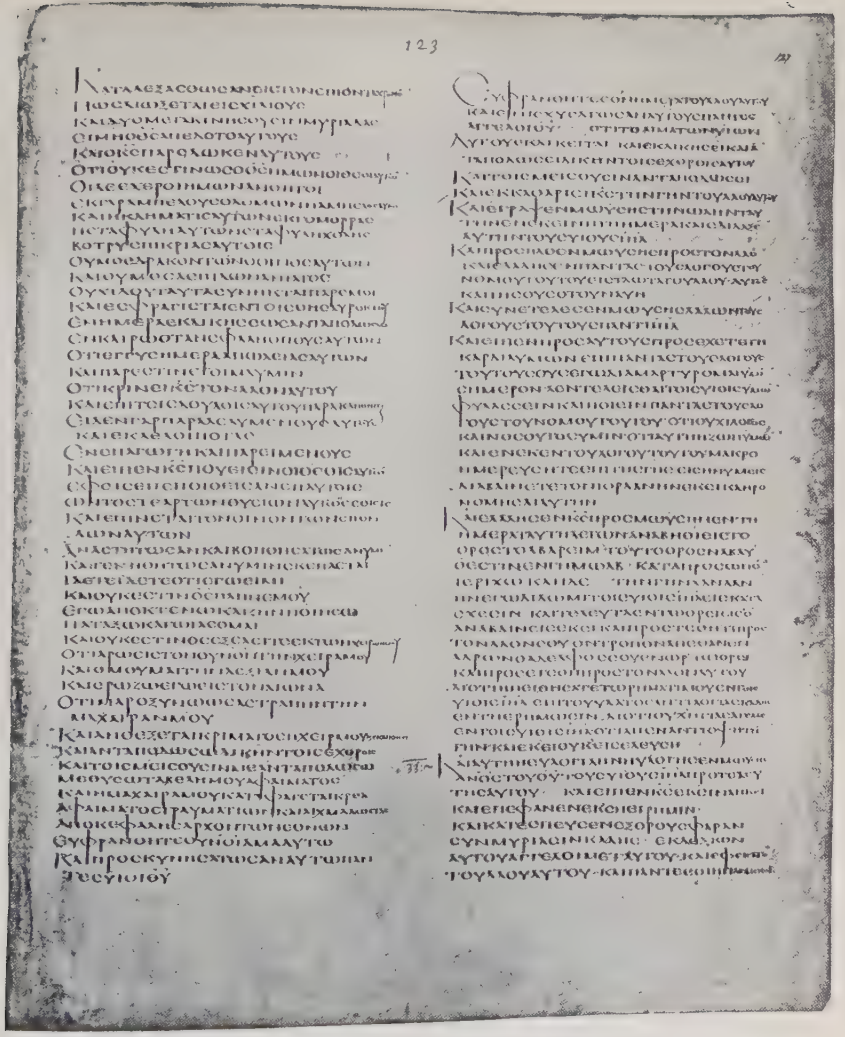
It is not, however, only in contents that the Septuagint differs from the Hebrew. There are also marked differences in detail. Even in the Pentateuch, the text of which may be presumed to have been settled earliest, and with which translators and copyists would least venture to take liberties, there are considerable varieties of language. In some of the other books the differences are more far-reaching. In the last four chapters of *Joshua*; in the narrative of David's early life in *1 Samuel*; in the account of Jeroboam in *1 Kings*; in *Proverbs*, where the Septuagint has many verses which do not appear in the Hebrew; in *Job*, where the original Septuagint text appears to have been much shorter than the Hebrew as we know it; in *Esther*, which is expanded in Greek to nearly twice the length of the Hebrew; in *Jeremiah*, where much is omitted in the Greek and much transposed; in *Daniel*, to which the Greek adds the episodes of Susanna and of Bel and the Story of the Three Children; and to a lesser extent in every book of the Canon, the texts of the Massoretic (or standard) Hebrew and of the Septuagint differ so markedly as to challenge inquiry. Which is to be preferred, and what is the explanation of this marked divergence?

The textual history of the two versions is very different. Of the Hebrew Old Testament we possess no manuscripts

earlier than the ninth century; but there is an extraordinary closeness of agreement between all the manuscripts that we have, of whatever age. The most careful precautions were taken to secure exact accuracy in transcripts of the sacred books, and these precautions have been successful in securing a uniformity of text to which there is no parallel in literary history before the invention of printing. Further, it is evident that the texts which lay before Jerome at the end of the fourth century, and before Origen in the first half of the third century, were substantially identical with that of our manuscripts; and such fragments as have survived of the Greek translation by Aquila, about the second quarter of the second century, tell the same story. Since the beginning of the second century, then, the Hebrew text (commonly called the Massoretic text) may be taken as having been fixed and unchanged; and it is extremely probable that this fixing of the text is to be referred to the same Synod of Jamnia, about A.D. 90, which has already been mentioned as having finally determined the contents of the Hebrew Canon.

Differences from the Hebrew.

Before A.D. 90, however, direct evidence fails us; and it is natural to look to the Greek Septuagint version, which (as we have seen) was translated from the Hebrew in the course of the three centuries preceding the Christian era. For this we have plentiful and early evidence, the earliest (apart from a few fragments of papyrus) being the great Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus (imperfect) of the fourth century, and the Codex Alexandrinus of the fifth. If, then, this version differs markedly from the Hebrew as we have it, must we not conclude that the Hebrew text which lay before the Septuagint translators was different from that which was standardized by the Massoretes; and was not therefore the Hebrew Bible known to Jesus more like the Septuagint than the Hebrew which has come down to us? And is not this conclusion confirmed when we find that the quotations from the Old Testament in the *Gospels* and *Acts* generally agree with the Septuagint



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rather than with the Hebrew, or else differ from both?

The conclusion at first seems irresistible, and it may be that there is much truth in it. There are, however, certain serious reservations to be made. (1) The true text of the Septuagint itself is often hard to determine. Even the earliest manuscripts differ markedly, and contamination with other Greek translations (those made by Aquila, Symmachus, and especially Theodotion, in the second century) and with the Hebrew has obviously affected it very considerably. (2) The translators were not always good Hebrew scholars, and they may have misunderstood the original. (3) Outside the Law, they probably did not feel themselves bound to strict accuracy, and they may often have paraphrased rather than translated. (4) Omissions may be due to a desire for brevity, or to a feeling that certain passages would not be of interest to Hellenistic readers. (5) The fact that the authors of the New Testament books, writing in Greek, habitually quote Old Testament passages from the Greek version does not go far towards proving that the Greek text is intrinsically more authentic than the Hebrew. It only shows that this was the form in which it was best known to them.

The Samaritan Version.

At this point it is relevant to refer to the one other ancient witness to the text of the Old Testament that we possess. The Samaritan community, formed out of the intermixture of the remainder of the Ten Tribes with the population imported by Esarhaddon (*Ezra* iv. 2), which still exists as a dwindling remnant at Nablus and still cherishes manuscripts of its own Scriptures, has from time immemorial possessed a separate version of the Pentateuch, written in characters which descend from the more ancient form of Hebrew, before the adoption of the square characters used by the Jews for the last two thousand years. The fact that they use the old characters indicates that their version goes back to a point before the adoption of the square characters; and the fact that their Bible is limited to the Pentateuch points to a time when only

the Pentateuch was accepted as canonical Scripture. The Samaritan Pentateuch, therefore, like the Septuagint, is evidence for a Hebrew text some centuries earlier than the revision of Jamnia. Unfortunately its evidence does not carry us far. In a few small details it confirms the Septuagint as against the Massoretic Hebrew; but the Pentateuch is just the part of the Old Testament in which the divergence between the Greek and the Hebrew is least, so that no conclusive result can be arrived at.

Taking all these considerations into account, scholars are as yet cautious in giving preference to the Septuagint over the traditional Hebrew. More study is necessary before so serious a step as the dispossession of the Massoretic Hebrew can be undertaken; and the English Revisers of the Old Testament were no doubt well advised to adhere to the traditional text. At the same time we shall do well to bear in mind that the Hebrew Bible as it was read in the synagogues in the first century may have differed in many details from the Hebrew as we now know it, and that the Greek version in which the Scriptures were more familiarly known certainly did so.

The Bible as used by Our Lord.

We are now, therefore, in a position to form a picture of the Bible as it was known during the earthly life of Jesus Christ. The official text was Hebrew, and the position of the Pentateuch, the Prophets (except *Daniel*), and the *Psalms* and a few other books was accepted beyond challenge; but there was a fringe of books of which the authority was uncertain, some of which eventually found a place in the Hebrew Canon, while some did not; and the text *may* have differed quite perceptibly in detail from the Hebrew text as we now know it. Side by side with this, and alone widely accessible to educated Jews in general, was the Greek version, which included books that eventually failed of acceptance by the Jewish scholars, and which differed considerably in details of text. Outside Palestine, it was practically in this form alone that the Scriptures were known; and Jewish authors writing in Greek, like the

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THE OLDEST SAMARITAN MS. AT NABLUS

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authors of the books of the New Testament, naturally quoted from the Septuagint, if they did not quote from memory.

The last qualification is an important one. It must be remembered that the verification of quotations was not so easy in ancient times as it is now. Manuscripts were comparatively rare, and the task of turning up a particular passage was not facilitated by divisions into chapters and verses. Hence quotation from memory must have been common; and we have no reason to be surprised when (as in *Matthew* xxi. 4, *Mark* i. 2, *Luke* iv, 18) we find two different passages fused together in a single quotation, or when we find considerable verbal variations between a quotation and any form of the original known to us, whether Hebrew or Greek. Familiarity with the Scriptures (and that the Jews generally were familiar with them is evident) did not imply verbal accuracy; but we shall not be far wrong if we conclude that the Bible as known to Christ and His contemporaries is more closely represented by the Septuagint than by the Hebrew. This conclusion, however, is quite independent of the question whether the Septuagint or the Massoretic Hebrew most accurately represents the text originally written down by the authors of the several books.

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PART II

THE LIFE OF CHRIST AND THE EARLY RECORDS OF IT

CHAPTER I

John the Baptist

In the White Rose of Paradise Dante saw John the Baptist in the seat of honour opposite the Virgin Mary. This high place was not assigned him by the poet merely on grounds of local patriotism. John was the patron saint of Florence, but Dante exalts him thus as " the great John who, ever holy, endured the desert and martyrdom ", and who was the pioneer of great saints like Francis, Benedict, and Augustine. This is the traditional attitude of the Church towards John the Baptist; he is viewed in the light of subsequent Christian history as one who heralded Jesus Christ and anticipated to some degree the later line of heroic Christians. But historically John becomes intelligible in the light of what preceded him as well. And there are slight but sure indications that his movement had an independence about it which prevented it from coalescing with the primitive Christian mission so quickly and completely as tradition assumes.

I. Mission of John

He was born shortly before Jesus, with whom, through his mother, he had a family connexion. According to the traditions preserved in *Luke* i. 5–80, his father was a priest, but John soon withdrew into the steppe country of Transjordania to live a hermit life. In the year A.D. 27, when he was about thirty-four years of age, he started a revival mission to the nation, on the lines of the older prophets from Amos onwards. He had the reputation of a holy man, with ascetic traits; his

very dress (a robe of camel's hair, with a girdle of leather) and his cheap, coarse food emphasized the severe unworldly spirit of his personality. People streamed across the country to the scene of his mission on the banks of the Jordan, where he dipped his converts in the river to mark their cleansing for the exacting ends of God. The penitents bathed thus in token of their desire to amend their lives. Indeed so notable was this feature of his mission that he became known as 'The Baptizer'. When Jesus afterwards spoke to the crowds about this mission, he reminded them that they had not gone out to admire the scenery, to look at reeds swaying in the breeze, but to seek a 'man', a man who could interpret to them afresh and unflinchingly their duties to God and man.

When the accounts of this mission (*Mark* i. 1–11; *Matthew* iii. 1–17; *Luke* iii. 1–22; *John* i. 6–42) are critically compared and sifted, it becomes plain that John denounced the religious authorities and warned them that mere Jewish birth would not of itself avail. He felt that something was in the air. The end was imminent; a new movement of God to establish His reign over the nation was at hand, and like a genuine prophet he stressed the moral conditions for this divine order of things. Some penitents, genuinely moved, asked what they were to do—tax-gatherers, soldiers, and common folk; instead of summoning them away from their callings, as they probably expected, he bade them be kind, unselfish, and just. This arresting mission roused immense enthusiasm. It was so popular that the authorities never dared to question its inspiration. Not that John opposed himself to the authorities, indeed, except as they were absorbed in the ceremonial aspects of religion. Nor apparently did he interest himself in any revolutionary hopes such as surged in the country. He pointed his hearers to a messianic order of things, in which God would presently interpose for the ends of His kingdom and reign, pointing men not to himself but to a Coming One commissioned by the Lord with full powers.

(*a*) Among those who attended his mission was Jesus, but it is not certain to what extent John recognized in him the

Coming One. One tradition, represented in Matthew and (less explicitly) in Luke, assumes that he did. The other, in Mark, does not necessarily imply that he recognized in Jesus the divinely appointed leader, although Mark may have left this to be inferred by his readers from the significant vision accorded to Jesus.

(*b*) The two traditions differ on another point of importance. In the traditions of the baptism, one (represented by Mark) views John as the forerunner of Jesus, whereas the other brings out his prophetic rôle. The two are not to be strictly separated, but the respective emphasis is clear. In Mark, for example, John simply declares: " I baptize you with water, but he shall baptize you with the Holy Spirit." The other tradition adds " and with fire ", proceeding to give a further explanation of what the fire meant:

> " His winnowing fan is in his hand,
> to clean out his threshing-floor,
> and gather the wheat into his granary;
> but the straw he will burn with unquenchable fire."

John spoke of the coming judgment of God on the nation (not on any foreign oppressors) as a sifting, scorching ordeal. Fire meant, not enthusiasm on the part of disciples, but the divine penalty that befell the worthless members of the community. Such preaching of a searching divine test was part of his authentic message, as a prophet who, like his predecessors from Amos to Malachi, warned the people that the coming of the kingdom would prove a very serious affair for them. The tradition which formed the common source for Matthew and Luke is here more original than Mark's tradition, or at any rate than Mark, for he may have suppressed the item. Both traditions agree that the baptism of John had been superseded in the Christian church by the baptism of the Spirit, and in the light of the *fait accompli* they represent John as anticipating this change. The question is, whether the traditions did not give a Christian turn to some of John's words, in order to bring this out. To " baptize with the Holy Spirit "

is not an expression for which any really contemporary Jewish parallel can be adduced, and it is not the complement but the opposite to baptism in water. ' Baptize ', used with ' the Spirit ', is metaphorical; it means to flood or immerse with an overwhelming experience. Yet this soon came to be connected with the rite of water-baptism; in the story of Pentecost (*Acts* ii. 41) at which the fulfilment of John's prophecy was seen, the converts were at once baptized. It is possible that some connexion of this kind may have been present to the mind of a man like John, so that even from his lips " baptize in water " and " baptize in the Spirit " would not be in exclusive opposition. Otherwise we must infer that his original message ran, " I baptize with water, but he shall baptize with fire ". Even in the other tradition the collocation of the Spirit and fire is not easily explained. The Messiah might indeed be supposed to transmit to his loyal adherents the Spirit with which he was himself endowed, and also to have the power of destroying the disobedient. But again, if it be supposed that " the Spirit " was added to the original " fire ", the argument runs clear, as a declaration of the historical John.

(*c*) A further development of tradition is to be traced in the accounts of the baptism of Jesus. In the earliest the vision is for Jesus alone. But in the Fourth gospel (i. 19–34), instead of baptizing Jesus—indeed there is no mention of this—John witnesses the descent of the Spirit; his sole function is to attest this commission of Jesus, and the earlier rôle is minimized. Again, Matthew's account witnesses to a feeling that Jesus the sinless could not receive baptism from John. There is a trace of this in the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* (" The mother of the Lord and his brothers said to him, John the Baptist is baptizing for the remission of sins; let us go and be baptized by him. But he said to them, Wherein have I sinned that I should go and be baptized by him?—unless perchance what I have just said is a sin of ignorance "), but it appears in the reluctance of John to baptize Jesus, who undergoes the rite as part of the divine discipline for the nation with which He has come to identify Himself, Matthew thus explaining

how the sinless Jesus, who was born of the Spirit, could be baptized by John and receive the Spirit as an endowment. Matthew had indeed already prepared for this suggestion by omitting any reference to John's baptism as being " for the remission of sins ". The latter he keeps for the Lord's death, inserting it at xxvi. 28. Thus, in both of these directions, the primitive tradition was supplemented and corrected in order to avoid misunderstanding.

II. John and Jesus

Some time after His baptism Jesus entered upon His own mission in the north, where He was joined by one or two adherents of John. But the latter continued his work independently. This does not necessarily imply that he had not recognized Jesus as the Coming One; John simply continued his prophetic rôle of rousing the nation to the moral and spiritual requirements of the coming order of things. Three characteristics struck observers as differentiating the two prophets. John was not a wonder-worker; he never healed sick people; and he was a severe ascetic. We know little of the life lived by him and his group of personal disciples, though incidentally we learn that John taught them to pray, and that they fasted. Evidently they were a religious fellowship within the nation, on ascetic lines, rather than a sect or party. What were the relations between them and the followers of Jesus, and what were the specific characteristics of their mission, it is not possible to say. Only one allusion to this occurs, and it is in the Fourth gospel, where the incident is mentioned in order to tell how magnanimously John recognized the waxing power of Jesus, before whose prestige his own reputation was to wane. When a dispute arose between John's disciples and some critics of their baptism, the former complained to their master that Jesus was attracting more adherents than he himself was. The reply was couched in a strange metaphor for an ascetic: " He that hath the bride is the bridegroom; I am merely the friend of the bridegroom, rejoicing in his joy." The point of course

is, that if all men are going to Jesus, that is what the Father intended. In Oriental usage the father of the bridegroom chose the bride for his son. So the Father wills that these adherents should flow to the side of Jesus. " Why should I repine?" This is narrated, however, in order to bring out the characteristic motif of all the references to John in the Fourth gospel, his subordination to Jesus. It is placed before the arrest of John at a place called Ænon, not far from Salim, in Perea, east of the Jordan. This lay within the jurisdiction of Herod, and the next thing we hear is that he was arrested by Herod for having denounced the tetrarch. Herod, already married to the daughter of Aretas the Arabian king, had persuaded his sister-in-law, Herodias, to live with him; John had rebuked him for adultery, and was flung into prison. For a time his life was not in danger; Herod stood in awe of him, and was content to have silenced his public criticism. Indeed John's followers had access to their leader, and this led to an episode of great interest, for the light it throws upon John's view of Jesus and the estimate which Jesus had formed of John.

(*a*) When he heard what Jesus was doing in his Galilean mission, John sent his faithful followers to ask him if he was the Messiah, the Coming One. " Or are we to look out for someone else?" This does not mean that he wanted the disciples to see and hear for themselves, in order to confirm their faith. Nor does it imply that he himself considered for the first time the possibility that Jesus might be the Messiah, whom he had predicted. It was due to a passing mood of impatience and doubt on his own part. A Messiah who taught and healed was a novelty. There was no warrant for this in the prophecies on which John had drawn, and he wondered whether Jesus would fulfil his expectations of One who should deal rigorously and drastically with the situation. It was the novel methods adopted by Jesus that roused doubts in the mind of John. His query indicates that he had already looked to Jesus as a promising hope of the nation, and that his views of the imminent kingdom were still stringent and vehement. He was scandalized and perplexed. ' Scandalized ' is indeed the very term used by

Jesus in his reply (" Blessed is he who is not scandalized by me ").

Some words dropped subsequently reveal the deep impression made upon Jesus by John. It was Jesus who first suggested that John had fulfilled the traditional function of Elijah in preparing the way for the Coming One; there is no likelihood that John intended to convey this impression by his attire and utterances. To Jesus he was a prophet, indeed more than a prophet, for he had inaugurated the messianic movement of which Jesus was conscious that He was the head. " The law and the prophets lasted till John ", was the verdict of Jesus, so profoundly did He appreciate the work of John as the climax of the preparation period for His own final mission to the nation. He gave generous recognition to His great forerunner. " No greater prophet has arisen among men than John the Baptist." Nevertheless he added, in an enigmatic word, " and yet the least within the kingdom of heaven is greater than he is ". For John was only at the threshold of the kingdom where Jesus reigned; the humblest man inside was therefore greater than this great herald, who still would not identify himself with the cause. The next words are also enigmatic. " From the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven suffers violence and the violent take it by force." Either this means that the kingdom was being ' seized ' by enthusiasts pressing into it, or ' seized ' by impetuous devotees who would shape it into a revolutionary movement, forcing it on by political methods. The latter need not imply any condemnation of John. He gave the impulse, but he was not responsible for ardent souls who had recourse to violence. Jesus may have meant this without any ironical reflection upon John. But the former yields a good sense; it suits the context well, and is in line with the glad recollection of Jesus at the end of his life, that although the authorities had refused to follow the lead given by John, the tax-gatherers and harlots had believed him and surged into the kingdom of God. At any rate the words indicate how Jesus felt indebted to John for stirring an interest in religion throughout the country,

which had roused men till they had pressed into his kingdom.

(*b*) Meanwhile John was beheaded by order of Herod, at the instigation of his paramour Herodias, who had never forgiven the prophet for his boldness. She was a stronger nature than Herod, and managed to induce the tetrarch to get rid of John.

It does not fall within the province of the gospels to describe the sensation and resentment stirred among the people by John's murder. But one trace of it appeared about seven or eight years later. The Arabian King Aretas was at feud with Herod over the insult offered to his daughter; when he routed the forces of the tetrarch, pious Jews ascribed this defeat to the vengeance of God upon Herod for having executed the prophet John, so deeply had the memory of the crime sunk into the hearts of the nation. This happens to be told in the only account of John outside the Christian gospels, the passage in the eighteenth book of Josephus's *Antiquities* (xviii. 5, 2). It has been expanded in the Slavonic version, but the Greek original runs thus: "To some it seemed that Herod's army had been destroyed by God, and that as a just punishment for his treatment of John called the 'Baptist'. For Herod killed him, this good man who bade the Jews gather for baptism, training themselves in virtue and practising righteousness towards one another and piety towards God. For thus it was that baptism appeared to him to be acceptable, not as men employed it to expiate (or, escape) certain sins, but for bodily purity, on condition that the soul was also previously purified by righteousness. Others collected round him (for they were mightily uplifted by listening to his words), but Herod feared lest his great powers of persuasion might induce men to a rising—for they seemed likely to do anything at his advice. Herod therefore thought it much better to put him to death beforehand, ere any revolt should start from him, than to regret being involved in difficulty as the result of an actual revolution. So, owing to Herod's suspiciousness, he was sent as a prisoner to the fortress of Machaerus and there murdered." Josephus may be wrong about Machaerus, which

was a border fortress, too near the reach of Aretas for safety; the prophet was more probably confined at some interior spot like Tiberias or Livias, though the gospels name no place at all. But, apart from this, the narrative of Josephus is noteworthy for its prudential omission of any messianic note in the preaching of John, and for its vague, semi-philosophic explanation of his baptism. It confirms and corroborates the gospels by stressing the ascetic tinge of his preaching, however, and his immense popularity. His death is attributed to Herod's fear of a political rising, and this is not impossible as a contributory motive. The tetrarch may have dreaded the spread and influence of messianic propaganda in the disturbed state of the country, knowing how similar agitation by popular prophets had set the country already aflame. The common tradition, however, was that John had suffered for his outspoken words about the matrimonial intrigues of Herod, and this is the view which is reproduced in the gospels.

III. The Movement after His Death

John's disciples reported their leader's death to Jesus. Some may have identified themselves now with the latter, but there were converts of John who did not come into the Christian movement.

(*a*) One trace of such people is to be found in an obscure passage of *Acts* (xviii. 24–xix. 7) which describes first how a cultured Alexandrian Jew called Apollos turned up in Ephesus preaching and teaching about Jesus accurately, though he knew only the baptism of John. Some local Christians imparted to him a fuller knowledge of the Christian faith, and he proceeded to do mission work at Corinth. Then Paul discovered, on arriving at Ephesus, a small group of about a dozen men, who told him that they had never heard of the Holy Spirit (i.e. in the sense of Paul's gospel); they confessed that they had been baptized with John's baptism. Whereupon they agreed to have themselves properly baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus, although there is no word of Apollos undergoing such a

rite. These men are called ' disciples ', and they are said to have ' believed '. Strictly speaking, this would mean that they were Christians. If so, they must have been on the very fringe of the movement. The probability is that they belonged to the circle of devout folk who had accepted John's message about the messianic era and the place of Jesus as the Coming One. Their ignorance about the Spirit confirms the view that John had not included this in his message, or, at least, that it had by no means been so important as the Christian tradition of his preaching suggested.

The narrative, after mentioning their baptism, adds: " After Paul laid his hands upon them they spoke ' with tongues ' and prophesied." This was a new acquirement or endowment, which is specifically connected with the Holy Spirit in many early Christians. It denotes the ecstatic, incoherent utterances of people under the stress of highly wrought religious emotion. Glossolalia, or 'speaking with tongues ', was regarded as the effect of the supreme divine Spirit; we now know it is an automatic action of the subconscious self, due to tension set up by persecution or revivalism, one of the semi-physical phenomena which accompany sudden heats of the religious life in certain individuals. The outbursts took the form often of uncommon, unintelligible sayings and terms, which required interpretation. Indeed gifted Christians had the telepathic power of reading what these unconscious enthusiasts babbled forth, and could reproduce the meaning of such gibberish for the benefit of a congregation. It was a phenomenon which was not confined to primitive Christianity, for in some Greek cults of an orgiastic kind, as well as in the Old Testament habits of the *nabi* or seer, similar unintelligible talk was regarded as a proof of inspiration and oracular vocation. These Ephesian men ' prophesied ' as well as spoke with tongues. But if the historian is using language accurately he implies that they not only delivered inspiring addresses, retaining full control of their faculties, but also that convulsive cries burst from them, when the function of the intelligence was suspended. This latter was termed ' speaking with tongues ', probably because

it manifested itself in a variety of utterances, sobs, shrieks, and wild words pouring forth in a stream from the man in his delirious rapture, when the tongue seemed to submerge reason and sense. These obscure utterances were so manifestly from the speech-centre that they were called ' tongues '. The odd thing in this passage is that the apostle Paul is said to have evoked such a power; he generally had to protest against an exaggerated idea of glossolalia, although he did not disparage it.

The paragraph is written from the Church point of view that baptism and the gift of the Spirit, with ecstatic manifestations, went together. It also shows indirectly that the followers of John were not visionaries. Asceticism sometimes produced mystical phenomena, as among the Essenes of the age; indeed fasting was occasionally practised in order to induce visions. Not so among the adherents of the Baptist. It is plain that any eschatological tension or hope which was excited by the message of John was not accompanied by such fervid phenomena as in the case of contemporary Christianity.

(*b*) This is the last allusion to John in the New Testament. But towards the end of the first century the Fourth Gospel (as has been already hinted) implies that at Ephesus there still was a sect or party which kept loyal to his memory and indeed put forward claims on his behalf of a kind that seemed to rival those of Jesus. The point of several important allusions in that gospel is missed unless it is recognized that the author had such a Baptist movement in his mind. To enter the kingdom, for example, one must be born of " water and of the Spirit "; a mere baptism by water is insufficient. John was not the true Light; he merely came to testify to the Light. John is made explicitly to disavow any messianic claims; he must decrease, while Christ must increase. The entire treatment of John betrays a desire to correct some current misapprehensions and exaggerations of his position, and it is more than probable that such were current in some circles at the end of the first century.

Recently this has been corroborated. In the later orthodox

Church the memory of the great prophet was highly venerated; his birthday was commemorated as a festival on 24th June, and even his decapitation was the occasion of an annual festival (generally on 24th August). Superstition in the fifth century actually led some churches to believe that his head had been dug up and preserved as a sacred relic. But more important is the vestige of his fame in the Mandæan community or sect which existed in Babylonia and Persia, practising repeated immersions in their cult and attaching exceptional reverence to John the Baptist. Originally they may have come from Palestine. Their religious books, however, are sharp not only against Judaism but against Christianity. Thus the reluctance of John to baptize Jesus is overcome by a voice from heaven bidding him, " Baptize the liar in the Jordan ". One of their books is actually called " The Book of John ", and it is only a question among critics whether this veneration for the Baptist was native to the cult in its primitive form, or whether it was introduced at a much later stage. Those who take the former view sometimes think that the Mandæans were joined by some disciples of John who refused to join the Church, and therefore migrated to the East, where this gnostic cult was already in vogue. As " The Book of John " was not compiled until the seventh century, and as it is the main source for the Mandæan veneration of John, it is risky to venture on such historical reconstructions of the far past, even although the book may be held to contain much earlier traditions and sources. Still, inside this fantastic sect a tenacious loyalty to John maintained itself. The Mandæan books are to-day attracting much attention, on the ground that they are supposed to reflect a type of gnostic belief which goes back earlier than the Fourth Gospel. In fact, it has even been argued that the prologue to the Fourth Gospel is the Christian edition of a Mandæan source, and that the theology of that gospel is explicable only against a background of Syrian, Hellenistic gnosticism such as Mandæism preserves in its later tracts. However this may be, the prominence of John within the Mandæan cult is another proof that he was remembered and revered by more than Christians

during the second and the following centuries. Mandæan religion is not necessary to explain the attitude of the Fourth Gospel towards him. The Clementine Recognitions (i, 54) testify that "some even of John's disciples, who seemed to be great persons, have proclaimed that their own master was the Christ"; this Jewish homage by some of his adherents would be sufficient to show the tendency against which the Fourth Gospel protests, without any recourse to the hypothetical existence of Mandæan devotees before the end of the first century. Further light may be expected from the investigations which are being conducted to-day into the Iranian and Mandæan theosophy. But the literary problems are too complicated to allow of any swift hypothesis which would push back their essential traditions about John the Baptist as early as the end of the first century; the parallels between certain ideas such as that of the Son, the Sent, Light and Darkness, are most striking, but as yet the data do not warrant us in supposing that some Palestinian or Syrian sect of John-worshippers with Mandæan tenets were in contact with the primitive Church during the time when the gospels were being compiled.

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The subject is discussed more or less fully in most biographies of Jesus.

CHAPTER II

The Life of Jesus

Anyone who in modern times attempts to make a sketch of the career of Jesus Christ must begin by some explanation of his own general attitude towards that career. His sketch, if it is to be at all adequate, must set forth the career of Jesus as interesting and attractive. As a matter of history, the career of Jesus was the starting-point, in some sense indeed the actual source, of the great movement called Christianity. No account of Jesus is at all adequate which leaves the mighty results which issued from that Life wholly unaccounted for. The results are surprising, but they are still more surprising if a picture of the Life be drawn in which everything is explained, if the Portrait be made a figure too small and too weak to have accomplished anything.

A great deal of the interest in a ' Life of Christ ' comes from the view taken of His Personality and His ' Mission '. Even a view that consciously belittles Jesus may be stimulating and interesting, if propounded in a society that believes Him to be Divine. The interest of the essays of Reimarus at the end of the eighteenth century lay above all in the fact of the believing, pietistic Germany in the midst of which Reimarus had lived. Now the background is very different. The old authoritarian constructions have been shattered. No one is looking to the Past for authority, and there is a general tendency to assume what is generally called a ' naturalistic ' view of all religious manifestations. The task that lies before the writer of a ' Life of Christ ' is therefore so to set it forth that the Christian movement naturally issues from it. It seems to me that it

is not inappropriate to begin by considering what a paradox this involves.

Let us approach the story from without, as strangers. Let us forget the ultimate result and our Christian allegiance. Let us discount any incredible features as the misapprehensions of half-educated enthusiasts, except so far as the occurrences they talk about have left an appreciable mark in contemporary history. We shall find a rather featureless tale. Jesus comes before the Jewish country-side announcing that a new state of things, which He called the Kingdom of God, was soon to be established. His home was in Galilee, where His mother and the rest of the family lived: He himself is about thirty years old. He gathers about Him a band of disciples who are looking forward to the new age, but in the course of a very few months the authorities, both civil and religious, especially the latter, become definitely hostile to Him. For some time Jesus seems to be in retirement, outside Galilee and Judæa, but in the following year He goes up with His friends to keep the Passover Feast at Jerusalem. There He makes some sort of disturbance in the Temple courts, but the forces of law and order have the matter well in hand. He is arrested a few days later without serious resistance, and Pilate, the Roman Governor, is persuaded by the Jewish authorities to have Him executed. Some of His disciples, it is true, continued to revere His memory and to expect the New Age still, for they were persuaded that they had seen Him alive again, after He had been taken down from the gibbet and buried. The public career of Jesus occupied only a few months, a little under two years.

The New Age did not visibly arrive, and the whole episode seemed to be closed, except for the persistence of the little band of believers in Jesus. It is their existence, not the impression made by Jesus Himself on public affairs, that induced Josephus to devote a cold and patronizing sentence to the man whom His followers called ' Christ '.

This is not an adequate sketch, but I am persuaded that from a certain distance we should see this much and that it

would be all we should see. So far as it goes it is true, and the finished Portrait will have to conform itself to this unpromising outline. When we approach the subject nearer we shall still find much that is quite alien to present-day ideas, a way of looking at the world and human life as different from ours as Jewish Aramaic, the tongue spoken by Jesus and His disciples, is different from English. The few sentences in which the career of Jesus has just been summarized contain several of these things, which need explanation if that career is to be at all intelligible to us. Pilate, the Temple, and the Feasts connected with the Temple, and, above all, the Jewish mentality which expressed itself in the expectation of a New Age, need elucidation if the words and deeds of Jesus are to have any real meaning for us now.

To come to the study of the Gospel History with intelligence and enthusiasm but without any prejudice or undue bias is surely impossible. What is called an unprejudiced view is very often a cold view, and therefore essentially untrue to the life. But I venture to think that this study is not so ' dangerous ' and ' unsettling ' to the convinced Christian believer as is sometimes imagined, unless by ' believer ' is meant one who thinks he knows beforehand what must have happened. The historical Christian Church came to regard Jesus as the incarnate Son of God, a real Man, but nevertheless as much a real impersonation of the Divine essence as is consistent with real humanity. Let us for a moment imagine ourselves accepting this doctrine, while still ignorant of what happened in Judæa in the days of Pilate. Would anyone, even the most orthodox, be able to reconstruct the Gospel History? Would anyone be able to predict the career of a God-Man? Obviously the answer is ' no '; from the very beginning the tale of what did take place was a *σκάνδαλον*, a stumbling-block, both to Jews and to Greeks, though it had a strange fascination and vitality. There were Christian heretics in the early days who were ' offended ' at the Cross and at human Birth: the tradition was incredible to them. At the present day there are still Christian conservatives who are similarly ' offended ' at the conclusions

of critical study: the result is incredible to them. The two states of mind are very similar, for they both start with an *a priori* idea of what the career of the God-Man ought to have been, *a priori* ideas of what the extent of His limitations ought to have been.

Somewhat similar is the case with what has sometimes been called the ' liberal ' view of Jesus, that is to say a mode of regarding the Gospel tradition which was especially in favour during the latter part of the nineteenth century, but in various ways has been operative in all sorts of times and places. The essence of the liberal view [1] is to begin by regarding Jesus as the ideal Man, and to evaluate the traditions about Him according as they seem to accord or to disagree with our notion of an ideal Man. And ' ideal ' always tends to mean sympathetic to contemporary modes of thought. Men saw Jesus enveloped in the conventions of centuries of ecclesiastical dogmas, and it was thought that if He were freed of these coverings He would come forth as a manifest guide and inspiration for us moderns. But it was a very attenuated figure that emerged, for so much of the traditional material was found to belong not to our age and country but to the Judæa of the first century A.D., and this seemed to be inconsistent with ' liberal ' presuppositions. In proportion as the figure of Jesus retains life and vigour it is in relation to His own age and country. This is what we ought to have expected. He himself is reported to have said, " It is not fair to take the children's bread and throw it to the dogs ", and the oldest repetition of this story tells us quite distinctly that He meant that He had not been sent to outside nations but to the Israelites. What right have we to expect much direct sustenance from words spoken under strange conditions nineteen hundred years ago? What right have we to expect that counsel and warning from so far-away a source will have much echo in our surroundings? It is not fair to ask for beauty from a seed: all we can ask is that it shall

[1] The term ' liberal ' is perhaps misleading, but during the last third of the nineteenth century it was in the ascendant, and tended to mean ' progressive ' and ' up-to-date ' as well as ' broad-minded ' and ' philosophic '.

have the necessary vitality to germinate into the appropriate plant.

The view that is taken of the Gospel History in the following pages is that it is intensely concerned with contemporary Judaism, with the Jewish preoccupations of the first half of the first century, that Jesus not only had become a real Man, but in particular a real Jew of that age, and that it is only in proportion as we realize the prejudices, the passions, the religion, the aspirations of the men of that age, Jews and Gentiles, that we can hope to catch the authentic tones of the voice of Jesus Himself.

The Jewish Environment

Before coming to the consideration of the Gospels and of the tradition contained in them it will be best to take a rapid survey of the Jewish environment, of the mental atmosphere of the people in the midst of which the ' Gospel ' was proclaimed. The Jewish Religion contains some very positive ideas about God and man, duty and the world, but the course of history had made it about the beginning of our era, and for some two centuries before that, into a sort of organized Dissent. Jew and Gentile, ' our God ' and ' the idols of the heathen ', these were the first obvious antitheses. The outstanding feature of the three centuries before Christ had been the Hellenization of the whole civilized world, the result of the conquest of the Orient by Alexander the Great. Even the Romans, who subdued the Greek monarchies, assimilated the Greek *Kultur*: the Greek way of looking at human life, the Greek religious philosophy, as well as the art and literature of the Greeks, was everywhere accepted by educated men, whether they were Romans or Syrians. One race alone had stood out against the prevailing tendency: the Jews had refused to accommodate their religion to that of their Greek overlords. From about 165 B.C.[1] this fact had been recognized, and with it came the

[1] Date of the rededication of the Temple by Judas Maccabæus.

recognition throughout the civilized world that the Jews were not as other folk.

So far as military and dynastic history is concerned the Jews shared the general fate of the Levantine nationalities. They won independence from the Seleucid Greeks for about a century, but in 64 B.C. they came under Roman domination, either directly or under vassal kings, such as the half-Jewish Herods were. From A.D. 6 onwards Judæa itself was ruled by a Roman Governor: from 26 to 36 the holder of this office was one Pontius Pilatus.

Meanwhile full recognition of the peculiar Jewish Religion had been granted by the Romans, except the power of life and death. No 'heathen' insignia were allowed to be displayed in Jerusalem, and full facilities were given for the great gatherings of Jews there at the annual Feasts. Nevertheless the dominion of the Gentiles was resented. It was widely believed that the then existing state of things was bound to come to an end, and that soon, by an intervention of God on behalf of His Chosen People. There was, so they believed, a Good Time Coming.

The Good Time Coming.

I put the belief in the Good Time Coming first in the characteristics of the Jewish environment of the Gospel story, because for the historian it was the idea that was most decisively operative. It was this idea that impelled the Jewish people to their disastrous revolt against Rome and so to their extinction as a State, and it is interwoven with the very fibres of the Christian movement. The theologian or moralist who may be wishing to bring out the elements of permanent, or present, value in the Christian message may lay greater emphasis on other features, both in the teaching of Jesus and in the Jewish background, but for the currents of thought in the first century A.D. the notion of the Good Time Coming is the prime mover. "They thought that the kingdom of God should immediately appear" (*Luke* xix. 11): these words might serve as a kind of motto to the whole New Testament.

It is from the series of Jewish Apocalypses that we get the pictures of the Good Time expected by the Jews. Of this series the Book of Daniel (written soon after 168 B.C.) is the first and most influential. Another is the " Similitudes of Enoch " (*Book of Enoch*, xxxvii–lxxi), dating from about 100 B.C., a work partly founded on Daniel: it has actually supplied the framework for some Gospel sayings. The details of the expected future vary in all the documents, for the future, unlike the past, can be constructed afresh by individual fancy; but all are animated by the same spirit. " The Most High shall arise, the Eternal God alone, and shall appear to execute vengeance on the Gentiles, and to destroy all their idols. Then happy shalt thou be, Israel, and thou shalt mount on the wings of the eagle. . . . And God shall exalt Thee and make thee inherit the starry heavens; and thou shalt look down from above and see thy enemies on the earth, and shalt recognize them and rejoice, and give thanks and praise to thy Creator."[1] This is from the pre-Christian Jewish Apocalypse called the *Assumption of Moses*, and expresses perhaps better than any other passage the spirit of the whole literature. We see also from it that the hope of the coming of a New Age was often conjoined with the idea of a renewal of the physical as well as of the political world. Things would be worse indeed, the Jews felt, before they became better. The sun would be darkened and the moon would fail and the stars would fall from the heavens before the hosts of the LORD appeared in the clouds to succour His Chosen. But then all would be well, and the world would recover its youth.

We see also from the above quotation and many other passages that the Messiah is not a central, or even a necessary, feature in the old Jewish hopes for the future. Sometimes, it is true, we hear in these Apocalypses of God's Vice-gerent, who will pronounce judgment on the heathen and rule over the Saints in the New Age, and sometimes (but rarely) this personage is called ' the Messiah ', i.e. the Anointed, one who has been solemnly consecrated to his work by God, as priests

[1] *Assumption of Moses*, x. 7–10.

are consecrated at their ordination or kings at their coronation. But it is important for the Christian investigator to remember that the rôle of this personage only begins when God brings in the New Age. The Messiah does not bring in or prepare the New Age: that is God's work; the Messiah only reigns over the people when the New Age has been brought in. And, further, there does not seem to have been, in the first century A.D. at least, any consistent Jewish Messianic doctrine. 'The Christ' is a term that does not often occur. And as the whole Messianic office belonged to the New Age, not to the present, there was no recognized activity or career which was supposed to characterize the destined Messiah before he entered on his office. Sometimes, as in the 'Similitudes of Enoch', the one who was to be Messiah is depicted as waiting in heaven till he should be manifested. The consequence of this way of regarding the matter was that there were no Messianic pretenders, no 'False Christs'. Jesus was recognized as 'Christ' by Peter, but the first Jew known to history who claimed to be Messiah was Bar Cochba, who was executed A.D. 135, i.e. a man who all his life had known of the existence of Christians.

It was necessary to formulate the Jewish expectation of the Good Time Coming in the baldest possible manner, because the bare fact of this expectation is what the student of the Gospels must never forget. But it would be unjust to the Jews and to Bible religion generally not to recognize that the roots of this belief were religious and moral. It was because the Jews believed that God ruled the world, and yet was just and kind to His people who were faithful to Him, that they believed He was about to intervene on their behalf. Not Fate nor Chance nor careless Gods but one beneficent Providence ordered the course of events—this was the Jewish belief as opposed to the ruling contemporary Greek view, which saw in human history a meaningless welter of vicissitudes.

The Law.

Besides the hope of the glorious future the Jewish religion included the acceptance of the divine written Law. In many respects the Jewish religion did resemble that of the nations around them. There was a Temple—only one, it is true, but it was the national centre—in which sacrificial worship was conducted by a priestly clan, who were, in fact, the ruling aristocracy of the Jewish nation. The methods of the sacrifices, essentially a solid meal for the God, in many of which the priests and the worshippers themselves partook, were not unlike those used in Greek and Roman fanes, and the piacular virtue of such sacred meals was regarded as self-evident by Jew and Gentile alike. The great difference was that the whole of the essentials of the Jewish Religion was set down and written in a Book. This Book, the Pentateuch, was sacred indeed but not secret, in fact it was the duty of every Israelite to hear it read out and, as far as he knew how, to practise its minutest precepts.

We Christians are so accustomed to the idea of a Sacred Book that it is difficult for us to realize what religion would be without it. One chief effect, in the times we are considering, was the democratization of Jewish religion. To the Jew religion was not the affair of a priestly caste, as it was to the heathen: it was his own; he could, and very often did, know as much about it as the hereditary priest.

All this resulted in a kind of secondary organization of worship, with what may be regarded as an unofficial clergy. The Synagogue is the meeting-place where Jews could come together and hear the Law read, and the Rabbi is one who is learned in that Law. The place that the Philosopher filled in Hellenistic society was filled in Judaism by the Rabbi. But the subject-matter of his learning was the same Religion that was practised by the hereditary priesthood, and it also comprised the daily duties of the ordinary Jew.

Thus the national religion was a matter of immediate

practical interest to everyone. And further, this religion, while containing much that has always seemed to outsiders arbitrary and particularistic, was in its main outlines a noble system of ethics conjoined with a form of public worship at least the equal in dignity and morality of any of its contemporaries.

Naturally there were also Jews of the first century A.D. whose interests were not centred in religion, whether of the politico-apocalyptic or of the legalistic-ethical sort. There were worldly Jews: of these we can distinguish three types, which are best denoted by the labels Herodian, Sadducee, and "'Am ha-Āreṣ". We read occasionally in the Gospels about *Herodians*: these seem to be the special supporters of the Herodian Princes, who still reigned over all parts of Palestine except Judæa. We shall not do them much wrong if we regard them as opportunists, believing little in religion and disliking especially the religious enthusiasm which was the mainspring of rebellion against Rome. The *Sadducees* in the Gospel are practically identical with the priestly aristocracy at Jerusalem and their immediate following. The priestly aristocracy occupied a high and privileged position: they had little to gain and everything to lose from revolution. They wished the existing state of things to continue and distrusted unauthorized novelties, whether they took the form of new revelations about the future or new rules of ritual and behaviour. The Jewish term *'Am ha-Āreṣ* (literally, "people of the land"[1]) means a man too ignorant or too careless, or both, to be reckoned an observer of the Jewish Law. If the disciple of the Rabbis ate the food of such an one, or married his daughter, he would undergo the risk of ritual pollution. Religious literature rarely gives a sympathetic picture of the notions of such people, or an accurate estimate of their relative numbers. But it is important for the student of the Gospels not to forget the existence of this class, and also to hold them quite distinct from the poor or the down-trodden. The fact that the Jewish nation

[1] The term occurs *2 Kings* xxiii. 30: in the later (Mishnaic) Hebrew it is used for an individual.

did rebel against Rome shows that the religious-patriotic party was really the strongest element, but of course the lines between the parties were not by any means closely drawn, and the more or less indifferent are always to be found in the ranks of all parties.

The Sadducees.

One characteristic of the Sadducees is important enough to be noticed separately. The old Jewish Religion had practically nothing to say about the fate of the dead. They were cut off from light and (it seemed) from God as well: " the dead praise not the LORD, neither any that go down into silence " (*Psalm* cxv. 17). But the constancy of the Martyrs, who in the bad times just before the Maccabæan Revolt had resisted the tyrant's commands, and had refused to disobey God's sacred Law even to the death, had brought in a new doctrine, for which it was difficult to find much justification in the Law, or indeed in the Prophets. Most of the Jews came to believe that their God would not only make His Chosen People be victorious in the end: those individuals also who had fallen in the struggle would one day be raised to life again to receive the reward that was their due, while due punishment awaited the persecutors who, as it seemed, had died in peace and prosperity. " Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" It was the intense belief of the Jews that God was just, not philosophical or physical speculation, that produced their belief in the Resurrection of the Dead. In New Testament times it was a belief held by most Jews who were keen for religion. But this new, popular, enthusiastic doctrine made little impression on the worldly aristocracy to whom fell the hereditary duty of sacrificial worship. And there were others who felt that the new views had very little support in Scripture, the one infallible guide. If such men did go outside Scripture for an expression of their faith they may have quoted the saying of Antigonus of Socho, who was reported to have said: " Be not as slaves that minister to their master with a view to receive recompense; but be as slaves that minister without a view to

receive recompense."[1] It is well to remember that 'Sadduceeism' included this noble and disinterested element; but speaking generally it denotes in the Gospels the worldly scepticism of the priestly circles, and indeed it is probable that the word Sadducee means 'Zadokite', which could be used of the Jerusalemite priesthood, as in some sense the successors of Zadok and his family.

The Beginning of the Gospel

In the following pages the view taken of our almost sole authorities, the Four Gospels, is that Mark is not merely the oldest but that it was the actual source used by Matthew and Luke. Matthew indeed may be not inappropriately characterized as a "second edition of Mark, revised and enlarged". Luke is a fresh composition, but there is little to suggest that this Evangelist knew of anything that might be called an alternative biography to what we read in Mark, valuable as are the single sayings and incidents which he records. The contents of the Gospel of John do not seem to the present writer historical at all, in our sense of the word historical. Many of the incidents related in that Gospel are certainly based upon history, such as the Crucifixion itself, but they have all passed through the alembic of the Evangelist's mind and have come out changed. I do not think the writer distinguished in his own consciousness between what he remembered (or had derived from the reminiscences of others) and what he felt must have been true, and I greatly doubt whether we can distinguish often in that Gospel what is derived from tradition and what is derived from imagination.

Matthew and Luke, on the other hand, do preserve singly fragments of genuine tradition, Sayings of Jesus that it is impossible to suppose were invented at a later date by Christians; and in Mark we have a historical source of very high value. The Evangelist is not himself an eye-witness except to some extent for the events of the final visit to Jerusalem, but

[1] *Pirqē Ābōth*, i, 3. Antigonus is said to have lived somewhat after Alexander the Great.

he embodies many reminiscences due to Simon Peter, to whom (according to tradition) he acted as interpreter. I regard Mark as a first attempt to tell the full story of the public career of Jesus, to put together into one narrative the various stories he had heard from Peter and from others. I do not think there had been any transmitted traditional chronology of the Ministry before Mark, and I think he arranged the incidents as best he could. Such as it is, it is practically our only source of information for the course of events, and the way it is generally respected by Matthew and Luke goes far to prove that these writers had nothing better to put in its place.

It is otherwise with the Sayings. Matthew and Luke, whatever may have been the nature of their common or special sources, had certainly a store of traditional 'Sayings of the Lord' not included in Mark. Some of the Sayings had been collected before, and it is possible to recognize some of the outlines of Collections, used both by Matthew and Luke, to which in modern times the name of 'Q' has been given.[1] But some of the Sayings, preserved singly by Luke or by Matthew, are as surely authentic as some of those preserved by both Evangelists and so assigned to 'Q'.[2] For the purpose of this sketch, therefore, it is not necessary to discuss the thorny questions connected with the identification and reconstruction of Q, a document about which we only know that certain verses in Matthew and Luke seem to be derived from it. We do not know its limits; we do not know what it did *not* contain, or the character of those parts of it which neither Matthew nor Luke thought suitable for incorporation into their own work.

John the Baptist.

The Gospel may be said to begin with the Baptism of John. John—the son, according to Luke, of a priest named

[1] Q stands for *Quelle*, the German for 'source', but as the late Dr. Salmon used to observe it might equally stand for 'query'.

[2] E.g. *Luke* iii. 10–14; xi. 5–8; xviii. 1–14; *Matthew* x. 5, 6, 23; xiii 44–52, and many others.

Zacharias—was a hermit who had retired from human society and who lived in the Jordan Valley on such food as he could find in the wilds. His manner of life in this was like many another Semitic ' holy man '. We do not hear how he acquired notoriety, for we do not read, either in the Gospels or in Josephus, of any effort made by John to attract or convert his countrymen. However this may have been, his fame did become known, and people sought him out in his solitude. What he recommended is called " a baptism of repentance for remission of sins ".

It does not appear that John thought that the approaching end of the existing state of things was any nearer than the majority of his fellow-countrymen thought. His concern was not so much that the end was near, as that if it was so near it was of the first importance to be well prepared. The two key-words are Repentance and Baptism.

' Repentance ' was not then nearly such a conventional word as nineteen centuries of Christian exhortation have made it. The Greek word for ' Repent!' means ' Change your mind!' No doubt John spoke in the current Aramaic, and the word he used corresponded to that used by Jeremiah of old,[1] i.e. " Return!"

But this has not been the message of all religious teachers: more often the trend of their exhortation has been towards ' enlightenment '. It is worth while also pointing out that neither in the Psalter, nor in St. Paul, is repentance a key-word. What ' Repent!' implies is that the listeners' theory or practice is wrong and that they know better. And the fragments preserved of John's exhortations make it quite clear that what he had chiefly in mind was social conduct. " You have come out to me here," said John, in effect, " for a charm to get immunity in the dangerous crisis which we see impending. Well, don't trust to your rank or your race: neither will protect you if your ways are bad. God wants wheat, not chaff!" And when people asked the desert ascetic what he meant in detail, he said: " Make a new start; be generous

[1] *Jeremiah* iii. 14, 22, &c.

to the needy, don't be grasping, don't bully." He did not say: "Come out of the wicked world," though no doubt some enthusiasts did stay for a longer or shorter time with John in his desert life.

So the people who had gone out to John returned to their homes, but before they went back they bathed in the Jordan. Exactly what or how much this was understood to signify beyond a new start it is difficult to say. It is not even certain that those whom John 'baptized' (i.e. dipped) in the river regarded themselves as members of a new society. For certain ritual cleansings in Jewish practice baptism was required, but the most famous story of a cleansing bath was that of Naaman, and it was on the banks of the Jordan where Naaman had been 'baptized'[1] that John was to be found.

John is called 'the Baptist' both by Josephus and the Evangelists. No doubt the river-bath was inseparably connected with his name, but Josephus is as emphatic as the Gospels in testifying to the moral effect that John made. There must have been something most impressive and stimulating about him, indeed we know this on the best possible authority. "No one born of women greater than John the Baptist!"—that is the testimony of Jesus Himself: this saying testifies to the overwhelming impression that intercourse with the Baptist had made upon Jesus. In modern phraseology it revealed our Lord to Himself and sent Him out into the wilds to think out what course He ought to take.

The Baptism and Temptation.

Among the rest of the pilgrims Jesus was baptized by John. There is no reason to doubt the fact; the astonishing thing is that it was preserved by Christian tradition. It seems to the present writer that it is due to Mark, and Mark alone, that it has been transmitted. The Fourth Gospel is silent about the baptism of Jesus, Luke passes over the fact as

[1] *2 Kings* v. 14. The word ἐβαπτίσατο actually occurs here in the Septuagint (*4 Regn.*, v. 14).

rapidly as possible, and Matthew makes John actually unwilling to perform the ceremony. The difficulty which these writers obviously feel about this baptism is good confirmatory evidence that it really took place. And with the baptism of Jesus goes the story of the Voice from Heaven that Jesus heard. As told by Mark it is a Voice heard by Jesus, but the other Evangelists in various ways turn it into a heavenly testimony to Jesus heard by John or the bystanders. The Marcan story is not only more primitive comparatively: it seems to me to be essentially historical, that is to say, the baptism in the Jordan by John was to Jesus the occasion of what we now call a religious or spiritual experience, an experience so marked and so vivid that He felt He had to go for a time into absolute solitude to think it over.

The story of the Baptism (*Mark* i. 9–13) and the story of the 'Temptation' (*Matthew* iv. 1–11; *Luke* iv. 1–13), if they are in any sense historical reminiscence, must have come from Jesus Himself, representing the impression Jesus retained of His time of solitude. And what was the result? The result of the 'Temptation' was negative: the course of action He was to pursue seems to have been to Him no clearer than before. The call came from outside, from the course of events. It was when John's activity came to an end, when Herod had arrested the Prophet of practical ethics, that Jesus hears the inward call to act and comes with a message to Galilee (*Mark* i. 14).

One thing remained. The story of the Baptism tells us that Jesus came from it convinced that He was, or had now been chosen, Son of God, and the one positive result of the sojourn in the desert was that though reflection did not make clear what this appellation meant for Him in practical action, He did not reject it. We seem to see in these stories Jesus become conscious of internal power, conscious that He was not altogether like His friends and acquaintance, conscious that the familiar phrases of worship and religious metaphor meant, or had come to mean, something real and special to Himself. "Deign to give us, our Father, knowledge from

Thyself ", " Forgive us, our Father, for we have sinned ",[1]— these ancient phrases Jesus must have repeated Sabbath by Sabbath in the Synagogue with the rest of the worshippers: now the term had acquired for Him fresh meaning. We find Him saying " *My* Father " from time to time, in a way that is individual and unlike Jewish usage as reflected in the Talmud.

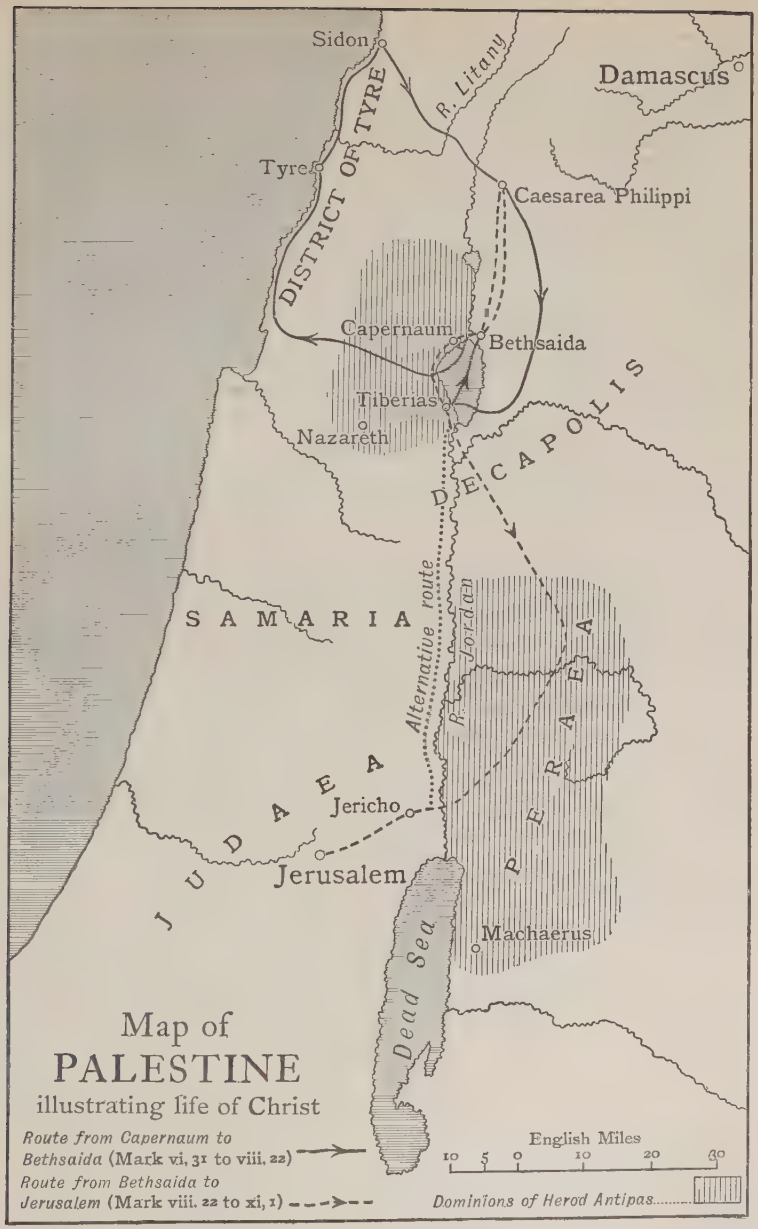
I have begun, as the Gospels do, with " Son of God " and its correlative " My Father " rather than with any other Christological title, because I believe it to be really more primitive. As used in the story of the Baptism and of the Temptation it denotes consciousness of vocation rather than theological dignity. And the stories themselves are so familiar that we can easily fail to notice that according to the sacred tradition the first effect upon Jesus of a consciousness of special relation to God was neither exaltation nor timidity, but an earnest consideration of what He ought to do.

The Early Days in Galilee

The actual call to action came to Jesus from outside. John the Baptist was imprisoned by Herod Antipas, whom the Romans allowed to be Rajah of Galilee and of Peræa (i.e. Southern Transjordania): his activity, such as it was, came to an abrupt end, and Jesus seems to have interpreted his removal from the scene as a sign that the End was very near. In the words of Mark, " after John was delivered up Jesus came into Galilee preaching the Good News of God: ' the time is ripe and the Reign of God is at hand; repent, and believe in the Good News ' " (*Mark* i. 14, 15).

A little later we hear of Jesus sending out a select band of missionaries, who are to go about to towns and villages which He himself has no time to visit. Our Gospels report various warnings and directions which Jesus gives to these missionaries, and to these seem to have been added sayings of Jesus which, if genuine at all, must belong to a later period.

[1] *The Eighteen Benedictions*, No. 4 (Palestinian Recension), No. 6 (both Recensions).


Sidon
R. Litany
Damascus
Tyre
DISTRICT OF TYRE
Caesarea Philippi
Capernaum
Bethsaida
Tiberias
Nazareth
DECAPOLIS
SAMARIA
Alternative route
R. Jordan
PEREA
JUDAEA
Jericho
Jerusalem
Machaerus
Dead Sea
Map of
PALESTINE
illustrating life of Christ
Route from Capernaum to Bethsaida (Mark vi, 31 to viii, 22)
Route from Bethsaida to Jerusalem (Mark viii. 22 to xi, 1)
English Miles
10 5 0 10 20 30
Dominions of Herod Antipas

This is notably the case with *Matthew* x. 17–22. But none of the accounts adds anything to the contents of the message with which the missionaries are entrusted; it is simply, as in *Mark* i. 15, " the kingdom (or reign) of God is at hand ".[1]

This is the beginning of the Evangel. The kingdom of God itself is treated as a known or familiar concept: the Good News is that it is at hand. I have sketched in a previous section the main outline of the Jewish expectation of the Good Time Coming. It is difficult not to infer from the story in the early part of Mark that Jesus started with the belief " that the kingdom of God should immediately appear ", while the rest of the Gospel may be read as putting before us some of the steps whereby Jesus came to realize that the time was not yet quite ripe, and to be persuaded that He must go up to Jerusalem and die there as the first condition for the coming of the New Age.

How long the earlier stage lasted we have no means of judging. Our knowledge first becomes detailed with the Call of Simon Peter, from whom, in the last resort, our information comes. We may infer that Peter and his brother, and also James and John the sons of Zebedee, were already more or less acquainted with Jesus and His mission. On the other hand, the story of the scene in the Synagogue at Capernaum suggests that Jesus and His ways were something new to the crowd generally: it is likely therefore that He had not been many weeks alone before calling at least Peter and his companions to join Him.

This scene at Capernaum introduces us to two of the outstanding characteristics of the Gospel tales—the impression of authority which Jesus gave and His power over disease. Both these things are of the essence of the story and demand particular attention.

The Teaching of Jesus.

' What is this? A new, authoritative teaching!" said the

[1] *Matthew* x, 7; *Luke* x. 9, 11. In *Mark* vi. 12, the contents of the message is that ' men should repent '.

people in the Synagogue. The teaching of Jesus was here and there quite new in content, but it was not altogether new: a great deal of the "Sermon on the Mount" is in agreement with the teaching of the Talmud. It was the manner that was new, fresh, striking. What impressed the people was the masterful personality of Jesus. He was sure what was right and what was wrong, without reference to learned opinion, just as the old Prophets had been—the men of old time who, as every Jew believed, had been inspired when they dared to say "thus saith the LORD!" This is the chief outstanding characteristic of the Sayings in the Gospels.

What Jesus actually said at the outset of His public career is not, strictly speaking, preserved except in the summary *Mark* i. 14, 15, already quoted. The scene in *Luke* iv. 16–29, so far as it is historical, belongs to a later date, when Jesus and His ways are already well known (ver. 23). Even here the positive announcement is about "the acceptable year of the LORD": in other words, it is "the Kingdom of God is at hand" expressed a little differently. Most of the didactic Sayings in the Gospels are addressed to the Disciples, to those who have come out, more or less prepared to throw in their lot with Jesus. What, exactly, do they teach? What is the general meaning of the all too familiar Sayings of the "Sermon on the Mount" and similar collections?

They are not systematic, nor do they by any means cover all the varied conditions of human life, even in the first century. But enough is extant to show that they are all animated by a few general principles or leading ideas.

Interim Ethics.

1. "The Kingdom of God is at hand"—then the present time is short. Have no anxiety for to-morrow, to-day is the all-important thing. The Gospel morality is that somewhat crudely expressed in the well-known hymn:

> "Redeem thy misspent time that 's past,
> Live this day as if 't were thy last."

The modern name for this is Interim-ethics: I quote Bishop Ken's hymn by way of indicating how familiar the idea is still in Christian exhortation.[1] With this fits the generally passive attitude towards the things of ordinary life which is enjoined and commended. Happy are the poor, the mourners, the quiet and unassertive (πραεῖς), the peaceable: they will soon be comforted and rewarded! Do not resist, do not fight against evil: there can be little doubt that the primary meaning of this famous utterance is " Do not rebel against Rome, against the domination of the Gentiles ", or in more evangelical language, " Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's ". The Gospel morality is quite different from the ethics of modern Socialism or modern Capitalism, and it differs exactly in this, that the existing organization of mankind on this earth is not regarded as indefinitely continuing. Future generations do not count, the Kingdom of God is at hand, give to him that asks of you, distribute your goods to the poor, be unencumbered with the things of this life, set your thoughts on the coming Reign of God, and where your treasure is there your mind will be. This sort of doctrine does not, as it stands, fit the requirement of those who are attempting to formulate new rules of social ethics suitable for present conditions, but it may be pointed out in passing that it is not inappropriate for the training of missionaries, whether religious or the disseminators of what has come to be called ' propaganda '. " Take your life in your hand, don't saddle yourselves with dependents, whether of family or property, the Cause for you is everything!"

God, our Father.

2. " The Kingdom of God is at hand "—it is God Who will rule. Here again it was not so much a new doctrine about God that Jesus set forth as that the old doctrines were realized

[1] Of course the important difference is that by Bishop Ken's time it is the shortness and uncertainty of individual human life that is in the foreground, rather than the universal change expected in the New Testament for all mankind.

with new vividness and intensity. " Our Father in heaven " —Jesus was not the first to coin this phrase, but it meant more to Him than it did to others. And however much He felt that He stood in a special relation to God, however much He could say ' *My* Father ', Jesus speaks of God to the Disciples as ' Your Father ', and not only collectively, but individually as ' *Thy* Father ' (*Matthew* vi. 4, 6, 18). And by ' Father ' He meant everything that is kind and wise in a human parent, caring both for grateful and ungrateful, giving not so much what was asked as what was salutary, but encouraging and calling for the confidence of his children. The formal contradictions which can be found in the words of Jesus on prayer belong to the essence of the matter. Free intercourse with God—that was His ideal, and as such a thing is, logically speaking, inconceivable, so the expression of it involves contradiction. " Ask, and it shall be given you " is one side, but " be not anxious even about food and clothing " is the other: the anxiety of the Disciples was to be about the Kingdom, not about anything else. Jesus, like the Wise Man of old (*Ecclesiastes* v. 1 ff.), can say " let your prayers be short, do not be like the heathen who think they will be heard for their much speaking "; but, on the other hand, He put before His hearers the tales of the man in bed who would not get up to help his friend, yet because the friend went on knocking and asking he got up and gave what was wanted, and of the Unjust Judge who feared neither God nor man but helped the Widow because of her importunity. Both sides belong to the picture: what is depicted is the confidence of a child in an affectionate Father, a child who is not afraid to utter its childish wants and longings, but is prepared to accept the Father's ruling even when it amounts to a refusal.

All this is exemplified in " the Lord's Prayer ", a form in which the only thing the disciples were encouraged to demand for themselves was sufficient food from day to day. The rest of the petitions are for God's glory and for cleansing and protection from moral ill. And what Jesus taught, He also practised: there was a moment in Gethsemane when He

shrank from the ordeal before Him and He prayed if possible to escape from it, but in the end nerved Himself to say " Thy Will be done ".

Conscience and Codes.

3. " The Kingdom of God is at hand "—and whatever else that may involve it means the rule of One Who sees in secret, Who is able to judge by the intention as much as the performance, Who can and does make allowance where allowance is due, before Whom no sham or pretence avails. No doubt sincerity has always been a virtue to serious thinkers, but the direct appeal to God, the emphasis laid by Jesus upon the good intention, upon making the inside as clean as the outside, tended to bring Him into conflict with what the Gospels call the Pharisees. ' Pharisaism ' is intimately connected with Religion regarded as a Code: if the Code be regarded as the Will of God, then the duty of man is to obey the Code, and the interpretation of a Code is a matter of exegesis and casuistry rather than of feeling and conscience. Whether the Gospels represent the Pharisees properly, whether Jesus Himself was fair to the Pharisees, is another question, which must be faced later, when the conflict of principles came to an open rupture, but that a conflict was inevitable is certain. " You cannot serve two Masters," said Jesus: He was thinking of God and material wealth, but it is equally true of Conscience and a Code. For a long way, if the Conscience be enlightened and the Code wise, their united voices may indicate the same course. But when at last they differ, the man has to declare his allegiance. The difference between Jesus and the ' Pharisee ' (as depicted in the Gospels) is that Jesus followed Conscience, declaring that was the Will of God: the Pharisee might indeed act in the same way, but he would previously have persuaded himself, by ingenious exegesis or by using some traditional modification, that he was really not disobeying the Code.

Jesus as Healer.

To come back to the Synagogue at Capernaum, the other outstanding feature there depicted is Jesus as the Healer. Of course the Evangelists and the public for whom they wrote had little conception of Natural Law or of the difference between nervous and functional disorders. It is, in these days, almost self-evident that an educated modern observer, if such a one had been present, would have described the diseases and the cures in other terms, and further that on the most favourable construction what we have is Peter's recollections of the impression Jesus made on him, some thirty years after the events. No doubt a good deal of the detail cannot be pressed, and the natural exaggeration of the convinced adherent must be allowed for in all these stories. But after all such allowances are made it is impossible not to believe that Jesus did exercise powers of healing of a surprising kind. Our accounts tell us that these powers surprised the crowds, and the tale in *Mark* i. 21 ff. seems to let us see that Jesus Himself was surprised. We need not take too seriously the exact words reported as the speech of the 'unclean spirit': what seems to have happened was that a deranged or over-excited man shouted out some unintelligible interruptions while Jesus was speaking, that Jesus told him in tones of authority to be silent, and that after a convulsive paroxysm the man was silent.

The incident would have had little importance but that it was the first of many. It is immediately followed by the cure of Peter's mother-in-law, surely a bit of genuine reminiscence, whatever medical interpretation we may give to it (*Mark* i. 29–31). The healing of diseases was not a traditional characteristic, either of prophets or of the Messiah.[1] It was not expected in a religious leader, though such an one might be

[1] In a highly poetical passage (*Isaiah* xxxv. 5 f.) the Prophet assures his countrymen that their God will come and save them, so that they can return across the desert from their exile to Zion. All will then be well, the blind will see and the deaf hear. But this is a very different picture from the cures effected by Jesus.

expected to work some surprising miracle, such as Moses striking the Rock for water, or Joshua commanding the Sun to stand still.

It must further be noticed that whatever powers of healing Jesus may have had, He never went out of His way to exercise them. He never sought out the sick or afflicted. Indeed in the East the reputation of a Healer spreads like wildfire, and the difficulty is to dissuade unsuitable patients from coming to one who is in any way known as a *Hakim*.[1] The Gospel of Mark even shows us Jesus avoiding people. On two occasions (*Mark* iii. 20; vi. 31) it mentions that Jesus and His immediate friends had no opportunity even of having their meals in peace, and in iii. 9 it records that Jesus had a boat kept ready for Him to escape the crowds. After the famous day in the Synagogue at Capernaum He went away alone before daybreak to pray, and when Peter found Him and told Him that everyone was looking for Him, He replied: "Let us go somewhere else: I came out to deliver the Message!" But the next story tells how His fame spread, and that He stayed for a time outside the towns in the open country.[2]

[1] See the pathetic story of the little boy called Khan Mirza, told in E. G. Browne's *Year among the Persians* (ed. of 1893, p. 345).

[2] This is a convenient place to point out that 'desert places' (*Mark* i. 45; vi. 31 ff.) and 'the mountain' (*Mark* iii. 13; vi. 46, &c.; *Matthew* v. 1; viii. 1) do not mean in a story about Palestine quite what they imply in England. In Palestine 'the mountain' and 'the desert' begin where the margin of cultivation leaves off, and that is still everywhere visible in the landscape. For instance, the Tabgha Cave, where the famous prehistoric Galilee Skull was found, is 'a desert place' in 'the mountain', i.e. it is a quarter of an hour's walk from the tilled fields of Gennesaret up a little valley. Failing an elaborate system of artificial irrigation only the best-watered portions of the soil are worth cultivation. The 'desert' is not devoid of vegetation in spring (*Mark* vi. 39): in fact it is very much like what is called 'forest' in Scotland, until the sun scorches things dry (cf. *Psalm* xxxii. 4).

From Early Days to Peter's Confession

" The Kingdom is at hand, go not to Gentiles or Samaritans; if you meet with opposition do not stay but go elsewhere: amen, I say to you, you will not have gone over the cities of Israel before the Son of Man be come." With such words Jesus sent out His missionaries: it is evident from them that the End was expected immediately. But the End did not come: there was a delay. Three main questions arising from the delay, and the consequent prolongation of what is commonly called the ' Ministry ' of Jesus, now come up for consideration. They are: (1) the external course of events, (2) the break with the ' Pharisees ', (3) the Parables of the Kingdom.

The Course of Events.

1. The chronology of the Ministry depends on the interpretation given to a few scattered notices. There is no clear trace in the Synoptic Gospels of the three-year scheme of the Fourth Gospel, with its series of visits to Jerusalem. The Crucifixion took place at a Passover, i.e. round about the beginning of April. According to Mark the Feeding of the Five Thousand took place when the grass was green, i.e. before the middle of May; we have also to find room for a story in which certain disciples pluck formed ears of corn and eat them, i.e. before June. The Feeding of the Five Thousand is after the death of John the Baptist and after the fame of Jesus had spread among friends and foes, and yet it is after this event that we have to allow for a long peregrination north of Tyre, a period of retirement outside Israelite ground. These are the chief data and they are best satisfied by a ' Ministry ' of something under two years, viz. a period of activity lasting about a year, ending about Passover-time in the events grouped with the Feeding of the Five Thousand, followed by another year chiefly spent in retirement (*Mark* vii. 24; ix. 30) and ending with the final journey to Jerusalem

just before Passover. The episode of the disciples and the ears of corn (*Mark* ii. 23 ff.) very likely belongs to the same period as *Mark* vii. 1–23, but it may have occurred in the preceding summer.

It should not be forgotten that our information, so far as it is historical at all, comes from intimate disciples, not from outsiders. It records the remembered sayings and doings of Jesus as seen by Peter and his companions. The historian may wish to begin by sketching the more public career of Jesus, but the reminiscences of Peter make very little difference between the times when Jesus was in full activity and when He was more or less in retirement. Much has been made of the mention of 'the crowd' (τὸν ὄχλον) in *Mark* viii. 34, as if this word implied a permanent Galilean congregation that followed Jesus about, which is unlikely in the neighbourhood of Cæsarea Philippi, i.e. Paneas. The inference drawn is that this 'crowd', and the general setting of these words of Jesus, is artificial and unhistorical. But it seems to the present writer quite unnecessary to draw that conclusion. Any visitor with anything to say very quickly draws a 'crowd' in any Syrian village to-day, which wanders about in vague companionship with the stranger as long as he is in their neighbourhood. Mark distinguishes between 'the disciples' and 'the crowd'; the former are more or less permanent adherents and companions, but the 'crowd' is made up of the chance hearers, individuals who may turn into disciples but at present are unattached and uncommitted.

The Break with the Pharisees.

2. The rift which gradually widened into opposition between Jesus and the Pharisees is one of the fundamental religious facts of the Gospel History. Generations of Christians have only heard of 'Pharisees' as opponents of Jesus, and the word in modern usage has come to mean a self-complacent formalist. In Jewish usage the corresponding word[1] means one who makes a profession of religion (sincere or otherwise),

[1] In Hebrew *pārūsh*, in Aramaic *perīsh*.

one who is separated or distinguished by his more careful religious conduct. In practice this tended to mean a more scrupulous observance of the Law, and so we often find the Pharisees associated with the ' Scribes ', i.e. the *literati*. The Evangelist Luke often calls these Scribes lawyers, as being learned in the Jewish Law, written and traditional. Thus ' scribe ' (γραμματεύς) comes to mean very much what is now called a Rabbi. Opposition between the man of direct intuition and the man of learning, between the Prophet and the Scribe, is in a sense natural.

But in interpreting the Gospel stories I venture to think we must not identify the ' Pharisees ' simply with the conformist Jews, the *Habērim* of the Talmud. In fact, as explained above, the word is nearer ' dissenter ' than ' conformist '. It is used in the Talmud for people who are ' particular ' in religion, and they there come in, as might be expected, for some very hard words as being often tiresome and in many cases insincere. This is very much what we find in the words of Jesus: the Pharisees whom He denounces are particular in their religion, too particular in some things—of less value in Jesus' eyes—and not particular enough in other things. And we must never forget in comparing the Gospels with the Talmud that the Talmud corresponds to a later stage in Jewish history. The difference in time is only some forty or fifty years, but in between has come the catastrophe of the Destruction of Jerusalem. Not all the tendencies and schools of thought that flourished in Judaism up to A.D. 70 survived. What survived was the school of Johanan ben Zakkai, a great and loyal Jew, but one so little representative of the average tendencies of his countrymen that during the War he was of the peace party. He refounded Judaism and helped more than anyone else to draw the lines of that Rabbinical Religion which has been the religion of Jews ever since. Johanan ben Zakkai was no innovator, but his teaching was certainly selective: I am not convinced that his views had been before the War the most widely spread and popular views. And what this means in interpreting the Gospel is that we must not be surprised to

find that Jesus in opposition to ' Pharisees ' is sometimes in opposition to, but also sometimes in agreement with, Johanan ben Zakkai and the rules of the Talmud. " Nothing that goes into a man, but what comes out, makes him unclean " (*Mark* vii. 15): this is contrary to Talmudic law. On the other hand, when Jesus says in the same controversy " the care of Parents comes before the obligations of a Vow " (vii. 9–13), He is in general agreement with the Talmud. It is not the case that the moral teachings of Jesus were wholly new, and I also venture to think that the views and practices of very particular Jews during the first half of the first century A.D. did not always coincide with the opinions of ' the Wise ' in later times.

Be this as it may, it is clear that the general opinion about Jesus among ' particular ' Jews became hostile. It was not a question of excommunication or of persecution. But such circles ceased to hear Him gladly, and He seems to have ceased to wish to speak in the Synagogues. He had indeed delivered His Message.

The Parables of the Kingdom of God.

3. The Gospel of Mark, followed by the others, represents Jesus as beginning with the announcement of the imminence of the coming Kingdom of God, and then at a later stage speaking to the crowds chiefly in Parables. Some of these Parables are not perfectly plain, as is evident by the different interpretations that have been actually given. They are mostly about the Kingdom of God: the Parables themselves are taken from the things of everyday life and apart from one or two expressions are as clear as words can be. There must therefore have been some obscurity or mystery about the Kingdom itself which they are meant to elucidate.

The key to the mystery is the delay in the coming of the kingdom, the kingdom that had been announced as ' at hand '. It is, I venture to think, impossible to explain all the utterances of Jesus except on the view that this delay was for some time a mystery to Jesus himself. We start with the public

proclamation " The Kingdom of God is at hand ": we end with Peter declaring " Thou art the Messiah " and with Jesus saying, practically, in reply, " Yes, and I go now to Jerusalem; but whoever wants to follow Me there must renounce all ambitious hopes and accompany Me—to execution ".[1] Our documents do not show us the whole process of this paradoxical development. All we can do is to note certain stages in its course.

The people heard Jesus gladly, to begin with at any rate. They were even ready with more homage than Jesus was claiming. " Why," said He, " do you call Me ' Lord, Lord!' and do not practise what I tell you?" The tree is judged by its fruits, the salt which is too adulterated to conserve other things is no good—and it is thrown away. The great Day will come when the time is ripe: the elect will sit down to the Messianic Feast with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, but if the heirs of the promises are not worthy, will they be admitted? Will they not be excluded? Can it honestly be said that Capernaum or Bethsaida have repented? Who will atone for their neglect?

John had sent a message to the New Prophet: " Art thou He that should come?" The natural meaning of this question is " Is this Elijah?" The Kingdom of God was at hand, and according to the Prophet before the great and terrible Day of the LORD there would appear Elijah again to prepare the people.[2] Jesus tells John's messengers to report what they see and hear, and to tell John not to be disappointed in the course He, Jesus, is pursuing.[3]

This visit of John's messengers, it may be remarked in passing, is extremely valuable to the historian, for it is the occasion on which Jesus complains that nothing will satisfy His contemporaries. They regarded John's hermit life as deranged, and called Jesus a glutton and a wine-bibber (cf. *Proverbs* xxiii. 20), one who consorted with disrespectable folk. It is not likely that this saying of Jesus was invented

[1] *Mark* viii. 29, 31, 34 f. [2] *Malachi*, last three verses.
[3] *Matthew* xi. 6; *Luke* vii. 23.

by later Christians, or that it has a mythical sense! The impression, therefore, that Jesus made on some of those who heard Him was that He was too easy-going in His way of life to be a great religious leader. But it must not be forgotten that the Saying belongs to the early days when John was still alive. A little later Herod Antipas had John beheaded. We may be sure that event made a distinct impression on Jesus. John was the greatest of the Prophets, and his end had been to be executed in prison: what fate was in store for Jesus? How was He best to meet it?

In time the missionaries whom Jesus had sent out came back, and their general experience had been similar to that of Jesus, but the Gospels let us see the difference: they were satisfied, Jesus was not. "Let us come away and think it over," He said (*Mark* vi. 30, 31). The missionaries were delighted to find that they had something of the same power over disordered minds as their Master, but He told them it was a still greater thing for them to have their names 'written in heaven'. What this means we see from the Book of Enoch: those whose names are thus written "will not have to hide on the day of the Great Judgment".[1] They are in fact the chosen and approved of God, and that was the only thing which mattered in the dark days to come. But though the anticipated End delayed to come, and though those who really listened to Jesus were mostly poor and ignorant folk, Jesus accepted things as they came from God. All things—both success and failure—had been dealt out to Him by the Heavenly Father, so that He could even give thanks that it had been determined that the great issue should be hidden from the wise and prudent and revealed to the simple and the immature. Yet all the while He, Jesus, was conscious that He knew God as no one else did, and could tell His intimate followers how fortunate they were to live in the very times so earnestly looked forward to by the Saints of old.[2]

[1] *Enoch* civ. 1, 5.

[2] See *Luke* x. 21–24, both for the words and the context.

The Period of Rest and its Effect.

The projected period of rest with the chosen few away from the crowd was not achieved without difficulty. The crowd came out into the uncultivated spot to which Jesus had retired. There followed the incident known as the Feeding of the Five Thousand,[1] and then, owing to a storm, Jesus and His companions came back to Galilee. The tradition tells of adversaries and disputations, but there is nothing to suggest persecution or even the withdrawal of popular favour. If the next scene shows us Jesus near Tyre, outside the Land of Israel (vii. 24 ff.), it is not exile but a voluntary retirement, a carrying out of the plan announced in vi. 31. It does not seem as if He took many friends with Him: in viii. 10 'the boat' reappears very much as if Peter had not left it and had now come to fetch Jesus by appointment.

The leisurely journey from Cæsarea Philippi to keep the Passover at Jerusalem can only have taken two or three months at the outside. We must therefore suppose that the time of retirement (*Mark* vii. 24–viii. 26) lasted nearly nine months. During a good part of it Jesus is outside the Holy Land. Of

[1] I confess that I see no way to treat the Feeding of the Five Thousand except by a process of frank rationalization. The tale was later, particularly in the Fourth Gospel, given a Eucharistic interpretation: some modern scholars have seen in it a ritual anticipation of the Messianic Banquet in the New Age. I cannot see any trace of either view in the narrative of Mark, and that being so it is difficult to suppose that the whole story is an invented myth. At the same time the tale as told in Mark is incredible; and further *Mark* viii. 14–21, lets us see that even after the two wonderful meals in the desert the Disciples were just as afraid when they were short of provisions in the boat as if nothing had happened. Orientals do not generally travel without provisions. The solution which alone appeals to me is that Jesus told His disciples to distribute their scanty store, and that their example made those who were well provided share with those who had little. Such a proceeding might well be repeated elsewhere.

The scene was almost certainly on the north-west shore of the Sea of Galilee, between Capernaum and the head of the lake. Bethsaida was at the head of the lake but on the east bank of the stream, outside Galilee and the dominions of Herod Antipas. The intention had been to proceed to Bethsaida (vi. 45), the disciples in the boat, Jesus alone, but the wind was contrary and they were driven back to near the place where the crowd had been. There they took Jesus into their boat, and the northerly wind still continuing they landed in the district of Gennesaret, i.e. not far from Capernaum itself.

this long period a few wonder tales are told, but nothing of the announcement of the Kingdom of God. And when it is over, and Jesus is again at or near the old scenes, there is a change in *Him*. To quote Wellhausen:[1] " Now the Gospel as the Apostles taught it really begins. . . . The determination to go up to Jerusalem produces an astonishing change. A transfigured Jesus stands before us . . . who no longer is occupied in general teaching but prophesies about Himself. He speaks no longer to the people but to a narrower circle of disciples. . . . He accepts the Confession of Peter that He is the Messiah, but with the correction that it is not a Messiah who will restore the Kingdom of Israel but something quite different. It is not to set up the Kingdom that He goes up to Jerusalem, but to be crucified. . . . The thought of the Repentance of the nation is quite given up, and in its place comes the demand to follow Him, a demand that is only to be carried out by few, for it is to follow Jesus to death."

Wellhausen sees in all this a reflection of the experiences of the earliest Christians, but he has faithfully indicated in these striking words the change in the Portrait of Jesus drawn by Mark after the long retirement. For my own part, I feel that it is a true historical trait in the biography of Jesus. There are two periods in the ' Ministry ', the one in the main sunny, the other dark, culminating in the Crucifixion. The one is almost without plan: the Evangelist Matthew has freely transposed the order of the tales, and it does little harm to the story. The other is dominated by the determination of Jesus to bring things to a crisis, to create a crisis by His own action. It is not the people who have changed in their attitude: it is Jesus who is different—' a transfigured Jesus ', as Wellhausen so finely says. In the long quiet months of that uneventful summer and autumn He came to fuller knowledge of Himself and of the tragic rôle it was His high destiny to play.

[1] *Das Evangelium Marci*, § 43.

'The Messiah' and 'the Son of Man'.

What is commonly known as Peter's Confession, viz. "Thou art the Christ", is a convenient place to consider the meaning of this title and of the phrase 'the Son of Man' which Jesus so often uses. 'Jesus Christ' is the ordinary name by which our Lord is known to history: it hardly sounds now like a title or office, and indeed ever since St. Paul's day 'Christ' alone has been commonly used just as a personal name. The word in Greek means 'anointed' and is a translation of the Hebrew word *messiah*, which has the same meaning. Part of the consecration of sacred personages among the Israelites, such as priests and kings, was an anointing with oil: with kings it was part of the Coronation, as it is to-day with us, so that the phrase 'the LORD'S Anointed' (*2 Samuel* i. 14) means "the *crowned* king of Israel". It could not properly be used of a claimant to the throne, even though he were the legitimate heir. As explained above,[1] the rôle of the Messiah only begins when God shall bring in the New Age: when Peter said "Thou art the Christ" we must understand the words to mean "Thou art He whom God will manifest as Christ when the time comes". This is why Peter is sharply told to say nothing about it: it was premature and indecent to acclaim God's Vice-gerent before appointment, even if you know what was going to be. Jesus does not indeed refuse the title when Peter blurts it out, but He does not use it. He has another term which He uses, when He wishes to speak of what Peter meant.

By long association with certain familiar Sayings 'the Son of Man' has acquired a gentle pathetic ring. "Foxes have holes and birds their nests, but the Son of Man has nowhere to lay His head"—this is what the phrase at once suggests to English ears, with the additional consciousness that the Speaker is the Son of God who for our sakes had become poor. But most of the passages where 'the Son of Man' occurs call up a very different picture. It is 'the Son of Man'

[1] p. 205.

who is to come ' with clouds ' and all His angels with Him, and He will sit upon the throne of His glory. These phrases have a literary history: their ultimate source is the Vision in *Daniel* vii. 13, of ' one like unto a son of man ',[1] who comes with the clouds of heaven, to whom God gives dominion over all the nations. At the end of this Vision (ver. 27) it is explained that the ' son of man ' stands for the people of the saints of the Most High, i.e. the faithful Jews, but in the later non-canonical Book of Enoch the same Figure reappears and is there interpreted to be One who is kept in heaven till the fullness of time when he will be manifested and ' sit on the throne of his glory ', and from his exalted seat will judge all the potentates and kings of the earth.[2] This Personage, therefore, is another name for the Messiah, but the Messiah regarded as a wholly supernatural being, comparable with Michael or Gabriel.

And here a word or two about the term ' Son of Man ' itself. The Greek is as odd as the English, odder in fact, for it is literally ' the son of the man '.[3] But Jesus and the Disciples spoke Jewish Aramaic, almost exactly that in which *Daniel* vii also is written, and in this language *bcr* (*ĕ*)*nāsh*, literally ' son of man ', is used for ' a human being '. ' The Son of Man ', therefore, is a literal translation of the Aramaic *bar* (*ĕ*)*nāshā*, which means ' the human being ', ' the man '. The term is no name or title properly so called in the mouth of an Aramaic-speaking person, but simply means ' the man '. If Jesus, therefore, or anyone else speaking in Aramaic, speaks of ' the Man ' it must either mean Man generically, or ' that Man—you know whom I mean '. In one or two Sayings of Jesus from the early days (such as that about the foxes quoted above) it is probable that the term is meant generically, and in one or two others, such as ' the Son of Man came eating and drinking ' it may have been used by Jesus of Himself as if He had said ' I could name someone who was by no means an ascetic. . . .' But it is clear that in

[1] *Sic*, as in the Revised Version, not *the* Son of Man '.
[2] *Enoch* xlvi. 1 f; lxii. 2 ff.
[3] ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

the great majority of passages " the Son of Man " means ' the Man—you know whom I mean—Daniel's Man and Enoch's '.

In the early days Jesus had spoken of this Man seen in vision by Seers of old. He had told His Missionaries that they would not have visited all the towns of Israel before the Son of Man—Daniel's Man—had come, but here there is no identification of Himself with this Personage. Now, after the Confession of Peter (and we may express the same thing in another way by saying ' after the long period of retirement '), Jesus speaks of ' the Man ', meaning Him of whom Daniel and Enoch had written, but He identifies the Man with Himself here and now. In a word He uses the phrase ' the Son of Man ' of the Messiah-to-be. But it was not merely a matter of words and names. The phrase as used from this point onwards by Jesus signified something wholly new, so new that the Disciples and Peter above all are utterly puzzled and scandalized.

The Journey to Jerusalem

The picture which Mark gives us of the journey to Jerusalem is, I am convinced, essentially historical, constructed out of genuine reminiscences which ultimately are those of Peter. Of course Peter's reminiscences are themselves coloured and to some extent modified by his knowledge of what actually happened at Jerusalem. Had the warnings of what was to happen to ' the Son of Man ' in Jerusalem, always ending with a clear statement of a rising again after three days, been as definitely and precisely formulated as we read them in the Gospel,[1] then the panic of the apostles would be difficult to account for. But when all allowances of this sort are made, there remains enough from which we can picture to ourselves the expectations of the disciples on the one hand and of Jesus on the other. The disciples, as distinct from what Mark calls the crowd or ' multitude ', were not I suppose a numerous body. They were just numerous enough when collected to-

[1] *Mark* viii. 31; ix. 31; x. 33 ff.

gether to make noticeable the entry of their Master into Jerusalem and, what is more important, to back up His doings in the Temple Courts. They thought—the majority of them thought—that now the strange Leader to whom they had been attracted was going to make the ' Kingdom of God ' come. The value and depth of their understanding of the ideas of Jesus may be gauged by their complete disappearance after the arrest of Jesus and at His trial. They had no doubt heard warnings from Jesus of the Narrow Way that those who followed Him must tread, but they had not taken these utterances seriously. Nevertheless the existence of this class must be remembered, to explain the first doings of Jesus in Jerusalem and the attitude of the authorities there to Him. At the other end of the adherents, nearest to Jesus, we see Peter and his companions. They had been really dominated by the strange and masterful Personality of their Master. He might succeed or He might fail, but they would never go back to their old life again. One of them, Judas Iscariot, moved we do not know by what motives, gave information which helped the authorities to arrest Jesus quietly, but he died suddenly soon afterwards and one account said that he hanged himself. All this inner circle had been initiated into a new life by living in Jesus' company, but it is clear that they did not understand His forebodings. It is no wonder that the reports of His Sayings have a certain incoherence, for they reflect some of the puzzle and dismay of those who remembered them.

Did Jesus go up to Jerusalem to win or to lose, to die or to be victorious? That He *exactly* foresaw the future is most improbable; if we believe Him to have done so, it takes away all the heroism of His momentous venture. We cannot imagine Him to have been certain of failure: that would have been constructive suicide. It seems to me that He most probably regarded His journey and the sort of action He took in Jerusalem as of the nature of what in military affairs is called a ' forlorn hope '—an attack which has an off-chance of success, but is more likely to fail, at least directly, yet by being made it may so change the conditions as to make ultimate success

possible. The men who compose the ' forlorn hope ' may fall, but through their effort the fortress may be taken. What I think certain is that Jesus was fully persuaded that unless He did of His own initiative court failure and a violent death the new state of things, so ardently expected and longed for, would not arrive. In Albert Schweitzer's impressive words: " Jesus in the knowledge that He is the coming Son of Man lays hold of the wheel of the world to set it moving on that last revolution which is to bring all ordinary history to a close. It refuses to turn, and He throws Himself upon it. Then it does turn; and it crushes Him. Instead of bringing in the eschatological conditions, He has destroyed them. The wheel rolls onward, and the mangled body of the one immeasurably great Man, who was strong enough to think of Himself as the spiritual ruler of mankind and to bend history to His purpose, is hanging upon it still. That is His victory and His reign."[1]

Incidents on the Journey.

One or two incidents belonging to this period must be touched upon, even in this short sketch. I have no explanation to give of the cure of the epileptic boy or of the Transfiguration of Jesus which immediately precedes it: the latter scene reads curiously like the memory of a vivid dream. But the conversation placed by Mark immediately afterwards must surely preserve some genuine reminiscences of what Jesus said at this time.[2] Jesus spoke of the " Son of Man " " risen from the dead "—but what had the Son of Man, i.e. Daniel's Man from Heaven, to do with dying? And when they said something about Elijah coming first to prepare, as Malachi had foretold, Jesus lets them see that He has come to regard John the Baptist as the fulfilment of that prophecy—and what was the end of John the Baptist? He had been killed: such an event could not have happened unless God had willed it; it must therefore have been written down in the ' heavenly tables ' of which some of the Apocalyptic writers speak, the tables of

[1] *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, E. Trans., p. 369.
[2] *Mark* ix. 9–13.

Fate or rather of God's Will. And if the new Elijah is thus sacrificed, will the Son of Man have a happier fate?[1] Here we see Jesus, as elsewhere, interpreting the future less by prophetical writings than by contemporary events.

Why did Jesus, on two separate occasions according to Mark, take a child in His arms and speak of receiving the Kingdom of God as a child? Partly, no doubt, out of kindliness and sympathy: those who brought the children to Him had shown confidence and faith in Him and His mission by the very fact of having brought the children for a blessing from the Prophet of God. And it may be remarked in passing that the kindly words of the Lord Jesus have very few echoes in Early Christian or Rabbinical literature, in which young children are mostly ignored or regarded as subjects for discipline. But what had Jesus in mind, when He praises those who receive the kingdom ' as a child '? I think this Saying is also coloured by forebodings of the future, and that it commends those who accept what comes from their father and mother, without criticism of the plan which has been arranged for them. What His heavenly Father had prepared was for the best, and Jesus was prepared to accept it, but He was conscious that it would not be what most of His followers were desiring.

There was a young man who came out to Jesus on the way and asked what he should do to make sure of " eternal life ", that is, a good portion in the New Age. Jesus told him to keep the Ten Commandments, but he said he had done that from childhood. For a moment Jesus thought of him as a volunteer, but the man was not prepared to abandon his position for an idea. He thought of the existing state of things as stable, Jesus thought of it as transient, and so the man turned away. Peter then exclaimed that he and his companions really had left all to follow Jesus; what were they to get? Jesus answered " A hundredfold!" that is to say, something a hundred times better. What follows is not quite clear, but it seems to put the question, which is better—pro-

[1] *Mark* ix. 13 as interpreted (correctly, I believe) in *Matthew* xvii. 11 ff.

perty, relations, even parents and children, or a good portion in the New Age? You can only find out how much you really believe in a better world by seeing what you are willing to sacrifice for it.

And clearest of all is the story of James and John, the sons of Zebedee. They had been among the first Companions, they had again and again been chosen to accompany Jesus with no one else but Peter. Now they want to be assured of their place when the Good Time comes, they want, in fact, to sit on either hand of Jesus in His glory.[1] They get their rebuke from the Master, and the other Ten Companions, as we are told, were indignant that the brothers should have tried to steal a march on them. But Jesus did not leave the matter there. His followers, He said, were not to aim at personal dominion or glory. If they wished to cherish a personal ambition it was to be useful, to be as it were a slave to the others: even so " the Son of Man did not come to be ministered to, but to ' minister '—to be a servant, and " (He added) " to give His life a ransom for many " (*Mark* x. 45).

This famous utterance is more than an illuminating epigram: it *is*, in fact, the Gospel both according to Mark and according to Saint Paul. A word or two must therefore be said here upon its genuineness and meaning. The word λύτρον, translated ' ransom ', does not occur elsewhere in the Gospel, but its use in the Greek Old Testament (and the similar word λύτρωσις used in *Luke* ii. 38) makes it clear that the notion of payment to a third party is not prominent and that the word means little more than ' deliverance '. But in what way would Jesus giving up His life be a ' deliverance '? The answer must be connected with the coming of the Kingdom, called in *Luke* ii. 38, ' the *redemption* of Jerusalem '. If something kept the New Age from arriving, if the death of Jesus would hasten the New Age, then that death would be a ransom, a deliverance for those for whom the New Age was prepared. And who were these? Not all men, not even all Israel, for

[1] It does not appear from the story what place they were willing to assign to Peter.

how few had ' repented '! But God's elect would enter upon their inheritance, and Jesus Himself had said that though some Israelites were unworthy " many would come "—non-Israelites, apparently—" from east and west to sit down to the Messianic Feast with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob ". The whole presentation of Jesus's attitude, the one thing that explains His general course in going up to Jerusalem as He did, rests on His conviction that God had called Him to sacrifice everything for the Kingdom. Perhaps at the last moment He would escape, as Isaac did of old; but if not—He was to go on all the same.

All this is something different from Paulinism, from the individual acceptance of a sacrifice already accomplished, whereby St. Paul taught that the new convert might make his peace with God and even yet become an heir of the promises. The words used in *Mark* x. 45, do not go beyond the conception of the journey to Jerusalem as a ' forlorn hope '. Was it an unworthy conception, mere enthusiasm? What is ' enthusiasm '? A famous definition declares it to be " a vain belief of private revelation, a vain confidence of divine favour or communication ". The only test we can apply is that of the ultimate result, and it must never be forgotten that the confidence of Jesus in His vocation has been justified by the permanent vitality of the movement which He initiated. Without the Cross the attractive utterances of the Galilean Prophet would have died away without an echo.

Even apart from the final clause the words of *Mark* x. 45 are most illuminating. They show us what Jesus regarded as the link between His own activity and ' the Son of Man '. He accepted the contemporary Jewish apocalyptic outlook on the future, the Messianic Feast, the Coming on the clouds of Heaven, the triumph of justice and right as conceived by Jewish thought. This was the reign of ' the Son of Man ', and He knew Himself to have been chosen for that exalted office. The new, original thing was that He prefixed to the career of the Son of Man a Prologue, the Prologue of His own life here and now, and this contained no anticipated

honours. It was to be a life of service, crowned with a death for the cause. We call the public career of Jesus His *Ministry* because of this very Saying, because He was persuaded that He was there " not to be ministered to, but to minister ".

The Entry and the Cleansing of the Temple

Jesus travelled to Jerusalem by Transjordania, avoiding the Samaritan country, and started from Jericho accompanied by a fairly large number of adherents. Luke says that when Jesus first caught sight of Jerusalem He wept, but even Luke emphasizes the rejoicing of the crowd of ' disciples ' and their enthusiasm. An ass had been prepared for the Prophet to ride into the city, as Jesus seems to have known, and so He entered riding on it in the midst of His followers. Some cut green boughs from the fields,[1] others laid their cloaks in the dusty track, and they shouted ' Hosanna ' as He went along—a very curious cry, be it remarked. The demonstration, however, as Mark tells us, came to nothing decisive: it was already late in the day, and Jesus merely looked round about in the Temple and retired to Bethany with His chosen friends.[2]

The first comment which must be made here is on this extremely prosaic ending furnished by Mark to the spectacular day. Matthew and Luke both suppress it, making the Cleansing of the Temple follow immediately on the Entry into Jerusalem, a much more dramatic arrangement! Mark's account must be based on true historical reminiscence: that is the way things really happen, and the value to us of this prosaic note of time is to assure us that we are not far, in this part of Mark's narrative at least, from the actual report of an eye-witness.

Another detail that must ultimately be historical, puzzling as it is, is the cry of ' Hosanna '. It cannot be too distinctly stated that ' Hosanna ' does not mean ' Hail!' or ' Hurrah!' or " God save the King!" As actually used in Jewish religion it means (practically) " God save Israel!" But then it becomes

[1] It is only the Fourth Gospel (*John* xii. 13) that speaks of *palm* branches.
[2] *Mark* xi. 11.

difficult to assign a meaning to ' in the highest '. The cry of ' Hosanna ' belongs particularly to the Vintage-Feast, the autumn Feast of Tabernacles, and a green bough or wand used in that Feast is actually called in Aramaic ' a hosanna '. Possibly therefore what the crowd shouted was really " Wands up!" " Up with your green boughs!" This was remembered but mistranslated, and " Hosanna in the highest " is the result.[1]

The cries of the crowd at the Entry of Jesus can have had little to do with the Feast of Tabernacles. But somewhat similar usages, more especially the singing of *Psalm* cxviii (in which the Hosanna-cry actually occurs, ver. 25), were associated with the winter Festival of the cleansing and rededication of the Temple.[2] And the procession of the Galilean enthusiasts escorting their Prophet into Jerusalem was only separated from what is called ' the Cleansing of the Temple ' by the coming on of sunset and a night spent outside the City.

The Cleansing of the Temple and its Results.

The Cleansing of the Temple is the most public scene in the career of Jesus, it is almost His only spontaneous action. If He healed the lepers it was because He had met them, if He fed the multitudes it was because they had followed Him. He was crucified because the authorities arrested and condemned Him. But He went out of His way, so to speak, to ' cleanse ' the Temple—He need not have done it if He had not thought proper. Therefore it ought to be for us a very significant index of His mind and purpose.

The tradition tells us that He justified His doings by quoting two passages from the Prophets, from Isaiah that the Temple should be a place of prayer for all nations and from Jeremiah that it had in fact become a haunt of bad characters. In none of our authorities is there any hint that Jesus interfered, or attempted to interfere, with the work of the Priests. We do not read that He stopped anyone carrying doves, or leading oxen, to *sacrifice*. What He interfered with was a

[1] See *J. of Theol. Studies*, xvii, 140–145.

[2] Instituted in Dec., 165 B.C.: see *2 Macc.* x. 6.

market inside the Temple courts, in the ' Court of the Gentiles '. In theory a sacrifice was the offering of an animal belonging to the family: to buy an equivalent at the last minute with money was a worldly trick. No doubt this had become inevitable, just as ' usury ' has become inevitable, but it is hardly contemplated in the Pentateuch. With a vast centralized cultus, concentrated at a single Sanctuary, it was inevitable that there should have been a market, and we do not know really from how large a part of the vast Temple area Jesus wished to exclude it. On the one hand there is no sign that He was raising any protest against the immemorial practice of worshipping God by means of animal sacrifices, on the other He clearly desired a sufficient portion of the area open to the Gentiles to be set apart as a place of ' prayer '.

What is certain is that the grandeur and magnificence of the Herodian Temple made no impression, no favourable impression, on Jesus. " What stones! What buildings!" exclaimed the disciples, but He said that they would all be reduced to ruins. And He said something else, with which His enemies reproached Him as He was hanging on the cross. The saying is extant in various forms and some of these are given as the false witness of opponents, but in any case the words must have been something like " If this Temple were destroyed I would build it in three days ". The enemies of Jesus interpreted this as a threat to destroy the Temple; one school of Christian thought understood it not of the Temple of stone but of His own body—neither, I should think, correctly. Does it not rather mean that the requirements of true worship involve little material expenditure? If the Temple were to perish, says Jesus in effect, the necessary arrangements for the sacrifices, for the services, for fencing off the Holy Place, for the organization of prayer and praise, could be made in three days' time. Does not this throw some light on the Cleansing of the Temple? Simplicity, earnestness, better intention, a witness to God for all mankind, these were what Jesus wanted, not a change of ritual or the abolition of animal

or vegetable sacrifices at the bidding either of Stoic philosophy or of modern sentiment.[1]

The Cleansing of the Temple surely implies an enthusiastic body of adherents. It must have been a remarkable scene; no wonder the authorities sought some way of bringing the Galilean Prophet to grief. And it is difficult to believe that the personal ascendency of a single stranger would have compelled instant obedience to such summary commands, if unsupported by a large body of those who already sympathized —more than sympathized, expected something striking and astonishing. We are told, in fact, that the action of Jesus was supported by the crowd.[2] If those who had shouted ' Hosanna ' yesterday told others that their Prophet was coming as the messenger of the covenant to purify the sons of Levi just before the great and terrible Day of the LORD, that Passover-multitude would be ready to let Him do what He would, for a time. On the next day begins the tragedy: Jesus still has *Psalm* cxviii, the Hosanna Psalm, in mind; but things go on as usual. The end had not come, the people had not ' repented ', and He thinks of Himself as the stone which the builders have rejected. And before the end of the day the hot-heads among the Galileans will have learned that their Prophet is willing after all to pay tribute to Cæsar.

One accompaniment of the Cleansing of the Temple may be noticed in passing. The tale of what is generally called the Cursing of the Barren Fig-Tree belongs to the same day. I do not think we can rediscover what happened really to the tree, except by guessing, but the tale as told in Mark [3] reads to me like something based on real reminiscence. What is particularly noteworthy is the difference between the tone and spirit of the words of Jesus in the two scenes into which the story is divided. On the Monday He goes into Jerusalem to set the Temple right, relying on the power of God to carry His programme through. Nothing shall be impossible to Him,

[1] On this and the following paragraphs see *J. of Theol. Studies*, xxv, 386–390.

[2] *Mark* xi. 18*b*. [3] *Mark* xi. 12–14; 20–25.

and woe to anything that disappoints His expectations! The next day, when Peter is inclined to gloat, his Master tells him to trust in God—and to forgive if he have any grievance! Was Jesus beginning to repent of His violent action of yesterday? Did He think *He* had been too hasty?

In any case the action of Jesus that day is quite different from that of the day before. He parries questions about His authority, He does *not* give countenance to rebellion against the Roman taxes. We hear no more of any attempted changes in the arrangements of the Temple, and the Parable of the Husbandman leaves the coming change of government to God.

From that Tuesday morning, perhaps as early as the evening before, Jesus despaired of His ' forlorn hope '. He despaired of Jerusalem. His action on the Monday morning, the Cleansing of the Temple, shows hope displayed in vigorous, if rather impracticable, action. But He, Jesus, is the first to see that it is no good. It did not touch the disease, and those who were most active in backing Him up were probably least in sympathy with His aim and ideals. The sight of the chafferers and marketers, while He was surrounded with a crowd of Galilean followers, who were at least enthusiastic if not very intelligent, had moved Him to attempt a change, something which should at least indicate the worship which God desires, but it is not long before He is convinced that the spirit of Jerusalem is against Him. And while He accepts defeat He feels at the same time that it is a doomed city.

Sayings of Jesus in the Temple.

The Jewish authorities had no doubt been alarmed by the events of that Monday. The Galilean had evidently some popular support and it was prudent to act cautiously. I venture to think that they were very well pleased with their conversations with the New Prophet. His replies indeed were apt, and those who listened to His tale of the Wicked Husbandmen could not fail to see that He spoke the Parable about the

' Chief Priests '. But they did not fear Him; they feared the crowd. And whatever we, or Johanan ben Zakkai (if he was there), might think of such a pronouncement as " Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's " it must have alienated the ' dangerous ' element in the crowd. Jesus in this famous Saying publicly approved of non-resistance to the Romans, and so three days later there was no resistance from the crowd to His own crucifixion. He was not their man, as perhaps for a moment they had hoped.

Again, it cannot have been popular doctrine with the zealots—though Mark tells us that the crowd heard Him gladly —to throw doubt upon the Davidic ancestry of the Messiah. This, like some other things taught by Jesus, was rather a Sadducee than a Pharisee idea. Jesus does not suggest a Levitical ancestry for the Messiah, as the Hasmonæan House would have liked and as the Sadducees seem to have agreed: He rather points away from any mundane claim of legitimacy to a Messiah that was altogether superhuman, like the Personage in the Similitudes of Enoch. His own family tradition may have been proud to claim kinship with the great king of old, but Jesus called for no allegiance from anyone on that account.

The Saying about the Great Commandments of the Law, which is assigned by Mark (followed by Matthew) to this day, is noteworthy in many ways. In the first place, as reported by Mark, Jesus begins His reply with the " Hear, O Israel ", the famous words in the utterance of which every Jew to this day hopes to die. How characteristically Jewish! What a tribute to the historicity of Mark, who retains this trait (dropped by Matthew and Luke) though he is writing for Gentile readers! It would be impertinent to commend the answer of Jesus, but it may be remarked that the putting together of the two passages, love of God from Deuteronomy and love of one's neighbours from Leviticus, is characteristic. Both passages are emphasized in Jewish teaching; but Jesus will not name one without the other: monotheism and philanthropy, religion and human kindness, faith and works—He will not exalt the one

theoretically above the other.[1] Still more remarkable is the end of the incident, as Mark tells it. The Rabbi who had asked the question of Jesus approves of the answer and they part with friendly words, though it is not claimed that the Rabbi became a ' Christian '. Here again, seeing that Mark is writing for Gentiles and certainly with no particular love for ' the Scribes ', we feel we are not far from genuine reminiscence, and, on the other hand, the respect and admiration evinced by this Rabbi is in itself a testimony to the impression that Jesus made on those who had anything in common with Him.

" Not far from the Kingdom of God " does not necessarily imply that the Kingdom is ' immanent ' or a state of mind. The phrase used by Jesus to this Rabbi need mean no more than " You have a not inadequate idea of the principles that the Reign of God implies ".

The Last Warnings of Jesus

" No one dared to ask Him any more questions," says the Evangelist, and so far as Mark is concerned it does not appear that Jesus remained long in public to be asked. He left the Temple, apparently on the Tuesday itself, never to return, and we only hear of Him on the Mount of Olives or at Bethany until the evening of the Last Supper. He had done what there was to do, and now nothing remained but to await events. On the other hand the Jewish authorities had made up their minds to get rid of Him quietly before the actual Feast began, i.e. according to what seems to be the true date, before the Sabbath on which Passover that year began. According to Mark they were still afraid of a riot, and were very glad when one of the inner circle, Judas Iscariot, came and gave them

[1] I take this opportunity of saying that the greatest service the ' textual criticism ' of the Gospels has done for Christian philosophy has been to get rid of the false simplification expressed in " *One* thing is necessary ". The true text of *Luke* x. 41, has " Few things are necessary, or one ", i.e. " do not prepare for Me an elaborate meal ", but this was turned by later scribes into an over-simple moral maxim.

some information. As remarked above, we are quite in the dark as to what information Judas gave or from what motives he acted, though there have been from time to time ingenious guesses of the most diverse character.

The greater part of the Wednesday and Thursday, then, was passed by Jesus in retirement outside the City with a few chosen friends. I cannot but feel that there is a singular appropriateness when Mark tells us that this time of inaction and waiting was spent in talk about the future. And I would go further and suggest that what Mark puts down in Chapter xiii is in some of its main characteristics historical reminiscence and not literary invention. This is so wholly unlike what is usually said that a few words of justification, or rather explanation, are necessary. I regard *Mark* xiii. 3–37 as a literary composition, the literary composition of the Evangelist. In it he has put together Sayings of Jesus which he had about the future, just as in iv. 2–32 he has put together his store of Galilean Parables. I do not think that *Mark* xiii. 3–37, or the portions of it which are often called " the Little Apocalypse ", ever had a separate literary existence before incorporation in the Gospel of Mark. Some of the single Sayings may be genuine utterances of Jesus belonging to other occasions, others may be Sayings never really said by Jesus: the word about " the abomination of desolation " (ver. 14), which does not fit the events of A.D. 70 at all,[1] suggests the alarm and indignation with which all Judæa regarded the design of the mad Emperor Caligula to set up heathen Images in Jerusalem (A.D. 40). If there was a tradition that Jesus on these last days had spoken about the future to His intimate friends, then we must expect to find the tradition of what He said mingled with predictions of this kind. But I am not thinking of these details. What I have in mind is the difference in tone between *Mark* xiii and the Galilean Gospel which began and ended with " the Kingdom of God is at hand ". The burden of *Mark* xiii is ' Wait: do not be always imagining

[1] In *Luke* xxi. 20, the wording of Mark has been modified to make the Saying fit the exploits of Titus.

that the End is just coming. It will seem a long time to you, and you will have a hard time of it; but be firm and patient, and above all things be ready, and you will not lose your reward. The great Day will come: this generation will not pass before you see Daniel's Heavenly Man descend and gather together the Elect. You cannot tell when it will be, but watch, watch, let Him not find you unprepared!'

This is the essence of the chapter, and even such a summary as this may chance to contain elements that are later than what was said two days before the Crucifixion, but these ideas fit curiously well with what we might fancy to be in the mind of a Prophet who had come up to Jerusalem to hasten the coming of the Kingdom of God—and it had not come! It is just in this interval, between the action of Jesus and the action of the ' Chief Priests ', when Jesus had abandoned Jerusalem, that this new conviction, that the End was not so near after all, would show itself.

The story of the Supper at Bethany, at the house of one Simon called the Leper, makes it clear that Jesus had now given up all hope of success in this life. A woman, evidently an enthusiastic adherent, poured the contents of a valuable pot of unguent on His head as He reclined with the other guests. Possibly she already knew He was to be the Messiah and specifically intended her homage as messianic. Jesus was pleased with the act: no doubt it was a bright spot in the general picture of disappointment and apprehension, but He accepts it with grim humour as a piece of funeral care—and along with that of the poor widow whom He had seen the day before putting her last farthings into the Temple collecting-box the tale reverberates down the ages from century to century.

The Last Supper

Perhaps the most ancient of the many disputes which have agitated the Christian Church concerns the date of the Last Supper of Jesus with His Twelve Disciples. To this day it is reflected in liturgical practice. The Church of Rome uses

an unleavened wafer for the Eucharist, because it regards the Last Supper as having been a *Seder*, a Jewish Passover-meal, at which no leavened bread is eaten. The Eastern Churches, on the other hand, use real bread, for they believe that Jesus died on the Cross at the very time when the Paschal lambs were being slain, so that the Last Supper took place twenty-four hours before the Feast began and the Passover-meal was eaten. In support of their opinion the Roman theologians appeal to the Synoptic Gospels: the Greek Churches appeal to the Fourth Gospel. The second, or non-Roman, date is, in fact, often called the Johannine date, and it is true that it really is set forth in the Gospel according to John, but it is not without support from the non-Marcan portions of Luke, and the witness of Mark is self-contradictory. " Not on the Feast-day, lest there be a riot " (*Mark* xiv. 2): this is probable in itself and it is likely that the intention was carried out. If some words in Mark suggest that the Supper had been a Paschal meal it must be only that there was something in the Supper itself that suggested or implied the *Seder*-ceremony.

In a sketch like the present the many points of interest and controversy must be passed over very lightly. Christian Worship is intimately bound up with what happened at the Supper, but it may be hazarded that it is not entirely derived from the Supper. The common meals of the disciples with Jesus presiding over them must have counted for much, and they looked forward to " eating at His table " when His Kingdom came.[1] In any case it is noteworthy that nowhere in the Gospels (when the intrusive verses, *Luke* xxii. 19*b*, 20, have been removed) is any command given to repeat the actions of the Last Supper: the solemn declaration about the Cup, both in Mark and Luke, is not " Do this as My memorial ", but " Amen, I say to you, I will not drink wine again till the Kingdom come ".

An attractive theory has lately been put forward[2] that the words of Jesus were meant to tell His friends to associate

[1] See *Luke* xxii. 30.

[2] W. E. Barnes, *The Last Supper and the Lord's Supper.*

the thought of Him with the wine and the food of the Passover-meal. Though that Supper was not itself the Passover-meal the thought of the Passover dominates it. Jesus had indeed earnestly desired to have eaten the Passover of that year with them, now it was not so to be (*Luke* xxii. 15, 16); but He speaks of *His* covenant, perhaps of a ' new ' covenant, such as the Passover itself is (*Mark* xiv. 24). We have seen the new note struck in *Mark* xiii., the note of delay and watching, perhaps of years of delay. When Passover comes round then, says Jesus in effect, let one of the cups of wine be *His* cup.

The Arrest and Trial

The actual course of events after the Last Supper is difficult, if not impossible, to reconstruct in detail. What is certain is that all extant accounts contain some confusions and improbabilities. On the other hand I feel sure that anyone who reads the stories in Mark and Luke for the first time would feel that parts at least of the narrative were based on first-hand reminiscence. The text of Matthew is here merely a repetition of Mark, with a few extra legends and tales added, nothing of which appears to be historical, while in the Gospel of John the Lord Jesus is depicted as moving calmly and hieratically through the scene in a way that is far removed above humanity, like a symbolic Figure.

The story of the Passion in Luke is not a simple reproduction of that in Mark: where it may be based upon Mark it has been rewritten, as in the account of the Jewish ' Trial ', or rather hearing by the Jewish authorities. It is, in particular cases, difficult to judge whether the improvements come from fresh information or from a better general knowledge of procedure. The most certainly genuine addition to the tale in this part of Luke comes in the words appended to the account of the Supper. They are among the saddest words in the Gospels, and their mournful irony seems to me wholly alien from what a Christian believer would invent for his Master. " When I sent you forth without purse or wallet and shoes,

did you want anything?" And they said "Nothing". But He goes on to tell them that now they must take their purses and wallets, and that any of them who had no sword must get one, even if he has to pawn his cloak to buy it, for Jesus and His followers are going to be counted among lawless folk. The disciples do not understand: they take it all literally, and someone says "See, here are two swords!"

Of course it is all a piece of ironical foreboding. The early Christian missionaries did not, so far as we know, go out on their travels armed; it is only because these words are so familiar to us that they do not give us a shock. I have elsewhere argued [1] that they show there was in Jesus a vein of playfulness, a tender and melancholy playfulness indeed, but all the more remarkable in that it comes to outward expression in moments of danger and despondency. It is the same Master who excused the woman for the waste of her precious ointment that might have been so profitably spent in works of charity. But this eminently unconventional Saying is also yet another support to the view of *Mark* xiii. advocated in the preceding paragraphs. His own career Jesus sees drawing to a tragic close, but "the end is not yet" and He warns His trusted friends of it in a way that finds no echo in what He had taught them on the road to Jerusalem.

The Trial.

Valuable as some things in Luke are, Mark remains our supreme guide for the last scenes also. For some things, as suggested above, we have the reminiscences of eye-witnesses. Peter's denials, for instance, may be safely traced back to his own avowals, and I still believe that the story of Jesus wrestling alone with His fate in the Garden of Gethsemane rests on what the youth of *Mark* xiv. 51—probably young Mark himself—saw while the apostles were asleep. What early Christian would have had the psychological tact to invent it?[2] On the

[1] See *The Gospel History and its Transmission*, pp. 140 ff.

[2] The tale of the Angel, *Luke* xxii. 43, 44, or the Voice from Heaven in *John* xii. 28, shows the directions in which *Christian* inventiveness naturally ran.

other hand the account of the Jewish Trial is confused: there was no Christian present, so that what we have is second or third hand at best.

I doubt if it matters very much. When native authorities in the East consider that a man is dangerous and at the same time there is not much risk in getting him put out of the way, the exact amount of informality or illegality in their treatment of him is a matter of little interest. Even Ahab thought it worth while to give Naboth the form of a trial. In the case of Jesus the important thing was to give some political colour to the charge, so that the Roman Governor might be persuaded to consent to a death sentence. In this the Jewish authorities were so far successful that the placard on the Cross described Jesus as the King of the Jews.

From the arrest onward Jesus played a passive part. He seems to have shown some indignation at being seized like a bandit by a crowd of armed bravos, but at the trial He would say nothing: according to *Luke* xxii. 67 He felt any defence was quite useless. Only at one point, according to Christian tradition, does He break silence. The High Priest, surprised at the Prisoner's taciturnity, asks Him point blank if He actually calls Himself Messiah and Son of God, framing the question in such a way as to name the Divine Name.[1] Not to reply to an adjuration couched in that form would have meant that Jesus did not dare to make such an assertion in what was regarded as the actual hearing of God, so He did here assent and He added " You will see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of Power and coming with the clouds of Heaven " (*Mark* xiv. 62).

It might not have been worth while to insist on a Saying assigned to such an occasion as this, where (so far as we know) no believer was actually present, but it finds a curious echo in the words for which, as tradition asserts, James ' the Brother

[1] *Mark* xiv. 61 (" the Blessed One "). Naturally it is not to be inferred that the High Priest pronounced the Tetragrammaton: *Adonai* or even *Elohim* (avoided by Jews except in worship) was enough to make the adjuration solemn.

of the Lord' was afterwards martyred.[1] The term 'Son of Man' is so rare in Christian literature outside the words of Jesus in the Gospels, and the phrase "right hand of Power" so definite and peculiar,[2] that the one saying must be an echo of the other. We may venture to regard the words as a kind of *Credo* of the Jewish Christians.

In any case the proceedings were hasty. According to Mark Jesus was crucified the next day at the third hour, i.e. about 9 a.m.: the Fourth Gospel makes it midday, but the earlier hour is more probable. I do not know if the hours of judicial procedure in the Provinces were in any way fixed, but Irenæus of Sirmium, a Diocletian martyr, and the Confessors of Edessa, Shmona and Guria, are all said to have been tried before sunrise.[3]

Crucifixion and Resurrection

It is not out of place to ask from whom were gathered such details as we have of the story of the crucifixion of Jesus. It was not the apostles, for they had fled. Peter is blamed for denying his Lord, but after all it showed some courage and devotion to follow as far as the High Priest's courtyard. Still he was not, and does not claim to have been, a witness of the crucifixion itself. Certain things are reported as having been seen by the Galilean women who watched from afar, but ventured nearer when the crowd had dispersed and someone was taking down their Master's body: Mark names two Maries and a certain Salome. Further, Simon the Cyrenian, who was commandeered to carry Jesus's cross, is called by Mark the father of Alexander and Rufus, two otherwise unknown personages, whom we may assume to have afterwards become believers and who were able to bring to the community

[1] Hegesippus, quoted in *Eusebius*, *H.E.*, ii, 23: "Why do you ask me about the Son of Man? He sits in Heaven on the right hand of the Great Power, and is to come on the clouds of Heaven."

[2] And, I may add, so definitely Jewish as a Name for God (הגבורה).

[3] O. v. Gebhardt, *Acta Martyrum selecta*, p. 163; F. C. Burkitt, *Euphemia and the Goth*, pp. 101, 167.

the tale they had heard from their father. It is enough to attest the general outline of the story, not enough to make sure of details.

Jesus suffered in silence. He gave a great cry at the end: some medical writers have thought that this final paroxysm indicates a literally broken heart. And a little earlier, Mark says about 3 o'clock, He said something in a loud voice which Christian tradition believed to have been the opening words of the twenty-second Psalm. It is a cry of despair—" My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken me?" This, as it stands, is a sentence from Scripture. The ancient text of Mark current in the West is even more poignant, for it makes Jesus say "Why hast Thou put me to shame?"[1] If this word, either in the Western or the ordinary form, had not been enshrined in canonical Scripture, and it had turned up for the first time in a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus, with what emotion it would have been read! Now, people would have said, we are hearing the truth! Surely it is only familiarity with the picture that prevents us from being moved by the agony of the cry and astonished at the fidelity of the biographer.

Joseph of Arimathæa.

Joseph of Arimathæa is something of a puzzle. Mark only calls him ' a worthy councillor ' and does not say that he was a believer, open or secret. It has been suggested that he was not a believer but a pious Jew like Tobit, who made a custom of burying exposed corpses. In this case there was not much time, for the Sabbath (and with it the Feast) was beginning about what we should call 6 p.m. on Good Friday afternoon. If we follow the doings of the faithful Women according to Mark, not according to the other accounts, we shall find that they did what they could. On the Friday evening it was too late to do anything before sunset, but when the Sabbath was past, i.e. after 6 p.m. on Saturday, the shops would reopen and they could buy unguents and spices for the last services to their Friend. They were not expecting a

[1] *Mark* xv. 34, according to D and *i* and *k*.

prodigy: they were up early on Sunday morning, about sunrise (*Mark* xvi. 2), when the city-gates would open, and they went out to find the tomb. Our text of Mark breaks off in the middle of the strange tale of how they failed to find what they were looking for.

The Resurrection and the Early Christians

Whatever view we may take of the Women's expedition the unexpected happened. The unexpected happened above all to Simon Peter. It is unscientific to write a sketch, however short and one-sided, of the Life of Jesus and leave out the Resurrection. In a sense we know nothing of personages of past ages who have left no written or artistic memorials of their own: strictly speaking, we only know the impression they made on their biographers. In that sense the Resurrection of Jesus is a well-attested fact; the impression He made on Peter and those who shared Peter's experience was that He was alive again, that they saw Him alive and that nothing could make them doubt it. The surviving traditions of these appearances of Jesus are confused and contradictory: there can be little doubt that there is an element of unhistorical legend and even fancy in some of the tales, notably those which are located in Galilee. But they have one curious characteristic which they share with the experience of Saul on his way to Damascus and in which they differ from other Gospel ' miracles '. The Gospel wonder-tales, we are told, produced astonishment, but the effect was transitory: the ' Feeding of the Five Thousand ' did not make the disciples less anxious when they were short of provisions in their boat. But neither Simon Peter nor Saul of Tarsus seem to have had any further doubts when once they had been persuaded that Jesus had appeared to them alive.

The immense vitality of early Christianity is one of its leading features. A more instructed theology, which grew up gradually among the more thoughtful believers, came to distinguish between the favour and help (χάρις) of the Lord Jesus and participation in the more intangible spirit (πνεῦμα)

of God, of which they were conscious as members of the new Christian Society. But at first it was all one; Jesus was speaking to them still, He was still alive and was waiting at God's right hand till the day when He would come again and bring in the Reign of God. It might be thought that such enthusiastic notions would gradually lose their vigour and fade. The odd thing is that they did not fade, but persisted.

The one thing certain about the earliest Believers, the little group that rallied round Simon Peter, is that they were to be found at Jerusalem, and nowhere else. Galilee never became a Christian country.

Modern representations of Jesus Christ have tended to portray Him as above all a Teacher, a Wise Sage who saw by unerring instinct what was essential in human life and conduct. But His career was not that of a Sage. Typical teachers of mankind are Socrates and Plato, in modern times Kant and Darwin, in the East Confucius and the Buddha. All these lived long, they trained up a generation to think along the lines of their new ideas, most of them took pains to organize in some way the propagation or preservation of their philosophy. The Founders of religions, again, or of particular modes of life, such as Saint Benedict, have drawn up Rules for their followers: if Moses be the legendary founder of the Israelite religion, then the Pentateuch is legitimately called the Law of Moses. Moses and Benedict both lived to a good old age, and they needed it for their work. How different was the career of Jesus, yet how marvellously influential, notwithstanding apparent failure! Therefore His special characteristic cannot have been that of the Sage, the Teacher, the Founder. It was something distinct from all these, something so well expressed by Renan at the end of his *St. Paul*:[1] " The Son of God is unique. To appear for a moment, to flash forth a sympathetic but piercing radiance, to die very young, that is the life of a God. To struggle, to argue, to convince, that

[1] Edition of 1869 p. 569.

is the life of a Man. . . . Paul is now seeing the end of his reign; Jesus, on the contrary, is more alive than ever." This, it seems to me, is more than a piece of fine rhetoric; it expresses a great deal of historical truth. As I once ventured to say (*Cambridge Biblical Essays*, p. 198), it is not as a Philosopher but as Prometheus, that we worship Christ—the Man who came down from Heaven to give men the Divine Fire. Jesus Himself once described His mission as that of a man lighting a fire, and whatever course He may have taken in doing it, it is at least certain that His Fire has burned for nineteen centuries and that it is alight still. The way that the Fire was lit finds its justification in the history of the Fire.

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I name these three works, because they each in their several ways give expression to the historical difficulties which the documents themselves do to a certain extent suggest.

The best refutation of the various theories that the Gospel story is not historical at all, but wholly mythical, is *The Historical Christ*, by F. C. Conybeare (Watts, London, 1914).]

CHAPTER III

The Earliest Archæological Records

In the absolute lack of evidence for the original customs of the Christian Church, apart from its most sacred institutions, it is necessary to consider the generations which followed and to learn what we can from them. Our Lord had refrained from laying down laws or rules, and left His Church to develop along the lines which His teaching had indicated. That there was continuity and consistency in its progress there is no reason to doubt, and ample reason to believe. This development, for all purposes of general importance, need only be traced within the bounds of the Roman Empire and civilization. The first serious breach in this continuity came with the barbarian invasions, and in this chapter evidence as to Christian practice is collected from every period down to that of Honorius, though, so far as is possible, chiefly from the earlier centuries. There were, from time to time, serious divergences in belief, but rarely in observance. For instance, the worship of Arians could not be distinguished from that of the orthodox.

Jewish Origins.

If we are to understand the practices which the Christian Church developed, we must turn to its Jewish origins. The first Christians had been Jews, for a while were regarded by other Jews as a sect, though an erratic sect, within their religion, and when they were publicly ejected from Judaism they protested not only that they were Jews but that they were the only Jews worthy of the name. There were two reasons for their cleaving to the claim. The first was that, even when the

majority of Christians had come to be of Gentile origin, the Jewish Scriptures were authoritative for them, believing as they did that they had been fulfilled in Christ and that their own worship was the worship of the true synagogue. The second reason was that the Jewish was a privileged religion. It was a *religio licita*, which may be better rendered as a 'licensed' than as a 'permitted' religion. The fulfilment of certain conditions imposed by law sheltered the Jew from all interference by the State, and other dissenters from the official paganism had no such protection. The Roman State demanded unconditional loyalty to itself. It was as jealous of sectional loyalties, religious or other, as was the French Revolution under the teaching of Rousseau. All devotion was owed to it, and therefore to the religion which was its most impressive manifestation. When the Christians' claim to be a branch of the Jews was finally rejected by the Roman State, which was no doubt influenced by the emphatic repudiation of the Jews, they were defenceless. It was at first only their insignificance that saved the Christians from extermination. Afterwards, except for brief outbursts of local hostility or personal ill-will, they were fairly safe till the Government itself undertook the task of suppressing them. But even its assaults were only occasional and not pressed with vigour till the final reign of terror under Diocletian and his immediate successors. The persecutions drove the Church, so to speak, underground, but when Christians had become numerous the calumnies which had been spread against them ceased to be believed, and they had little to fear from popular prejudice. Their real danger was from the State, though this was not usually serious. In fact, it was probably not more risky to be a Christian under the Roman Empire in ordinary times than it has been to be a regular soldier in the British army before the outbreak of the World War.

Resemblances to Judaism.

Still, precautions had to be taken, and even after the final separation from Judaism a curious resemblance was maintained

to Jewish ways. The decoration of Christian places of assembly, in catacombs and elsewhere, was with subjects from the Old Testament. Noah and the ark, Moses striking the rock, Daniel among the lions, were among the favourite subjects. They were types for the Christians; to the pagan they could give no hint that an illegal worship was being practised. For decorative purposes the characteristically Jewish clusters of grapes and tendrils of the vine were chosen. These could not but suggest that the lawful Jewish religion was being pursued, while the growth of a Christian art was promoted by the fact that Jews of the Roman period had no scruples about representations of animal and even of human figures. This we know chiefly from the Jewish catacombs, after the pattern of which those of the Christians were laid out, with the difference that, since the Jews had no religious custom of visiting the graves of their dead for purposes of worship, their vaults were sealed as soon as they were full, while those of the Christians remained open and were indefinitely extended from their original nucleus, as will appear later. The earliest Christian graves at Carthage were actually in a Jewish cemetery, which shows either that the Christians of that place were still recognized by the local Jews as a sect within their religion, or else that some Christians persisted in a Jewish association after the severance. We know that it was found difficult to detach Christians from even pagan connexions, in burial and otherwise, down almost to the days of Constantine.

The Sacraments.

The two great sacraments were continued, with an ampler meaning, from Judaism. Of baptism, in this connexion, nothing need be said, save that the limitation to the bishop of the right of admitting new members to the Church must have been one of the principal causes of the authority which he acquired. Baptism was administered normally only at Easter, and only by the bishop as the responsible head of the community. This continues in Italy to this day, where many towns have only one baptistery, which belongs to the bishop though

he no longer is the sole administrator of the sacrament. No parish church, in such a town as Pisa, has a font of its own. The other sacrament, as in the Last Supper itself, was a domestic rite, and when we read of the Church in the house of Chloe, and of others, we must think of the local church as consisting of a federation of such smaller communities. St. Ignatius of Antioch early in the second century led a crusade against the practice and in favour of unity. He could not impugn it as heretical, but urged that it was not ' secure ' or ' guaranteed '. The partakers had not the assurance of its validity which was enjoyed by those who received it at the bishop's hands. With this divergence from the earlier practice we connect the change from an actual to a symbolic meal. Even after the change had been accomplished, the sacrament retained the form of the Jewish meal. The president, the ancestor of the bishop, presided as the representative of Christ, the elders sat with him as representing the apostles; the rest of the community stood while this dramatic reproduction of the sacred scene was being carried out. When it was once centralized under the bishop the danger of publicity had become so great from the number of partakers and the conspicuousness of the work of preparing and serving the meal, that the original procedure, and with it the resemblance to the Jewish rite, necessarily came to an end. It remains to mention that Jewish synagogues of the Roman period resembled the earliest Christian churches in being of basilican form; i.e. they were quadrangular buildings, in the larger instances with arcades separating two aisles from the nave, and with a semicircular apse at one end. But such halls were universal in the period, and the Christians need not have borrowed the pattern from the Jews.

Christians were subject to all the influences of their surroundings. So far as they were not specifically pagan, the patterns set by the ideas and the art of the time were accepted and copied by them; in fact, some of the best work in art was that of Christian hands. Especially mural decoration, for which the Roman catacombs gave great opportunity, was developed after classical patterns. For instance, the well-

known attitude of an athlete lacing his sandal while looking upward, which is often represented in marble, was borrowed in painting for Biblical characters, heavily draped.

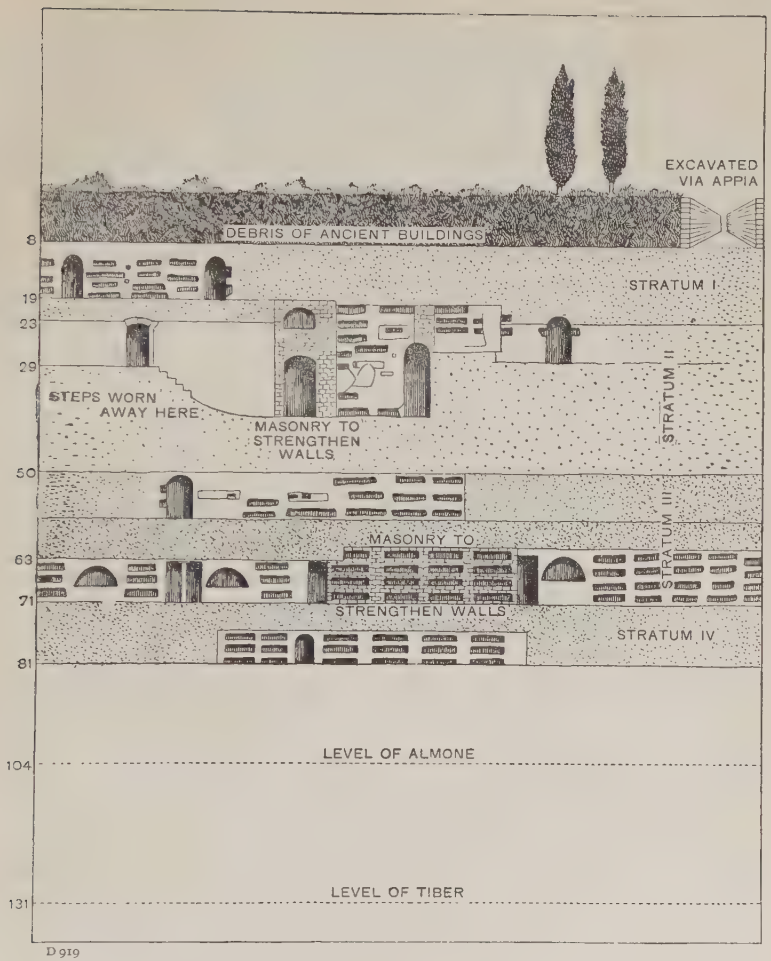
This decoration no doubt was employed in the earliest churches, which were basilican rooms in, or attached to, the houses of wealthy Christians. It is clear that from very early times, certainly within the first century, there were prosperous families who took the lead among Christians and protected them by their patronage. For the relation of the client to his superior was a recognized social institution. As late as in the Decian persecution (A.D. 250) Christians were so sheltered; even the *coloni*, or agricultural tenants, were safe from the Government's inquisition if the proprietor of the land were, or became through desertion of his faith, a pagan. This was in Africa. At Rome a branch of the imperial Flavian family at the end of the first century adhered, it is certain, to Christianity, and several families of high rank, such as the Acilii, took the same course. In fact, the earliest Roman churches began in this way; and we may assume that the Pauline churches ' in the house ' of converts of his enjoyed a like protection. In some Roman churches exploration of the foundations has shown continuous occupation since classical times, the later buildings being raised, as rubbish accumulated, on successively higher levels but on the original site.

The Catacombs.

But Christian art, developing on classical lines, has been preserved almost entirely in the catacombs of Rome. These were used for sepulture after the Jewish fashion, as we have seen. Indeed, so many Oriental religions practised burial without burning that there was nothing in the usage to draw unwelcome attention. Though similar catacombs have been found elsewhere, as in Sicily and Malta, they are either small or ill-preserved, and it will suffice to deal with those of Rome. These surround the city, but abound especially on the southern side of the Tiber, where the soil was especially favourable. It consists, below the surface, of a soft volcanic rock, easily cut, and

often of commercial value, hardening on exposure and useful for building. In it the Christians buried from the first century to the fifth, when old customs died out. The necessary extension of the catacombs for new interments, which pushed them farther and farther from their original situation outside the walls, within which burial was forbidden, must have made a new method necessary in course of time.

The catacombs were private property, and therefore the limit of the estate above ground was also that of the subterranean workings. The proprietor granted the right of burial to those who shared his religion; this was also done in the case of pagans who held in common some special cult. As a catacomb filled up with dead, additional ground adjacent was acquired, which might abut on the original piece at an irregular angle; hence an irregularity also in the plan according to which the catacomb was laid out. Confusion might also rise through the excavation reaching a place where the soil was too soft, or too hard, for the tunnel to run straight forward; it might suddenly be compelled to divert its course. And the diggers were not always skilful enough to maintain mathematical accuracy in their work. But, speaking generally, the method was that of running a straight tunnel into the face of a hill which showed a suitable rock, the tunnel being on the level or at an incline as best might serve; or else a flight of steps was cut downwards, from the bottom of which several tunnels were driven. These were rarely more than a yard in breadth; their height did not exceed what was convenient for lifting a corpse into one of the *loculi*, or recesses, which were cut in the rock as close together as its structure would allow, on either side of the tunnel. In each of these recesses one body was laid; sometimes they were cut deeper, and two lay side by side. There might be four or five of these tiers of *loculi* on either side of the passage. Sooner or later a small chamber is reached, which has served for the interment of someone especially honoured. In the wall of this is normally a recess with a semicircular heading and within it the tomb of a martyr, above which the surface of the wall is highly decorated. The



SECTION OF THE CATACOMB OF CALLISTUS (after De Rossi)

The figures on the left give the depth in feet of the various strata containing the *piani*. Stratum I is composed of solid grey tufa, Stratum II of softer tufa. In Stratum III are two *piani* at different levels. Stratum IV is of firmer material and is subject to inundation by water.

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name of the martyr has been cut or painted on the face of his tomb; in several cases fragments survive of the fine inscriptions with which Pope Damasus, who died in 384, strove to make the memory of the saint immortal. The whole wall of the chamber, which was designed for the worship of a small congregation which in few instances can have reached the number of a hundred, was also elaborately adorned with painting. Though persons highly privileged were admitted to burial within the saint's own precinct, he alone was the object of interest. It was the privilege of Christians to communicate at his tomb; this was evidence of their being in communion with him. Before the end of the first century some Greek-speaking Christian, in an age when all believers held that it was possible for them to receive inspiration, felt that he could improve upon the teaching of St. Paul in *Romans* xii. 13. By a change of two letters (μνείαις for χρείαις) he altered what seemed to him a commonplace—" distributing to the necessities of the saints ", into the more pointed exhortation, " communicating at (or with) the memorials of the saints ". This was accepted without suspicion as the true language of St. Paul by the first Latin translator, and was the reading universally found in the Latin Fathers till the fourth century. It is more important that the oblong altar which became normal is derived from the sarcophagus in which the saint was laid. It is the shape of the coffin, not of the table, which was adopted, after many experiments in square, drum-shaped, and other altars such as were common in pagan antiquity. Later on, a splinter of bone or other fragment of the saint, or object connected with him, was regarded as a sufficient substitute for his body, when it had been hidden in the centre of the slab which covered an altar dedicated in his memory.

The memorial chamber was completed by a shaft for light carried down from the surface; but this was no longer possible when lower levels were reached and only artificial lights could be employed. The *loculi* in which the corpses were laid were sealed with slabs of stone or terra cotta, or in cheaper interments by several smaller stones with the intervals filled by

cement. These stones usually bore the name of the dead, with some simple ornaments of Christian significance such as the anchor or the dove. Instances have been found of eucharistic loaves in terra cotta fastened upon them, in the exact shape of the modern English hot-cross bun. As the uppermost level filled up, a lower was begun, and there might be four or five of these systems of tunnels, with occasional chambers and countless *loculi*, underlying one another. Unhappily the oldest were the nearest to the surface and therefore have suffered most decay, and often the overlying soil has fallen in and destroyed them. But also tunnels sheltering forgotten dead in whom no one was interested were filled in with waste from later excavations; and when it was desired to drive a new tunnel at right angles to an old one, the *loculi* in the wall were not spared; they were cut through, as the first stage in the new work, without reverence for their inmates.

The catacombs of Rome came to be colossal in scale, even before Constantine the Great gave peace to the Church. For a century after him they still grew rapidly in extent. Their ruin came with disuse. It was forgotten that all the Christians of Rome had been buried there, and the superstition arose that they were the tombs of martyrs, and only of martyrs. Hence promiscuous digging for relics, in which not only the structure was damaged or destroyed, but the name-slabs, often of high interest, were smashed in the search for the bones within. Meanwhile the rain that was admitted and the dampness of the soil after the blocking of the tunnels which had served to ventilate the catacombs worked havoc with the fresco paintings. It was not till the middle of the nineteenth century that careful investigation led to an accurate knowledge, rescued what had survived, and rendered intelligible the scattered inscriptions and other relics which had been placed in the churches of Rome and of all the Western world.

The Government of the Church.

By the beginning of the third century the Roman Church had outgrown the patronage of its wealthy adherents, and

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VIRGIN AND CHILD

From the fresco in the Catacomb of Priscilla (A.D. 250–300)

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could conduct its own affairs as a corporate body. There was no difficulty in finding a plan to follow. While the Government was suspicious of combinations among its subjects (despotisms are always suspicious, as in Russia till of late, if not still), an exception was made in favour of burial clubs among the poor. There was no system of reverent interment provided by authority. Neglected slaves and other waifs were thrown into a pit; decent burial was a matter for private arrangement. So the respectable poor were allowed to form subscribing societies for the purchase of a parcel of ground for the burial of the families of their members, for the rites for the dead and for commemorative feasts which should bear annual witness to the fact that the bond of kindred was not severed by death. Such societies did not need to be licensed by the State, so long as they confined their action to this one purpose. They were *collegia illicita*, guilds which were unlicensed, but not unlawful. In this precarious guise the Christian Church shrouded its activity. For this purpose its ministry passed as the officers of a benevolent society; the idea, prevalent a generation ago that this function of theirs is the origin of the ministry, and that its activity started from this point and then extended to authority over the other offices of the Church, is no longer tenable. But the Bishop of Rome did in fact set himself at the head of this secondary development, and established a full system of accounts under the management of his deacons. Thus, from the early years of the third century he publicly stood in a precarious position, should the Government wake to the existence of the Church as an organized corporation. For this was no petty combination of a few humble folk for an innocent purpose. The scale on which the system must have been carried out, with its tenure of land and its collection of considerable funds and employment of a numerous staff of grave-diggers, would excite suspicion. Happily it was not till the middle of the century that the Emperor Decius turned his attention to the Christians, and among his other measures against them occupied the catacombs; and his persecution, not vigorously pressed because the number who denied their

faith deceived him as to his success in making an end of the Church, lapsed after a few months. In later persecutions, however, the confiscation of the Christian burial-places was renewed. Between the persecutions, their status as unlicensed guilds was recognized or at least not disturbed.

Methods of Concealment.

As things were at Rome, so were they in the rest of the empire. Christian cemeteries are found everywhere, above ground or below. In the former case the visible memorials of the dead were often disguised. The letter X, in an otherwise normal alphabet, has been found in the form of an eight-rayed star. The heathen would not suspect that the Cross was inconspicuously portrayed. And in the letter T the upright member is carried above the line, with the same intention. Other ambiguities, more or less ingenious, are employed; for instance, the pagan invocation DM of the deified dead is often found at the head of obviously Christian inscriptions. It may have been inscribed in some secret Christian sense; more probably as a precaution, with the reasonable assumption that suspicious readers would be satisfied with what must seem a confession of paganism. There were more subtle ways of conveying the profession of Christianity. The famous inscription of Abercius, from Phrygia, makes him his own spokesman: "Citizen of the elect city I have made this monument. . . . My name is Abercius, the disciple of the holy shepherd who feeds the herds of his sheep on mountains and plains, who hath great eyes that gaze everywhere. For he it was that taught me the faithful writings. He sent me to Rome to view the palace and to see the queen, golden-robed and shod with gold. And I saw there a people that displays the dazzling seal-ring. And I saw the plain of Syria and all the cities, and I crossed Euphrates and saw Nisibis, and everywhere I found companions, and had Paul for my guide. And Faith everywhere led me and ever gave me for food the giant Fish from the pure fountain, whom the holy maiden held in her grasp, and him did she ever give to her friends for food, bearing good

wine and giving it mingled with water together with bread." This inscription, which dates from about the year 200, is written in an allusive style which would be incomprehensible to any but a Christian, for as yet (whether or no Christians tried to mask their beliefs and practices) their peculiarities cannot have been widely known. We see the good Shepherd, the seal of Baptism, the banquet of wine and bread provided by Faith personified; most striking of all, the Fish whom Faith holds in her hands. This symbol, drawn from the initial letters of 'Fish' in Greek, signified 'Jesus Christ, God's Son, Saviour'; and no ornament is more common in early Christian art than the fish, which must have seemed to the uninitiated a mere decoration. There is symbolism also in the poem drawn from the Apocalypse, but the language of St. John does not lend itself to the uses of art. The other symbols of the poem, like the Fish, are among the most popular illustrations of the Christian faith, though no one seems to have ventured upon depicting the bold theme of the virgin Faith grasping the Fish. At the other end of Christendom there has been found another Greek poetical inscription of the same type, set up in honour of Pectorius at Autun. The first five lines begin with the letters of the Greek word 'fish'. The dead man is addressed as "Divine progeny of the heavenly Fish", and is bidden to rejoice that he has received "the immortal fountain of divine waters" while living among men. He is bidden to refresh his soul with "perennial waters of wealth-giving wisdom"; and then "receive the honey-sweet food of the Saviour of saints, eat hungrily of the Fish, holding it in thy palms". Here again Baptism, Scripture, and Eucharist are obvious to the Christian reader, but veiled in language that might safely be cut on a memorial stone to stand by the roadside. We must remember that rhapsodical verse of this kind was popular, that it had been employed with effect in the so-called Sibylline Oracles by the Jews, and that all manner of strange cults had a mystical phraseology so similar to that employed in these epitaphs that they could pass without suspicion.

Much more might be written about Christian epigraphy,

on which great light has been thrown by the researches in Asia Minor of Sir William Ramsay and his pupils. Here it must suffice to mention one final point in regard to the tombs. It was a point of religion that Christians should be buried among their own people, and a grave offence if they were laid in a pagan sepulture. But many Christians must have had a hereditary interest in such places, and this would probably lapse unless they proved their claim not only by regular payment of the subscription but by attendance at the annual meeting of the society. This, however, took a religious form. Not only were rites performed, but the banquet which was held at the place of burial in testimony of the abiding relationship between dead and living was itself a religious act. In the time of St. Cyprian a Spanish bishop was charged—the charge was disbelieved at Rome but believed at Carthage—with denial of the faith as proved by partaking in such heathen ceremonies. If it were true, it made him a pagan. There came, it seems, to be a natural and innocent desire for a Christian substitute for the *parentalia*, as this annual memory of the dead was called in Latin, and this was provided by the institution of the *agape*, which is not found before the early years of the third century. This is the judgment of so distinguished a scholar as Monsignor Batiffol, who prefers this explanation to the traditional theory that the *agape* was devised when the Eucharist became a nominal meal, in order that the custom of a united substantial feast might not fall into desuetude.

Churches and their Furniture.

Something has been said already of the basilican origin of the Christian Church. There are two other types which deserve mention. The former of these is Eastern, and was developed from the symbolism of Noah's ark, regarded as a type of Baptism. Such churches are simple squares or oblongs, with a coved cylindrical roof. When depicted, they may have a dove perched on the roof. The latter is modelled on a large Roman mansion. The heart of this was a suite of three rooms, opening into one another, the inmost and smallest being the

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THE LAST SUPPER

From the fresco in the Catacomb of Callistus (about A.D. 200)

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triclinium or dining-chamber. If the nave of one of our churches were equally divided by a cross-wall, we should have a reproduction of this arrangement, the innermost room being that devoted to the sacred feast. Whatever its origin, we must think of the place of worship as having, till the middle of the third century, no fixed furniture. What was needed was brought in, and removed when the service was over.

In regard to the Eucharist, this caused no difficulty. Everything was portable. The element of bread was in early times in the form of loaves, not of separate ' hosts '. The lesson to be learnt from the flour combined into one loaf, of which all partake as a symbol of unity, is often enforced, and notably by St. Cyprian. The wine, we learn, was contained in a large vessel, or vessels, into which a portion from that already consecrated was poured by the deacon, who is therefore sometimes said to consecrate that element for the laity. He dipped his chalice into the vessel, and so drew what was needed for distribution. One prevalent custom was that of carrying portions of the consecrated bread upon the person in a locket. Tertullian speaks of earnest Christians consuming a fragment before every meal, as a kind of grace before meat. There are other evidences of reception in the one kind only.

Buildings publicly devoted to no other purpose than that of Christian worship were built in large numbers during the long peace which lasted from 258 to 303. It was thought that persecution was at an end, and that the laws against Christianity, which still existed in the statute book, would never again be enforced. It was with utter surprise that the Christians heard of the last and most formidable of the persecutions, that of Diocletian and his colleagues. By that time they were accustomed to worship without concealment. Having permanent churches, they had provided them with stone altars of the various shapes which have been mentioned; though elsewhere the older custom of celebration, with the bishop in the place of Christ and the presbyters in that of the apostles, survived and was long to continue. With permanent altars there were also permanent places of Baptism. These were

piscinæ, sunk in the floor of the church; fonts in our sense are of later date. Baptism was by immersion, not by aspersion. Though *piscinæ* have been found in Roman catacombs, it is not clear what arrangements could be made for the regular administration of the sacrament before permanent churches were built.

Much might be said of the minor objects of use and ornament which bear the marks of Christianity, directly or indirectly expressed. It must suffice to mention the one art which reached its perfection when Christianity was already dominant, and which found its supreme use in the decoration of churches. Mosaic is pre-eminently a Christian art. But art always expresses the phases of thought prevalent when its works are created. This is true in all the stages of Christianity, and not least in that sixth century when mosaic culminated. At Ravenna, in S. Apollinare Nuovo, the whole story of the Gospel is depicted, from the Annunciation to the Ascension; the Crucifixion is omitted. To orthodox Christians it was a matter for silence. The pagans had ridiculed it, the Arians had made the most of it as an argument that He who suffered could in no full sense be Divine. And therefore the orthodox in their reverence kept it in the background.

It was not till the agony of the downfall of the Roman Empire that the Passion came to be publicly, as well as in thought, the most prominent part of Christian belief. In the East to this day the proportions of the faith are different.

In conclusion, it is worthy of note that the dress of the clergy, within and without the place of worship, was that worn by the respectable laity of their time.

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CHAPTER IV

The Rise, Language, and Form of the New Testament Writings

The writer desires to state that in this and the following chapter he has drawn freely from his Croall Lectures on *The New Testament Documents*, which have been for some time out of print.

The Rise of the New Testament Writings.

In thinking of the rise of the New Testament writings, it is well to be reminded of the obvious but constantly forgotten fact that there was a Church before there was a New Testament. The New Testament writings are not the cause but the product of the faith of the first Christian believers. Christianity did not begin, as other faiths have begun, by being a book religion. The only time when we hear of our Lord's writing was when

> " He stooped
> And wrote upon the unrecording ground ".

And when the time came for His followers to carry on His work in the world, it was not by the promulgation of creeds or theological treatises, but by the power of personal witness, that they made disciples of all the nations. Their witness was the simplest—the most direct possible—witness which owed its power to the fact that it came from those who had already felt the living power of Christianity in their own experience, and who in their turn recognized that their primary duty was to produce not epistles written with pen and ink, but living epistles (cf. *2 Cor.* iii. 2)—men and women who by their lives and conversation should bear witness to an unseen but ever-

present Lord until He Himself should return and set up His Kingdom in their midst.

Apart indeed from everything else, this anxiously expected Parousia of the Lord could not fail to tell in the disciples' minds against any thought of providing for future wants which might never arise. What need to write regarding Jesus when any day might see His appearance in glory, or to lay down rules for the guidance of His Church on earth, when in the new " fulness of the times " all things, both in heaven and on earth, were about to be gathered up "in the Christ" (*Eph.* i. 10).

This is not to say, of course, that fragmentary records of our Lord's life and work did not exist from a very early date. In view of the new evidence which we now possess of the widespread use of writing at the time, it is more than probable that, in addition to the *Testimonia*, or compilations of Messianic Oracles from the Old Testament, which first engaged the attention of the early Christians,[1] collections of Christ's own words were in existence during His lifetime,[2] and that the first account of His Crucifixion may have been written in the very year in which He died.[3] But, apart from such fragmentary records, it was mainly on oral tradition and oral teaching that, in the first years of her existence, the Christian Church depended alike for purposes of edification and of missionary effort. We are thus met with the paradox that precisely in what we are accustomed to describe as New Testament times there was no New Testament.

Need of Written Documents.

This state of things could not continue. With the growth and dispersion of Christian communities, there arose naturally the need of further instruction in the faith, of rebuke against prevailing error, and of warning against strange and heretical teaching. Accordingly the way was prepared for authoritative

[1] See especially J. Rendel Harris, *Testimonies*, Parts I and II (Camb. Univ. Press, 1916 and 1920).

[2] G. Salmon, *Human Element in the Gospels* (London, 1907), p. 274.

[3] W. M. Ramsay, *The Letters to the Seven Churches* (London, 1904), pp. 5 f.

written documents by which these needs could be met. St. Paul, for example, on whom was laid as a daily burden " anxiety for all the Churches " (*2 Cor.* xi. 28), would quickly find that he could only keep in touch with the communities he had founded by means of letters or epistles. And there can be little doubt that those writings of his which have come down to us are only part of a large correspondence which he carried on in order to confirm and develop the work which had been begun in the course of his missionary journeys (cf. *2 Thess.* iii. 17; *1 Cor.* v. 9; *2 Cor.* x. 10; *Col.* iv. 16). The same would be true in varying degrees of the other Apostles.

In some such way as this, then, on practical rather than on literary grounds, a number of Christian writings gradually came into existence, out of which, in time, by a process of selection there came to be formed what we are accustomed to describe as the New Testament Canon, or, more briefly, the New Testament.

With the manner in which this was brought about, and the scattered writings, so occasional in origin and purpose, were transformed into a single and authoritative book, we are not at present concerned. All that we can attempt is to try to get as clear an idea as possible of the outward appearance of the original writings and of their language and literary form.

Outward Appearance of the New Testament Writings.

Of the actual autographs themselves there is no longer any trace. They must all have perished at an early date, if not in the persecutions that befell the early Church, then simply through ordinary tear and wear, and the comparative neglect which would befall writings not at first supposed to be invested with any specially sacred character. But while we are thus no longer in the possession of the original of a single New Testament book, we are able, thanks to the marvellous discoveries of contemporary documents in Egypt during recent years, to form a wonderfully clear idea of what these books must have looked like when they left their first writers' hands.

Use of Papyrus Rolls.

Thus there can be little doubt that they were written on papyrus, the ordinary writing material of the time, and that it would be on papyrus that for more than two hundred years copies would be circulated. The ordinary size of a papyrus sheet was from five to five and a half inches in width, and nine to eleven inches in height, so that for a short letter, like the Second Epistle of St. John, a single sheet would suffice. But, when more space was required, it was easily procured by fastening a number of sheets together to form a roll. Only one side of the roll, known technically as the *recto*, was as a rule made use of, and the matter was arranged in columns, from two to three inches in width.

The length of the rolls containing the New Testament books would obviously vary, not only with the length of their respective contents, but with the size and character of the writing made use of.

But, anticipating for a moment what will be explained more fully directly, that the original scribes made use of the ordinary non-literary hand of the day, we may notice that Sir F. G. Kenyon has calculated that a short epistle, such as 2 Thessalonians, would form a roll of about fifteen inches in length, arranged in some five columns, while the longer Epistle to the Romans would run to about eleven feet six inches. In the same way, the Gospel of St. Mark would occupy about nineteen feet of an average sized roll, that of St. John twenty-three feet six inches, St. Matthew thirty feet, the Acts and St. Luke's Gospel about thirty-one or thirty-two feet.[1]

The general sameness of these last figures has led to the conjecture that St. Luke wrote " to scale ", making use of a certain stereotyped length of roll, and compressing or economizing his materials so as not to exceed it. But however this consideration may have influenced certain of the purely literary writers of the time, it is difficult to think of it as

[1] *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* [2] (London, 1912), p. 34.

extending to writings of such a spontaneous and informal character as the Gospels.

Addressing and Preservation of Rolls.

When finished, the roll was rolled round upon itself, fastened with a thread, and, in the case more particularly of official documents, sealed. The address was then written on the *verso* or back, and if the general practice was followed, this address, in the case of the New Testament writings, would be of the briefest, all the more so because the private messengers to whom they were entrusted would be fully informed as to the writers and the recipients.

For preservation rolls were often fastened together in bundles and laid in arks or chests. And it will be readily seen how unsigned rolls, laid in the same place and dealing with cognate subjects, would in some instances come to be joined together as if they formed parts of one work, while in the case of others questions of authorship and destination would readily arise.

Manner of Writing—Dictation.

From the outward appearance and form of the New Testament autographs, we pass to consider the manner in which they were written. And in lack of any definite information as to the circumstances under which they were composed—information which, if it were available, would go far to set at rest many vexed questions of Biblical criticism—we are again led to fall back on the ordinary practice of the time. In accordance with this, and in agreement with various hints thrown out in the New Testament books themselves, there is every reason to believe that they were in many instances at any rate originally written to dictation.

In support of this conclusion appeal is sometimes made to the note appended to countless papyrus documents and letters to the effect that they were written by so-and-so on behalf of so-and-so, "seeing that he does not know letters".[1] But of

[1] E.g. *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, ed. Grenfell–Hunt, II. pp. 262 ff., No. 275 [43] (= Milligan, *Selections from the Greek Papyri* [3] (Camb. Univ. Press, 1927), No. 20) (A.D. 66): Σωίλος . . . ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ ἰδότος γράμματα.

even the most "unlettered"[1] of the New Testament writers that could hardly be said. And it is better rather to think of the instances where the services of a scribe are requisitioned, owing to the fact that the original author could himself only write slowly or with difficulty. A good example is afforded by a marriage contract of the early second century discovered at Oxyrhynchus, where, with reference to one of the signatories at the end, it is stated, "I write on his behalf seeing that he writes slowly" (ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ βραδέα γράφο[ντος]).[2] And even more significant is the statement in connexion with the enrolment as an ephebus of a certain Ammonius in A.D. 99. By trade a river fisherman (ἁλιεὺς ποτάμι[ο]ς), Ammonius can only write "slowly" (βραδέως). Consequently a friend writes the body of the document for him, leaving him to add the signature at the end.[3]

In view of such instances, and the evidence might easily be multiplied, it does not need any great exercise of imagination to realize that the Galilean fishermen, Peter and John, might well find the actual task of writing both irksome and tedious, and would gladly take advantage of assistance when opportunity offered.

In the case of the First Epistle of St. Peter, indeed, this seems to be distinctly stated, for the words διὰ Σιλουανοῦ, "by Silvanus", in Ch. v. 12, are best understood as implying that Silvanus was not only the bearer, but the actual scribe of the Epistle. And in the same way an interesting tradition, which finds pictorial representation in various mediæval manuscripts of the Fourth Gospel, says that St. John dictated his Gospel to his disciple Prochorus. (See Plate I.)[4]

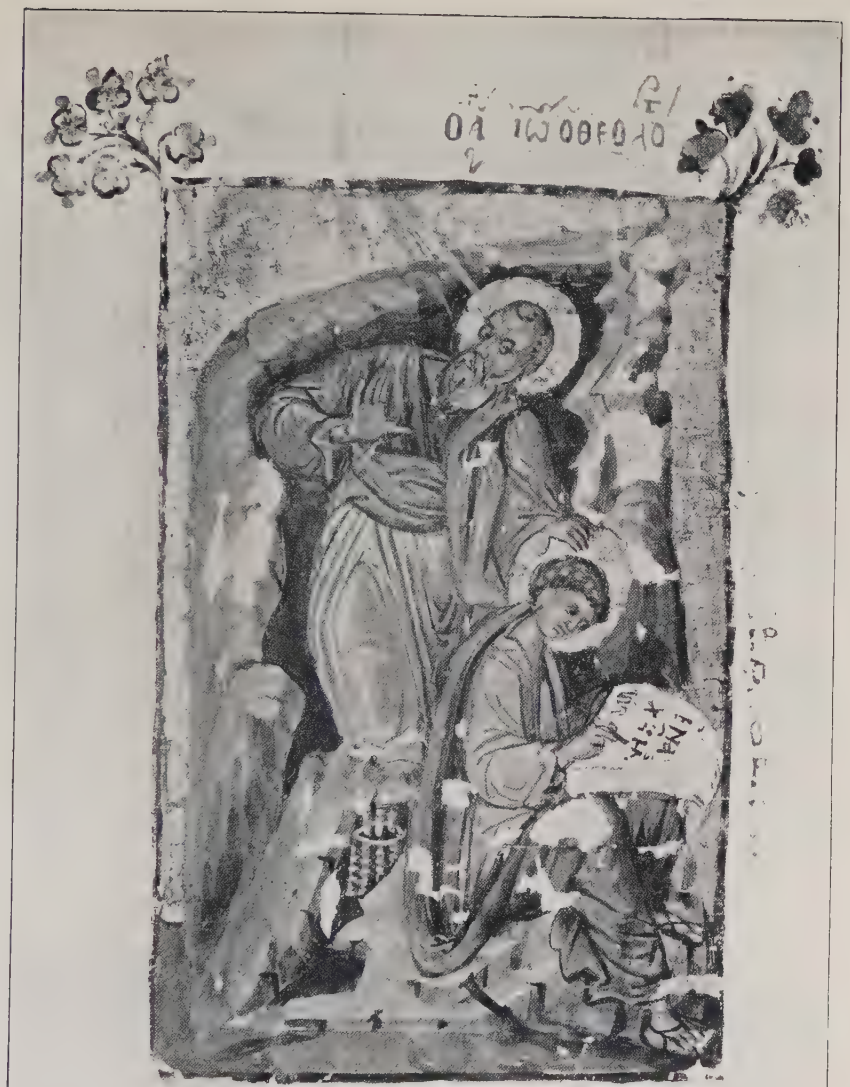
Even an educated man like St. Paul, amidst the pressure and anxieties of his daily work, was glad, as several indications in his Epistles imply, to follow the same practice. Thus, when

[1] The adjective ἀγράμματος in *Acts* iv. 13 (cf. xxvi, 24, *John* vii. 15) is probably = "unacquainted with literature or Rabbinic teaching".

[2] *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, III. pp. 212 ff., No. 497[24] (early ii./A.D.).

[3] *Tebtunis Papyri*, edd. Grenfell–Hunt–Goodspeed, II. pp. 116 ff., No. 316, Col. iv[100 ff.] (A.D. 99).

[4] Cf. also the note by H. I. Bell in *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, V. (London, 1917), p. 27.



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ST. JOHN DICTATING TO PROCHORUS

From the original fourteenth-century MS. in the British Museum (Add. MS. 22739)

Facing page 276

in one of the earliest of the Epistles that have come down to us, the Apostle sets his authenticating signature at the end in apparent contrast with what had preceded, the natural conclusion is that the body of the Epistle was written by someone else (*2 Thess.* iii. 17, 18; cf. also *1 Cor.* xvi. 21; *Col.* iv. 18). And the same appears still more strongly in the greeting of Tertius in *Rom.* xvi. 22, ἀσπάζομαι ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ Τέρτιος ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐν κυρίῳ, "I, Tertius, who write the epistle, salute you in the Lord;" where, unless we are to think of Tertius as having made a copy of the letter which the Apostle had penned, we can only regard him as the original scribe. It is sometimes thought that the Epistle to the Galatians formed an exception to this general practice on St. Paul's part, the "with how large letters I have written unto you with mine own hand" (πηλίκοις ὑμῖν γράμμασιν ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρί) of *Gal.* vi. 11 being taken as pointing back to what had preceded. If so, may we not suppose that in this so severe letter St. Paul, with his exquisite tact, may have preferred to make use of no intermediary between himself and those whom he was obliged to warn in such strong terms? On the other hand, if the "how great letters" refer rather to what follows, they may be understood either of the large, irregular handwriting of the man who wrote but little, as compared with the more flowing hand of the practised amanuensis, or, more probably, as by their size intended to draw special attention to the importance of the contents.

Autographic Conclusions.

In any case, we have abundant evidence of autographic conclusions both in the literature of the day and, what is more to the point in the present connexion, in the non-literary Egyptian papyri, where the signature is frequently in a different hand from the body of the document, and serves to confirm and authenticate the whole. When, for example, in the year A.D. 50 the Egyptian olive-planter Mystarion writes to commend his messenger Blastus to Stotoëtis, a chief priest, the change of handwriting in the closing salutation ἔρρωσο, "Farewell",

seems to indicate that it was written by Mystarion himself.[1] And the same practice is expressly vouched for in an Oxyrhynchus letter of A. D. 95, where the original sender authenticates the contents, which were doubtless written by one of his clerks, by adding at the end Ἡρακλ(ᾶς) σεση(μείωμαι), "I, Heraclas, have signed".[2]

Character of the Handwriting.

Before leaving the question of handwriting it is of importance to point out that, as the New Testament amanuenses would not be professional scribes, but educated friends or companions of the authors, the writing would be of the ordinary non-literary character, though doubtless more than the usual care would be taken in view of the importance of the writings' contents.[3] The words would as a rule be closely joined together, though occasionally in doubtful instances they might be separated by dots. Contractions, especially those caused by leaving out the last syllables of familiar words, would be frequent, while accents and breathings would be very sparingly employed. There would be no punctuation, unless it might be the occasional insertion of a dot above the line to divide words, or a slight space to mark an important break in the sense. These paragraphs were also divided from one another by a short horizontal line (παράγραφος) *below* the line in which the pause occurs.[4]

Amount of Liberty left to Scribes.

Another inquiry of great interest with regard to our New Testament autographs is the amount of liberty which their authors left to their amanuenses. What, for example, was St. Paul's practice? Did he dictate his letters word for word, his

[1] *Berliner Griechische Urkunden*, I, p. 52 (cf. p. 353), No. 37[8]. For facsimile see Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* [2] translated by L. R. M. Strachan (London (1927)), pp. 170 ff., fig. 28.

[2] *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, I. pp. 101 ff., No. 45[18].

[3] Cf. Kenyon, *Palæography of the Greek Papyri* (Oxford, 1899), pp. 9 ff., and see Plate II for the probable character of the handwriting of the New Testament Autographs.

[4] Cf. Kenyon *ut supra*, p. 29.

scribe perhaps taking them down in some form of shorthand, and then rewriting them? Or was he content to supply a rough draft of what he wished to be said, leaving the scribe free to throw it into more formal and complete shape?

To these questions no definite answer can be given. In all probability the Apostle's practice varied with the special circumstances of the case, or the particular scribe whom at the time he was employing. More might be left to the discretion of a Timothy than of a Tertius. And if in one case the Epistle as dictated underwent a close revision and correction at the Apostle's own hands, at another he might allow it to go out practically unchanged.

All this is, however, matter of conjecture, and we are on surer ground in pointing out that the mere fact of the employment of a scribe would help to impart to St. Paul's Epistles some of that vividness and directness of language by which they are distinguished. In dictating the Apostle would have clearly before his mind's eye the actual persons and circumstances of those to whom he was writing, and the broken constructions and sudden changes of subject prove how often the eager rush of his words overmastered the grammatical and orderly sequence of his thought.

Nor can we marvel that even in the same Epistle there are often sudden changes in tone and expression when we remember that it was in the spare moments of a laborious life that St. Paul's Epistles were written, and that the work of dictation must have been often interrupted by some unforeseen and pressing call, demanding the Apostle's immediate attention.

Delivery of the New Testament Writings.

As regards the manner in which the New Testament writings were delivered to their first readers, that, as already indicated, can only have been by the hands of private messengers. The Imperial post, which the Emperor Augustus had instituted on the Persian model, was strictly limited to State purposes, and ordinary correspondence had to be carried by the favour of some friend or passing traveller. Even had it

been otherwise, it is obvious that the Apostolic communications could only be entrusted with safety to Christian messengers in full sympathy with their object, who would be able to reinforce and supplement the message they contained. Thus, Titus would seem to have played an important part in connexion with the correspondence with the Church at Corinth (cf. *2 Cor.* ii. 13; vii. 6. 13 f.), while in the case of the Epistle to the Ephesians the lack of personal references may be explained, not only by the Epistle's circular character, but also by the fact that St. Paul had charged his messenger Tychicus to supply orally all needed information, and to comfort his readers' hearts.

The Language of the New Testament Writings.

We have seen that the original manuscripts of the New Testament were written on papyrus sheets or rolls, and that in the actual work of transcription their authors largely availed themselves of the assistance of trusted friends, who were practised in the art of writing. We have now to consider the language that was made use of. And when we remember that, with the exception of St. Luke, the New Testament writers were all Jews, and that through the influence of the Old Testament Scriptures Hebrew was regarded as essentially the sacred language, we might naturally have expected that recourse would again have been had to it.

Linguistic Conditions of Palestine.

Various circumstances, however, prevented this. To have employed the sacred language of Judaism for the new records might have seemed to the disciples to invest these with an authority to which at first at any rate they laid no claim. Nor must we forget that Hebrew by this time had largely passed out of general knowledge and use, and given place to the more popular Aramaic.[1]

Certain portions of the Old Testament itself were written

[1] The Ἑβραϊστί, in which the title on the Cross was written (*John* xix. 20), and the Ἑβραὶς διάλεκτος of St. Paul's speech at Jerusalem (*Acts* xxi. 40) refer to Aramaic and not to Hebrew.

in Aramaic, and, though this is not universally admitted, there can be little doubt that in their ordinary teaching both our Lord and His disciples employed the same language.

There would have been nothing astonishing, then, if the New Testament books which appeared in Palestine had been written in Aramaic, and, as a matter of fact, our first three Gospels are in part at least based on earlier Aramaic documents. But no one of them in its present form is a direct translation from Aramaic. And there is again practical unanimity amongst scholars that the New Testament Epistles have all come down to us in the language in which they were first written.

Prevalence of Greek.

Nor need this preference for Greek on the part of the New Testament writers cause us any surprise. Largely through the influence of the conquests of Alexander the Great, Greek had come into ever-increasing use throughout the East, and had taken firm root even in Palestine. While, therefore, Palestinian and Jewish teachers would naturally discourage all that tended to the spread of the Greek spirit as a menace to orthodox Judaism, they were powerless to prevent the spread of the Greek tongue. It was the language of government, of business, and even of religion in the case of a large and influential section of the population. And when we pass outside Palestine, and think of St. Paul and the other Apostles addressing their letters to scattered communities throughout the Empire, it is obvious that only in Greek could they hope to be understood. We are even met with the apparent paradox that an Epistle intended specially for 'Hebrews', readers who, whatever their exact habitat, were almost certainly Jewish Christians, was written not in Hebrew but in Greek, and by one who made use of the Greek version of the Old Testament Scriptures.

Common Greek of the Day.

This raises the question, What was the character of this Greek?

Here let me say at once that the discussion of the real char-

acter of the Greek of the New Testament has in recent years entered on an entirely new phase. The old controversy between the ' Purists ', who endeavoured to bring all its peculiarities under the strict rules of Attic usage, and the ' Hebraists ', who magnified these peculiarities in the interests of a distinctively ' Biblical Greek ', or even ' language of the Holy Ghost ', is now completely a thing of the past. And there is widespread agreement that the New Testament writers employed the ordinary Greek of their own time, and that, too, in its more vulgar or colloquial form.

New Light on this Greek.

The confidence with which this conclusion is held is largely due to the new light which recent discoveries have thrown upon the true character of this common Greek. For our knowledge of it in the past we were dependent upon its literary memorials, which betray a constant tendency, both conscious and unconscious, on the part of their writers to imitate the great Attic models of the classical period. But there have now come into our hands a large number of more popular or vernacular texts in the form of inscriptions, and especially of ostraca and papyri recovered from the sands of Egypt, in which we can see Greek, as it were, in undress, as it was spoken and written by the men and women of the day, with no thought of their words ever reaching the eyes of others than those to whom they were originally addressed. And the striking fact for our present purpose is, as I have just indicated, that these non-literary texts prove incontestably that it was in this same colloquial Greek, the Κοινή or common tongue of their day—to limit for convenience a term that is sometimes applied to Hellenistic Greek as a whole—that the writers of the New Testament for the most part composed their books. Themselves sprung from the common people, the disciples of One whom the common people heard gladly, they in their turn wrote in that common tongue to be " understanded of the people ".

It is not possible at present to attempt any philological

discussion of the exact nature of this common Greek. It must be enough that, though it is frequently spoken of as debased, or even as bad, Greek, in itself it marks a distinct stage in the history of the language. Standing midway in point of time between classical and modern Greek, it presents all the marks of a living tongue, which, while wanting in many of the niceties by which classical Greek was distinguished, was nevertheless governed by regular laws of its own. Its main basis was Attic, with an intermingling of not a few Ionic elements. And though in its spoken form this common speech would naturally exhibit other dialectic differences in view of the wide area over which it was used, these differences disappear to a surprising extent in the written texts. And the consequence is, that we are able to appeal with confidence to documents emanating from different countries and different circumstances in support and illustration of each other on the linguistic side. An Egyptian papyrus letter and a New Testament Epistle may be widely separated alike by the nationality and habitat of their writers, and by their own inherent characters and aims, but both are written in substantially the same Greek.

Of the richness of the field of illustration thus opened up in various departments of New Testament study, I shall have something to say directly. But meanwhile it seems necessary to safeguard and limit the conclusion thus reached in one or two directions. In the not unnatural recoil from the old position of treating the Greek of the New Testament as an isolated language, a tendency has shown itself in certain quarters to lose sight of certain distinctive features, by which it is none the less marked, and which, notwithstanding all the linguistic and stylistic parallels that have been discovered, impart a character of their own to the language and form of our New Testament writings.

Hebraisms.

This applies, in the first place, to the over-eagerness which many advocates of the new light display in getting rid of the 'Hebraisms' or 'Semitisms', which have hitherto been

regarded as a distinguishing feature of the Greek New Testament.[1] That the number of these has been greatly exaggerated in the past, and that there is now ample evidence for regarding many of them as ' true Greek ', I should be amongst the first to admit. When, for example, in a letter of A.D. 41, a man counsels a friend who was in money difficulties—*βλέπε σατὸν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, " Beware of the Jews," apparently as money-lenders, and if so, probably the first reference to them in that character,[2] there is no longer any need of finding a Hebraistic construction in our Lord's warning, *Mark* xii. 38, *βλέπετε ἀπὸ τῶν γραμματέων*. Or when, in one of those ordinary notes of social intercourse, of which numerous specimens have been discovered, a certain Antonius " invites " (*ἐρωτᾷ*) a friend to dine with him " at the table of the lord Serapis " [3] (the striking resemblance of the phraseology to *1 Cor.* x. 21 can hardly escape notice), it is unnecessary to fall back upon the influence of the Hebrew שְׁאַל to explain the corresponding usage of *ἐρωτάω* in the Biblical writings.

Even after, however, we have disposed of these and a number of similar instances, it still remains true that it is impossible to remove genuine ' Semitisms ' from the New Testament altogether, or to the extent that is sometimes demanded. Why, indeed, should there be any undue anxiety to do so? The presence of a few ' Semitisms ' more or less does not prevent our recognizing that the general language of the document in which they occur is Greek, any more than the Scotticisms, into which a North Briton shows himself so ready to fall, exclude the possibility that all the time he is doing his best to talk English. And it is surely wiser to attribute these Semitic-seeming words and constructions at once

[1] For the fullest and most recent discussion of this whole subject, see Prof. W. F. Howard's Appendix, " *Semitisms in the New Testament* ", in Vol. II of J. H. Moulton's *Grammar of New Testament Greek* (Edinburgh, 1928), pp. 411 ff.

[2] *Berliner Griechische Urkunden*, IV. pp. 123 f., No. $1079^{24 f.}$ (= Milligan, *Selections*, No. 15).

[3] *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, III. p. 260, No. 523 (= *Selections*, No. 39).

to their natural source, the more especially when they occur in circumstances which make their presence not only explicable but inevitable.

The mother-tongue of almost all the New Testament writers was Aramaic, and although, in keeping with the general practice of the time, they had learned to use Greek freely as a subsidiary language, their native upbringing would constantly assert itself in the choice of particular words and phrases. In the case of the Evangelists this tendency would be still further encouraged by the fact that not merely Aramaic traditions, but Aramaic documents, lay at the basis of their writings; while even St. Paul, to whom Greek had been all along a second language, constantly shows signs of his Jewish upbringing in the arrangement and construction of his sentences.

This was due, doubtless, in no small degree to the influence which the translation-Greek of the Septuagint had come to exercise over him. Whatever may have been the case in his earlier years, the Greek Old Testament was undoubtedly the Bible of St. Paul's manhood and ministry, and not only its thoughts but its actual phraseology had passed *in sucum et sanguinem*. What more natural, then, than that when he himself came to write on cognate themes, he should almost unconsciously fall into the same mode of speech, much as a modern preacher or devotional writer is tempted to imitate the archaic English of the Authorized Version.

It is quite possible that too much has been made in the past of the translation-Greek of the Septuagint, and that its writers by no means betray throughout the literal, almost slavish, following of the Hebrew original that is sometimes alleged against them. Still the fact remains that the Septuagint *is* a translation which bears, though in varying degrees in its different parts, the marks of its source, and which therefore in its turn could not fail to influence the Greek of those who were nurtured upon it.

Literary Tendencies.

A second feature of our New Testament writings which is apt to be ignored, or at any rate underestimated, in view of the truly popular Greek in which they are written, is their literary character. I do not of course for a moment mean to suggest that the New Testament is 'Kunstprosa' in the ordinary sense of that term, or that the literary character of its different parts stands on anything like the same footing throughout. At the same time it is impossible to deny to such writers as St. Luke, St. Paul, and the author of the Epistle of the Hebrews, a command over the Greek language, and a power in using it, which entitles them to rank amongst great writers, as well as among the greatest thinkers.

In the case of St. Luke we are prepared for this by that instinct for style which belonged to him in virtue of his Greek birth, as well as by the medical training which enriched his vocabulary with many scientific and quasi-scientific terms. And the same holds true *mutatis mutandis* of St. Paul. That the Apostle of the Gentiles was imbued with Gentile culture to the extent that some of his biographers would have us believe, may well seem doubtful: it is at least not borne out by his vocabulary, which is in the main thoroughly popular. But it is none the less undeniable that St. Paul could when necessary fall back on the philosophic language of his day, and employ it in a manner that would be appreciated by thinking and educated men.

Familiar examples are his uses of *αὐτάρκεια* in its philosophic sense of 'self-sufficiency', and of *συνείδησις*, 'conscience', a word which, though not unknown in the Jewish Apocrypha, first gains its full introspective moral importance in the teaching of the Stoics.

Similarly, to pass from vocabulary to form, the fact that St. Paul dictated his letters, and in consequence by the vehemence of his feelings, and his eagerness to find utterance for the thoughts that were pressing upon him, was often led into the anacoloutha and other irregularities which are so char-

acteristic of his style, does not make it the less certain that the different steps in his argument had been anxiously thought out and arranged, and that even the outward form in which that argument was to be conveyed was frequently a matter of serious concern.[1]

Blass has probably found few followers in his theory, that in this respect St. Paul was not above making use of ' Asianic rhythm ' for the embellishment of some of his most eloquent passages,[2] and even the stylistic and rhetorical parallels which Johann Weiss is so fond of discovering may easily be carried too far.[3] But the very fact that such suggestions have been made, and made too in such influential quarters, is in itself a proof of the literary tact and skill that the Pauline writings undoubtedly convey. The art may be τέχνη ἄτεχνος, as Heinrici well describes it,[4] but nevertheless it is τέχνη.

The same τέχνη is seen still more markedly, I need hardly say, in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Even those who are most anxious to emphasize the generally ' popular ' character of the New Testament writings admit that we have here an exception.[5] And I refer to it now only for the purpose of again emphasizing that even if it stood alone in this matter of artistic force—and we have seen already that it does not—we should still have to admit that with all its ' splendid simplicity and homeliness ', the New Testament contains elements of a distinctively literary character—that it is itself literature.

Transforming Power of Christianity.

There is still a third consideration that must not be lost sight of in estimating the true character of the New Testament

[1] Cf. J. Weiss, *Die Aufgaben d. neutest. Wissenschaft in d. Gegenwart*, pp. 34 f.

[2] *Die Rhythmen der asianischen und römischen Kunstprosa* (Leipzig, 1905).

[3] *Beiträge zur Paulinischen Rhetorik* (Göttingen, 1897).

[4] *Der litterarische Charakter der neutestamentlichen Schriften* (Leipzig, 1908), p. 61.

[5] Deissmann describes the Epistle to the Hebrews as "historically the earliest example of Christian artistic literature", and again as "like an intruder among the New Testament company of popular books" (*Light from the Ancient East*[2], pp. 244, 249).

vocabulary, and that is the deepening and enriching which it has received through Christian influences.

The common language of the time has been 'baptized' into new conditions; and only by a frank recognition of these conditions can we hope to fix the full connotation of many of our most characteristic New Testament words and phrases. The point has been well put by Sir William M. Ramsay: "Even though the same words were used by the pagans, it may be the case—I would go so far as to say it certainly was so—that there were some, perhaps many, which acquired a special and distinct meaning to the Christians, as suited to express certain ideas of the Christian religious thought, and which thus immediately became characteristic and almost positive marks of Christian writing."[1]

A familiar instance is afforded by the word ἀγάπη. It would be going too far to say that the word has been actually 'born within the bosom of revealed religion', though it is somewhat remarkable that no absolutely clear instance of its use in profane Greek has been discovered;[2] at the same time, it is so characteristic of the Biblical writings that it may be regarded as peculiar to them in the full sense which they have taught us to ascribe to it.

The use of ἀδελφοί, again, to describe the members of a guild, or the 'fellows' of the Serapeum at Memphis, may prepare us for, but does not exhaust, its definite Christian significance. And the same may be said of παρουσία, which our new authorities exhibit as a kind of *terminus technicus* to describe the visit of a king or great man.[3] Very suggestive, too, is the light which these throw upon the original associations of such words as αἰώνιος, ἀπόστολος, ἐπίσκοπος, θρησκεία, πρεσβύτερος and σωτήρ, to name a few almost at random,

[1] *The Expositor*, VII, vii, p. 6.

[2] The nearest approach of which I am aware is in a Pagan inscription of the Imperial period from Tefeny in Pisidia, giving the mantic significance of various throws of the dice: πέμψει δ' εἰς ἀγά[πη]ν σε φιλομμειδὴς Ἀφροδείτη (*Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, II, 57, cited by Hatch, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XXVII, 2 (1908), pp. 134 ff.).

[3] On these two words, see my edition of *St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians*, pp. 8, 145 f.

but it is certainly not light of a character which enables us to dispense with the light derivable from within the New Testament itself.

It may seem, perhaps, as if all this tends to disparage somewhat the aid we are likely to receive in the work of interpretation from our new sources. But this is very far indeed from being my intention. All that I wish to insist upon is, that in using these sources we must not lose sight of other evidence which has at least an equal right to be heard, and that loss rather than gain will result from calling them in to decide questions which lie outside their distinct province. Within that province, however, their value is undoubted, and will, I am confident, be increasingly recognized as their contents become more generally known and studied.

Gains from the New Sources.

Thus the number of so-called New Testament *ἅπαξ εἰρημένα*, or better *ἅπαξ εὑρημένα*, has already been so largely reduced that Deissmann now estimates the total of 'Biblical' words in the New Testament as about 1 per cent of the whole vocabulary.[1] And the proportion will doubtless be diminished still further as the indices to the collections of inscriptions and papyri are more diligently searched.

The same may be said of the verification these afford to the traditional interpretation of many New Testament words and phrases. No one can turn over the pages of a New Testament lexicon without constantly finding meanings attached to certain words, which are clearly demanded by the context in which they occur, but to which no parallels from our ordinary profane sources can be adduced. It is no small gain, therefore, when with the aid of the new texts we are able to show that these meanings, so far from being peculiar to the New Testament writers, represent the common usage of the time.

Λογεία, as employed by St. Paul for the 'collection' for the poor saints in *1 Cor.* xvi. 1 f., is a familiar instance. And those who nowadays entertain suspicions as to the purely voluntary

[1] *Light from the Ancient East* [2], p. 78 n[2].

character of that widely spread institution will doubtless be pleased to learn that there is also evidence from an early date that the word was freely used in the sense of *tax*. It is sufficient to refer to a curious letter from Tebtunis, in which a tax-gatherer, after naïvely describing his unprincipled efforts to defeat a rival in the collection of a certain tax, adds, "I bid you urge on Nicon regarding the collection (*περὶ τῆς λογείας*)".[1]

Along with *λογεία*, although derived from a different root, may be mentioned the verb *ἐλλογάω*, which St. Paul uses with such effect in the Epistle to Philemon, when he bids Philemon put down to his account (ver. 18, *τοῦτο ἐμοὶ ἐλλόγα*) any loss he may have suffered at the hands of Onesimus. For this usage Thayer can only supply two parallels from the inscriptions; but the verb, at any rate in the form *ἐλλογέω*, is now proved to have been the regular *terminus technicus* in this sense, as when in a Strassburg papyrus a man is called upon to render his account *ἵνα οὕτως αὐτῷ ἐνλογηθῇ*, "that so a reckoning may be made with him",[2] or as when provision is made in hiring certain dancing-girls for a village festival that they are to receive so much "as earnest money to be reckoned in the price (*ὑπὲρ ἀραβῶνος [τῇ τ]ιμῇ ἐλλογουμέν[ο]υ*)."[3]

Fresh Life and Reality imparted to Familiar Phraseology.

It is indeed by thus imparting a fresh life and reality to many of our most ordinary New Testament terms that the new authorities render their most signal service. Familiarity with Scriptural language is apt to blind us to its full significance. But when we find words and phrases, which we have hitherto associated only with a religious meaning, in common,

[1] *Tebtunis Papyri*, edd. Grenfell–Hunt–Smyly, I, pp. 168 ff., No. 58^{55} (B.C. 111).

[2] *Griechische Papyrus der Kaiserlichen Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek zu Strassburg*, ed. Preisigke (Leipzig, 1912), I, pp. 119 f., No. 32^{10} (A.D. 261).

[3] *Greek Papyri*, edd. Grenfell–Hunt, II, pp. 101 ff., No. $67^{17\,ff.}$ (= *Selections from the Greek Papyri*, No. 45). It may be noted that the use of *ἀρραβών* in the above quotation confirms the meaning "earnest", a part given in advance of what will be fully bestowed afterwards, rather than "pledge", in *2 Cor.* i. 22; *Eph.* i. 14.

everyday use, and employed in circumstances where their meaning can raise no question, we make a fresh start with them, and get a clearer insight into their deeper application.[1]

The "sincere milk" by which our Authorized Version renders the ἄδολον γάλα of *1 Peter* ii. 2, may be taken as an example. Everyone supposes that he knows what is meant by that, but, if he were closely pressed, his explanation might be somewhat hazy.[2] Nor can it be said that the Revisers have helped him much with their literal etymological translation, "milk which is without guile". But when in scores of papyrus documents we find the adjective applied to corn in the sense of 'pure', 'unadulterated', we see that this is exactly what is intended with reference to the 'spiritual milk' of the Petrine passage. Unlike the falsified teaching renounced by St. Paul in *2 Cor.* iv. 2, μηδὲ δολοῦντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, "nor adulterating the word of God", it is unmixed with any strange or foreign elements, and comes directly from God Himself.

The use of ἀπέχω, again, in connexion with receipts on countless ostraca and papyri lends fresh point to St. Paul's assurance to the Philippians, ἀπέχω δὲ πάντα καὶ περισσεύω (iv. 18), which is not merely, "I have all things and abound," but almost "I am prepared to give you a receipt for all things" (as showing how completely your bounty has repaid all that you owed me), and may even, as Deissmann has suggested, impart a pungent irony to our Lord's condemnation of the hypocrites who disfigure their faces that they may be seen of men to fast: "they can sign the receipt of their reward (ἀπέχουσιν τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῶν)" (*Matt.* vi. 16) — "their

[1] Reference may be permitted to the *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament illustrated from the Papyri and other Non-Literary Sources*, by J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan (London: Hodder & Stoughton). Seven Parts including α to τ have now appeared, and the eighth and concluding part will, it is hoped, follow in 1929.

[2] It ought to be noted that this ambiguity would not exist when the Authorized Version was made, as "sincere" was then used in the sense of "unmixed", "pure", as when the translators of the Rhemish New Testament tell us in their Preface: "We translate that text which is most sincere, and in our opinion, and as we have proved, incorrupt" (p. 16). But we are dealing with the impression the phrase conveys to the ordinary reader of to-day.

right to receive their reward is realized, precisely as if they had already given a receipt for it." [1] And similarly, when we find those who 'checked' or 'verified' an account using the term *ἐπηκολούθηκα* to describe the result, much as we should write 'Found correct', we can understand that more than at once meets the eye underlies such a passage as [*Mark*] xvi. 20, *τοῦ κυρίου . . . τὸν λόγον βεβαιοῦντος διὰ τῶν ἐπακολουθούντων σημείων*: the signs did not merely accompany or follow, they acted as a kind of authenticating signature to the word.[2]

How vividly, too, Bishop Lightfoot's translation of *προεγράφη* in *Gal.* iii. 1, "was posted up, placarded," stands out when we find the same verb used of the public notice which, according to a papyrus now in Florence, certain parents caused "to be posted up" ([*π*]*ρογραφῆναι*) to the effect that they would no longer be responsible for their son's debts, seeing that he had squandered all his own property "by riotous living" (*ἀσωτευόμενος*, cf. *Luke* xv. 13).[3] While another papyrus in the same collection provides a striking parallel to *Mark* xv. 15, "And Pilate, wishing to content the multitude, released unto them Barabbas, and delivered Jesus, when he had scourged Him, to be crucified," in the words addressed by the Egyptian governor, C. Septimius Vegetus, to a certain Phibion whom he was trying: "Thou hadst been worthy of scourging . . . but I will give thee to the people" (*ἄξιος μ*[*ὲ*]*ν ἦς μαστιγωθῆναι . . . χαρίζομαι δέ σε τοῖς ὄχλοις*).[4]

Literary Form of the New Testament Writings.

In passing from the appearance and language of the New

[1] *Bible Studies* (Edinburgh, 1901), p. 229.

[2] Cf. the signatures to a series of tax receipts in the Tebtunis papyrus, No. 100[20 f.] (B.C. 117–6), *Δρεῦος ἐπηκολούθηκα*, *Ἀκουσίλαος ἐπηκολούθηκα* (*The Tebtunis Papyri*, I, p. 441 ff.), and the ratifying of an order by an official, *ἐπακολουθοῦντ*(*ος*) *Γαίου Ἰουλίου Σαλουίου*, in British Museum papyrus, 1213, A.D. 65–66 (*Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, edd. Kenyon–Bell, III, p. 121).

[3] *Papiri Greco-Egizii pubblicati dalla R. Accademia dei Lincei*, I. *Papiri Fiorentini . . .*, ed. G. Vitelli (Milan, 1906), pp. 188 f., No. 99 (i./ii. A.D.) (= Milligan, *Selections*, No. 27).

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 113 ff., No. 61[59 ff.] (A.D. 85). The parallel is noted by Vitelli: cf. also Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*[2], pp. 269 f.

Testament writings to their literary form, we are at once met with the fact that out of twenty-seven different writings, four are Gospels and twenty-one are Epistles.

Gospels.

As regards the Gospels, it is sufficient to notice that the form, like the name itself (*εὐαγγέλιον*), is new, and that, regarded simply as literary works, no nearer analogy has been found for them than the eight books which in the beginning of the third century Philostratus wrote " In Honour of Apollonius of Tyana ", in which he probably incorporated the earlier ' memorials ' of Moiragenes.[1]

Epistles or Letters.

But with the Epistles or Letters it is different. Apart from such collections of letters as those of Cicero, Seneca, and Epicurus, the tendency to enlarge the scope of the letter from private purposes to a medium of imparting knowledge is traceable within the Old Testament.

The first letter mentioned there is the letter which David addressed to Joab with reference to Uriah (*2 Sam.* xi. 14 f.), a purely personal communication, but this is followed by the open letter of Sennacherib to Hezekiah (*2 Kings* xix. 14) and by Jeremiah's letter to the captives at Babylon (*Jerem.* xxix), in which the prophet has definitely in view their religious instruction. And with this last there may be compared the Epistle of Jeremy appended to the apocryphal book of Baruch, and the Epistles at the beginning of 2 Maccabees.

Adoption of Epistolary Form by St. Paul.

The way was thus prepared for the use of the epistle or letter for the purposes of edification in the first Christian age, and we can readily understand how gladly St. Paul would avail himself of a form of composition so admirably adapted in its simplicity and directness to the immediate and practical

[1] See Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa* [2] (Leipzig, 1909), ii, pp. 480 f.: cf. Reitzenstein, *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen* (Leipzig, 1906), pp. 40 ff.

ends he had in view, and yet capable of being employed as a vehicle for the conveyance of the deepest and most far-reaching truths.

Personal Side of Pauline Epistles.

Thus, to look at them first of all from their more personal side, the fact that his Epistles were intended to serve as a substitute for St. Paul's own presence, and to say in writing what he would gladly have said by word of mouth, prepares us for the fact that in their general structure and tone they constantly recall the ordinary letters of the day. Such a comparison has again been rendered possible by the stores of printed letters of all kinds recently recovered from the sands of Egypt, from which, according to Professor Deissmann, the Pauline letters differ " not as letters, but only as the letters of *Paul* ".[1] And though, as we shall see later, the comparison may easily be pushed too far, especially in view of the great variety in character and aim by which the Pauline correspondence is marked, it certainly helps to bring out the direct and living nature of the Apostle's methods.

Some Contemporary Papyrus Letters.

The best way to show this is by giving a few specimens of these letters.

We may begin with a first-century letter, in which Theon writes to his brother Heraclides to introduce the bearer Hermophilus. The letter thus belongs to the class of commendatory letters (ἐπιστολαὶ συνστατικαί) to which St. Paul refers in *2 Cor.* iii. 1. It runs as follows in the translation of Dr. Grenfell and Dr. Hunt:[2]

> " Theon to Heraclides his brother, many greetings and wishes for good health.
>
> Hermophilus the bearer of this letter is (the friend or relative) of . . . erius, and asked me to write to you. Hermophilus declares that he has business at Kerkemounis. Please therefore

[1] *Bible Studies*, p. 44.

[2] *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, IV, p. 246, No. 746 (A.D. 16).

further him in this matter, as is just. For the rest take care of yourself that you may remain in good health.

Good-bye

The 3rd year of Tiberius Cæsar Augustus, Phaophi 3 (= September 30)."

The letter is addressed on the back:

"To Heraclides, basilicogrammateus of the Oxyrhynchite and Cynopolite nomes."

This gives us a Greek private letter in its simplest form, and with it may be compared a family letter addressed by a daughter to her father, rejoicing over the tidings of his escape, apparently from some serious danger, and concluding, after certain messages of a purely personal character, with those greetings which bulk so largely in the Pauline correspondence. The letter is very illiterate, the original Greek abounding in false concords. It belongs to the second century of the Christian era.[1]

"Ammonous to her sweetest father, greeting.

When I received your letter, and recognized that by the will of the gods you were preserved, I rejoiced greatly. And as at the same time an opportunity has presented itself, I am writing you this letter, being very anxious to pay my respects to you. Attend as quickly as possible to the matters that are pressing. Whatever the little one asks shall be done. If the bearer of this letter hands over a small basket to you, it is I who send it. All your friends greet you by name. Celer greets you and all who are with him.

I pray for your health."

A somewhat similar example from the Giessen papyri bears striking testimony to a slave's affection for her master. The mention of 'dying' because she cannot see him 'daily', and the longing to 'fly' that she might reach him as quickly as possible are specially noteworthy. Like the foregoing, the letter belongs to the second century, probably to the time of Hadrian.[2] It runs as follows:

[1] *Berliner Griechische Urkunden*, II, p. 267, No. 615.
[2] *Griechische Papyri . . . zu Giessen*, I, No. 17.

" Tays to the lord Apollonius, many greetings.

Above all I greet you, master, and am praying always for your health. I was distressed, lord, in no small measure, to hear that you were sick; but thanks be to all the gods that they are keeping you from all harm. I beseech you, lord, if you think it right, to send to us; if not, we die, because we do not see you daily. Would that we could fly and come and pay our reverence to you. For we are distressed . . . Wherefore be reconciled to us, and send to us. Good-bye, lord . . .

All is going well with us.

Epeiph 24 (= July 18)."

The letter is addressed on the back:

" To Apollonius, strategus ".

An even deeper note is struck in the well-known letter which about the same time a prodigal son writes to his mother asking her forgiveness. As the accompanying facsimile shows, the concluding part of the original letter has been much mutilated. But it is not difficult for us to fill up the blanks for ourselves, though perhaps the broken lines testify even more forcibly than if they were complete to the depth of the writer's emotion.[1]

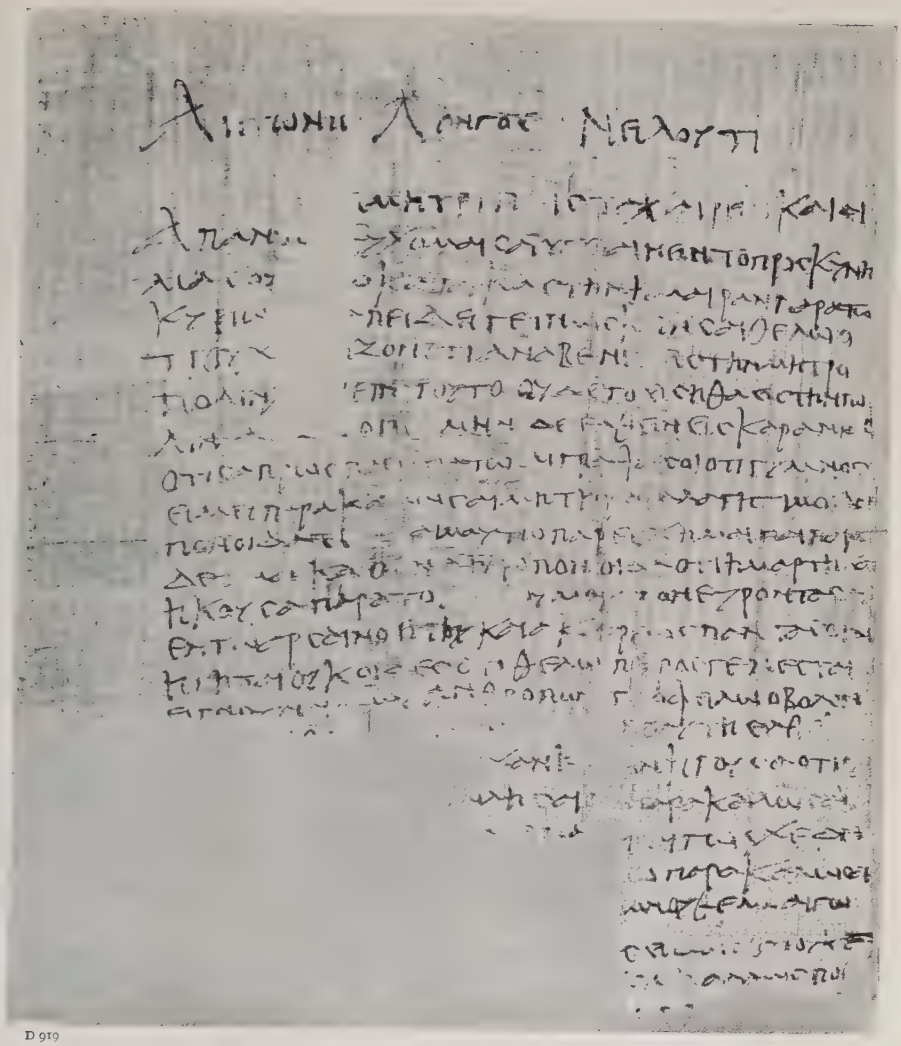
" Antonis Longus to Nilus
his mother, heartiest greetings.

Continually I pray for your health. Supplication on your behalf I direct each day to the lord Serapis. I wish you to know that I had no hope that you would come up to the metropolis. On this account neither did I enter into the city. But I was ashamed to come to Karanis, because I am going about in rags. I wrote you that I am naked. I beseech you, mother, be reconciled to me. But I know what I have brought upon myself. Punished I have been in any case. I know that I have sinned. I heard from Postumus who met you in the Arsinoite nome, and unseasonably related all to you. Do you not know that I would rather be a cripple than be conscious that I am owing anyone an obolus. . . . Come yourself. . . . I have heard that . . . I beseech you . . . I almost . . . I beseech you . . . I will . . . not . . . otherwise . . ."

On the back is the address:

" To . . . his mother from Antonius Longus her son ".

[1] *Berliner Griechische Urkunden*, III, pp. 170 f., No. 846 (= Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*[2], pp. 187 ff., Milligan, *Selections*, pp. 93 ff.).



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LETTER FROM A PRODIGAL SON TO HIS MOTHER

From the Fayûm. Second century A.D. Now in the State Museum, Berlin
By permission of the Directors

Facing page 296

Nothing would be easier than to multiply similar examples, but these must suffice to illustrate the light which the ordinary letters of the time throw upon the outward form of the Pauline Epistles. All are constructed, it will be noticed, on a general model which, at least in the case of the longer letters, embraces Opening Address or Greeting, Thanksgiving and Prayer, Special Contents, Closing Salutations and Valediction—just the features, that is, which in a more elaborate form are found in the Apostle's writings.

Nor is this all, but it will be also apparent how frequently St. Paul avails himself of the current epistolary phraseology of the day in the more formal parts of his Epistles. Obviously that phraseology as amongst ourselves had become stereotyped, and writing as he did with a definite class of readers clearly in view in the first instance, the Apostle naturally fell back upon it, even when he read into it a new and deeper meaning.[1]

Literary Side of the Pauline Epistles.

But while this is so, and we are thus reminded in a most significant way of the personal character of the Pauline writings, as distinguished from the literary essay or the theological treatise, we must not forget that in other respects these writings are widely separated from an ordinary letter. The short Epistle to Philemon may approach very nearly to this, though even in it the ' Church ' in Philemon's house is included in the address, and the Apostle is careful throughout to base his request on the loftiest and most far-reaching grounds, but in other instances the Epistles, however occasional in origin and in the circumstances with which they deal, bear traces of much anxious preparation and thought, while some of them, such as the Epistles to the Romans and to the Ephesians, may well have been written from the first with a view to wider circles than those to which they were originally addressed.

The fact is that Deissmann in his well-known study on

[1] See J. Armitage Robinson, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians* (London, 1903), Note " On some current epistolary phrases ", pp. 275 ff.

Letters and Epistles,[1] in his eagerness to rescue the Pauline writings from the category of literature, and to emphasize the definite, historical surroundings in which they first arose, has carried his thesis too far, and has insisted on the distinction letter or epistle in a way which in the present connexion can hardly be made good. The letters of St. Paul may not be epistles, if by that we are to understand literary compositions written without any thought of a particular body of readers. At the same time, in view of the tone of authority adopted by their author and the general principles with which they deal, they are equally far removed from the unstudied expression of personal feeling which we associate with the idea of a true letter. And if we are to describe them as letters at all, it is well to define the term still further by the addition of some such distinguishing epithet as ' missionary ' or ' pastoral '. It is not merely St. Paul the man, but St. Paul the spiritual teacher and guide who speaks in them throughout.

Ultimate Aim of New Testament Study.

And what is true of St. Paul is true of all the New Testament writers. The New Testament is more than a book: it is the record of life, of *the life which is life indeed*. And all our study of its words will be in vain unless they are the means of conducting us to Him Who is the Word. But the more earnestly we devote ourselves to that study with the best aids which modern discovery and research have placed within our reach, and the more loyally we follow the leading of the Spirit who has been sent to guide us into *all the truth*, the more fully we shall recognize with Origen, the first great Biblical critic, that " there is not one jot or one tittle written in Scripture, which does not work its own work for those who know how to use the force of the words which have been written ".

[1] *Bible Studies*, pp. 3 ff.: see more recently *Light from the Ancient East*[2], pp. 227 ff.

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For many of the points referred to in this and the following chapter, see the new English edition of Professor A. Deissmann's fascinating volume *Light from the Ancient East*, translated by Lionel R. M. Strachan (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1927). Reference should also be made to *The New Archeological Discoveries and their Bearing upon the New Testament and upon the Life and Times of the Primitive Church* by Camden M. Cobern (New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls, 1917 and later years), which covers the whole field of early Christian archæology, and to the vivid chapters entitled *Egyptian Papyri and Papyrus-Hunting* by James Baikie, F.R.A.S. (London: Religious Tract Society, 1925).

Of smaller compass are Dr. J. H. Moulton's popular lectures on the New Testament, published under the title *From Egyptian Rubbish-Heaps* (London: Kelly, 1916), *Light from Ancient Letters* by H. G. Meecham (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1923), and the present writer's *Here and There among the Papyri* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1923), and *Selections from the Greek Papyri* (Cambridge University Press, 1927), being 55 miscellaneous texts with translations, notes, and a general introduction.

Those who read German should consult *Einführung in die Papyruskunde* by W. Schubart (Berlin: Weidmann, 1918), and *Papyrusbriefe aus der frühesten Römerzeit*, by Bror Olsson (Uppsala, 1925), a collection of 80 papyrus letters, edited with many valuable annotations.

A full list of books relating to the Greek papyri will be found prefixed to *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* by J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan, of which seven parts have already appeared (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1914–28).

CHAPTER V

The Greek Papyri and the New Testament

In the preceding chapter we have seen something of the light thrown upon the outward form and language of our New Testament writings by the Greek papyri. This is very far, however, from exhausting their value to the New Testament student. But before we notice some further gains accruing from them, it may be well to recall one or two facts regarding the papyri themselves and the mode of their discovery.

History and Manufacture of Papyrus.

The origin of the word papyrus is somewhat uncertain, but it is probably derived from the Egyptian *pa-p-yôr*, 'the (product) of the river', 'the river-plant', a name given to a tall reed-plant which at one time grew in great abundance in the Nile, though it is now confined to the upper part of its course.

From this plant (*Cyperus papyrus*, L.) the papyrus material was derived by a process of which the elder Pliny has left a classical account.[1]

The pith (*βύβλος*) of the stem was first cut into long strips (*σχίδες*), which were laid down vertically to form an outward or lower layer. Over this a corresponding number of strips were placed horizontally, and the two layers were then pressed together to form a single sheet (*κόλλημα*), the process being assisted by a preparation of glue moistened, when possible,

[1] *Nat. Hist.*, xiii, 11–13.

with the turbid water of the Nile, which was supposed to add strength to it. After being dried in the sun, and rubbed down with ivory or a smooth shell to remove any roughness, the sheet was ready for use.

As a rule the original writing was confined to the side of the papyrus on which the shorter fibres lay horizontally, not only because it offered a smoother surface to the pen, and the clearly marked lines did away with the necessity of ruling, but also because the horizontal side was better adapted for being rolled inwards. The side thus used is technically known as the *recto* in contradistinction to the *verso* or back.

Papyrus Discoveries.

The earliest extant papyrus is one found at Sakkara in 1893, containing accounts dated in the reign of Assa (3580–36 B.C.). And from this period down to the ninth century after Christ, countless papyri have been recovered in Egypt, where they owe their preservation to the singularly dry character of the climate.

It is only with the papyri written in Greek that we are at present concerned, and the story of their discovery is full of romantic interest.[1] It goes back as far as the year 1778, when some fellaheen, digging in the Fayûm district of Egypt, unearthed a chest containing about fifty papyrus rolls. Unable to find a purchaser for them, they burnt them for the sake, it is said, of the aromatic smell they gave forth in burning.

In 1820 further finds took place in the neighbourhood of Memphis and Thebes, which threw vivid sidelights upon the administration of the great temple of Serapis, and about the same time the first literary document of importance, a roll containing *Iliad* xxiv, was found. Subsequent finds included hitherto lost works of classical literature, such as the *Mimes* of Herodas, the poems of Bacchylides, and Aristotle's work *On the Constitution of Athens*.

These finds were, however, all more or less sporadic and

[1] See further Milligan, *Here and There among the Papyri* (London, 1923), pp. 7 ff.

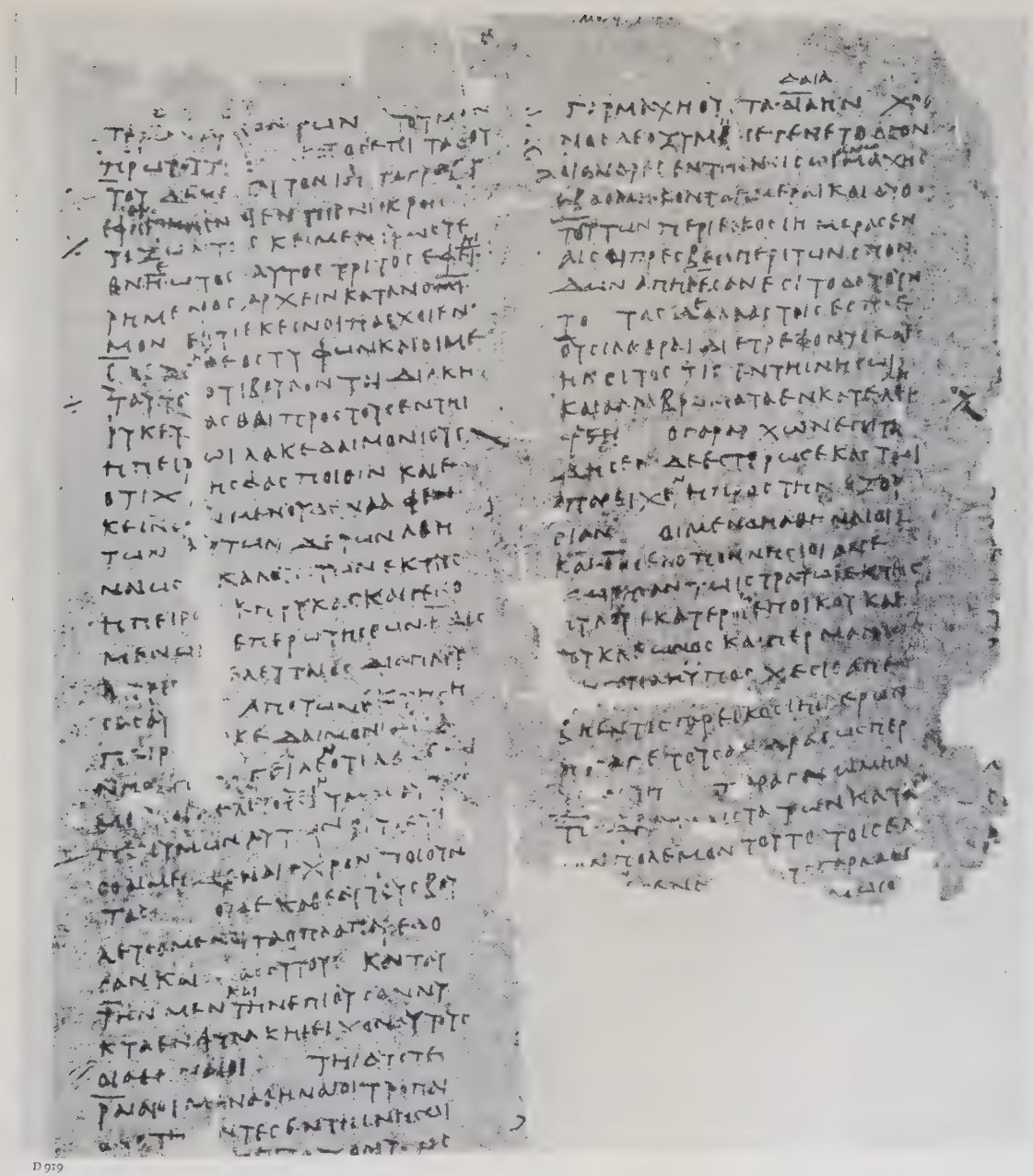
accidental, and it was not until 1889–90 that a systematic search took place for Ptolemaic papyri from the mummy cases at Gurob. The results included many important literary fragments, but popular interest can hardly be said to have been aroused until the epoch-making discoveries of Dr. Grenfell and Dr. Hunt at Oxyrhynchus. These two distinguished scholars, whose names will be held in lasting honour in connexion with the whole subject of Papyrology, had been led to choose that site for exploration in the hope that fragments of early Christian literature might be found there, in view of the important place which Oxyrhynchus occupied in Egyptian Christianity in the fourth and fifth centuries. Their expectation was fully justified, leading to the recovery not only of the theological documents to which reference will be made directly, but of a great mass of papyri, literary, official, domestic, and otherwise, which have thrown a flood of light upon the history of the periods to which they belong. Upwards of 2000 Oxyrhynchus texts alone have now been edited under the auspices of the Egyptian Exploration Fund, and nearly as many texts still await the patient and skilled decipherment which Dr. Hunt is giving them. And when we remember that these form only a part of the thousands of documents housed in the British Museum, in Berlin, in Vienna, and many other libraries throughout Europe and America, it will be obvious that the papyri have already provided scholars with materials for study for many a long year to come.

New Testament Texts on Papyrus.

But it is time that we were turning more particularly to the relation of the papyri to the New Testament, and we begin naturally with the texts of various parts of our New Testament writings which they have provided.

It is somewhat disappointing at first sight that these are comparatively few in number and in general of a very fragmentary character. At the same time they have an undoubted interest and importance of their own.

The earliest to attract attention is part of a sheet from a



D 979

PAPYRUS ROLL FROM OXYRHYNCHUS, SHOWING PART OF THUCYDIDES IV, 36–41 IN NON-LITERARY HAND CONTEMPORARY WITH THE AUTOGRAPHS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

Now in the Museum of Science and Art, University of Pennsylvania, U.S.A. | By permission of the Egypt Exploration Fund

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papyrus book discovered at Oxyrhynchus in 1896, and published by Grenfell and Hunt in the first volume of their *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (see Plate).[1] It contains *Matt.* i. 1–9, 12, 14–20, in a form which closely resembles the text of our two most important Greek manuscripts, the Vatican and the Sinaitic, where they agree, and, on the whole, is nearer the former where they differ. At the time of the discovery the editors placed the sheet in the third century, claiming that it was " a fragment of the oldest known manuscript of any part of the New Testament ". And though this claim can hardly be pressed now in view of subsequent finds, there can be little doubt that we have here one of the earliest New Testament texts in existence, showing how this portion of St. Matthew's Gospel was read in Egypt about one hundred and fifty years before the date of our principal manuscripts.

Along with it, and belonging to much the same date, should be mentioned the fragments, for they are nothing more, of two columns of a papyrus roll of St. John's Gospel.[2] The first fragment contains parts of Chap. xv. 25, 27; xvi. 1, 2; the second extends from ver. 21 to ver. 31 of Chap. xvi. And fragmentary though the papyrus again is, it gives us a clear example of the roll-form in which our New Testament writings first appeared, and, in addition, witnesses to the place which the Fourth Gospel already occupied in the life of the Early Church.

More important, for textual purposes, owing to its greater length, is about one-third of the Epistle to the Hebrews (ii. 14–v. 5, x. 8–xi. 13; xi. 28–xii. 17), written on the *verso* of a roll, the *recto* of which contains the new epitome of Livy.[3] The text agrees closely with the Codex Vaticanus in cc. ii–v, and this makes the papyrus an important authority for the later chapters, which are wanting in that codex. In Chap. iii. 2 and 6, it confirms readings in which the Vatican Codex stands alone amongst Greek manuscripts. It may be added, for what it is worth, as a curious sidelight on Blass's discovery of a

[1] *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, I, pp. 4 ff., No. 2.
[2] *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, X, pp. 14 ff., No. 1228.
[3] *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, IV, pp. 36 ff., No. 657.

rhythmical principle running through the Epistle, that the papyrus is divided by means of double dots into a series of *στίχοι*, which frequently coincide with Blass's arrangement.[1]

Other two leaves from the second half of the fourth century contain parts of *1 Corinthians* (vii. 18–viii. 4) and *Philippians* (iii. 9–17; iv. 2–8) in a form agreeing in the main with the Vatican, Sinaitic, and Alexandrine Codices, though occasionally they exhibit variants peculiar to themselves.[2] And another leaf, this time going back to the third century, contains *Titus* i. 11–15; ii. 3–8, with the interesting reading *ἀφθονίαν* ('freedom from envy') for *ἀφθορίαν* ('freedom from taint') in ii. 7. According to the editor, the reading "is recorded as a variant in two ninth-century manuscripts, but has apparently not previously been found in any actual text".[3]

A text from the Epistle to the Romans must conclude this brief survey. Dating from the first half of the fourth century, it contains *Romans* i. 1–7 (with the exception of part of verse 6) in a rude uncial hand, and has led to two interesting conjectures: the first, which the editors favour, that it formed originally a schoolboy's exercise; the second, advocated by Deissmann, that it had been used as a Gospel amulet or charm by a certain Aurelius Paulus, who is named in a cursive hand beneath the text.[4]

It may seem, at first sight, as if these texts add very little to the materials at our disposal for the recovery of the text of the New Testament Autographs, but, apart from the fact that, as we have seen, they support in the main what is generally known as the critical text, they have the further significance that in their script we can see what has been called 'the prototype' of the handwriting of our great Biblical codices.[5] That handwriting, with its thick and heavy strokes,

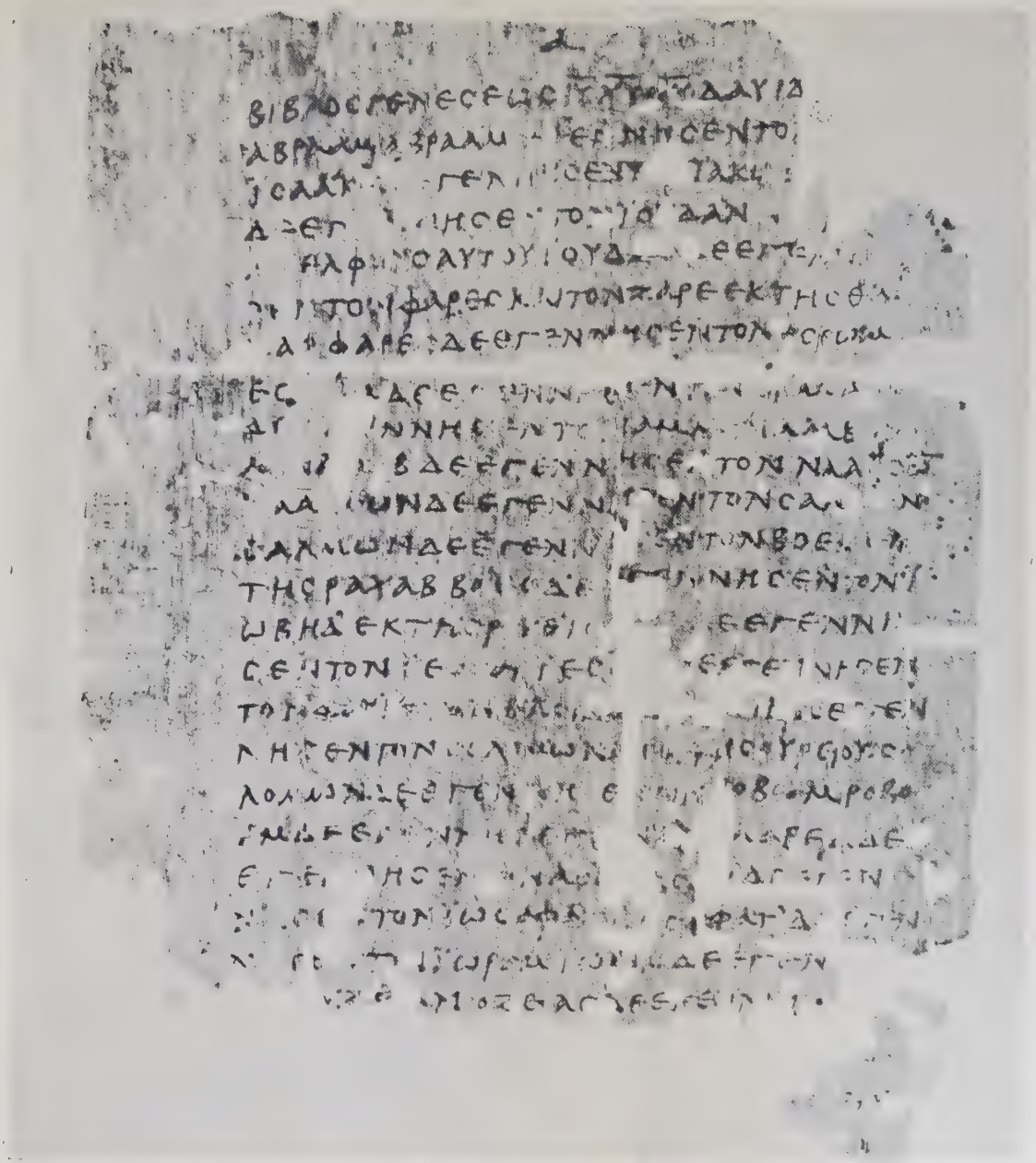
[1] *Brief a. d. Hebräer; Text mit Angabe d. Rhythmen* (Göttingen, 1903).

[2] *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, VII, pp. 4 ff., Nos. 1008, 1009.

[3] *Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester* (Manchester, 1911), ed. Hunt, I, pp. 10 f., No. 5.

[4] *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, II, p. 8 f., No. 209: cf. the facsimile in *Light from the Ancient East*[2], fig. 46.

[5] Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, II, p. 3.



D 919

LEAF FROM A PAPYRUS BOOK, CONTAINING PART OF ST. MATTHEW I

Third century. Discovered at Oxryhynchus, and now in the Museum of Science and Art, University of Pennsylvania, U.S.A.
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has usually been regarded as possible only in the case of a strong substance such as parchment, but its beginnings are clearly traceable in these papyrus codices.

And further, if, as appears likely from their general character and size, these fragments of which we have been speaking formed parts of books intended originally for private rather than for general use, they offer an emphatic and independent testimony to the growing reverence that was being paid to the written word, as well as to the increasing hold it was gaining upon all classes of the population. As the earliest specimens we possess of 'Poor Men's Bibles', they have in their own way as deep a significance for the student of our New Testament writings as the splendid parchment codices which mark the next stage of their history.

Sayings of Jesus.

From these texts of the New Testament writings themselves, we pass to a discovery which appeals in a very special degree to the New Testament student. In 1897, when Dr. Grenfell and Dr. Hunt began excavating at Oxyrhynchus, they discovered in a mound amongst a number of other Greek papyri the leaf of a papyrus codex, containing what purported to be eight Sayings of Jesus. The idea of new Sayings of Jesus is not in itself strange. It is suggested by various statements in the Gospels, such as *Luke* i. 1–4, *John* xx. 30 f., as well as by the existence in early Christian literature and tradition of a number of so-called *Agrapha*.[1] But here there was tangible evidence of a collection of these Sayings, which, as the leaf could not be dated later than the beginning of the third century, probably ran back to the middle of the second century, and possibly even to the first century.

The Sayings in the discoverers' *editio princeps*[2] have been rendered as follows:

[1] See e.g. M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 33 ff.

[2] ΛΟΓΙΑ ΙΗΣΟΥ: "*Sayings of our Lord*", from an Early Greek Papyrus. By B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt (Frowde, 1897). (*Out of print.*) See also *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, I, No. 1.

Logion 1. " . . . and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote that is in thy brother's eye."

Logion 2. " Jesus saith, Except ye fast to the world, ye shall in no wise find the kingdom of God; and except ye keep the sabbath, ye shall not see the Father."

Logion 3. " Jesus saith, I stood in the midst of the world, and in the flesh was I seen of them, and I found all men drunken, and none found I athirst among them, and my soul grieveth over the sons of men, because they are blind in their heart. . ."

Logion 4. " . . . poverty."

Logion 5. " Jesus saith, Wherever there are . . . and there is one . . . alone, I am with him. Raise the stone and there thou shalt find me, cleave the wood and there am I."

Logion 6. " Jesus saith, A prophet is not acceptable in his own country, neither doth a physician work cures upon them that know him."

Logion 7. " Jesus saith, A city built upon the top of a high hill, and stablished, can neither fall nor be hid."

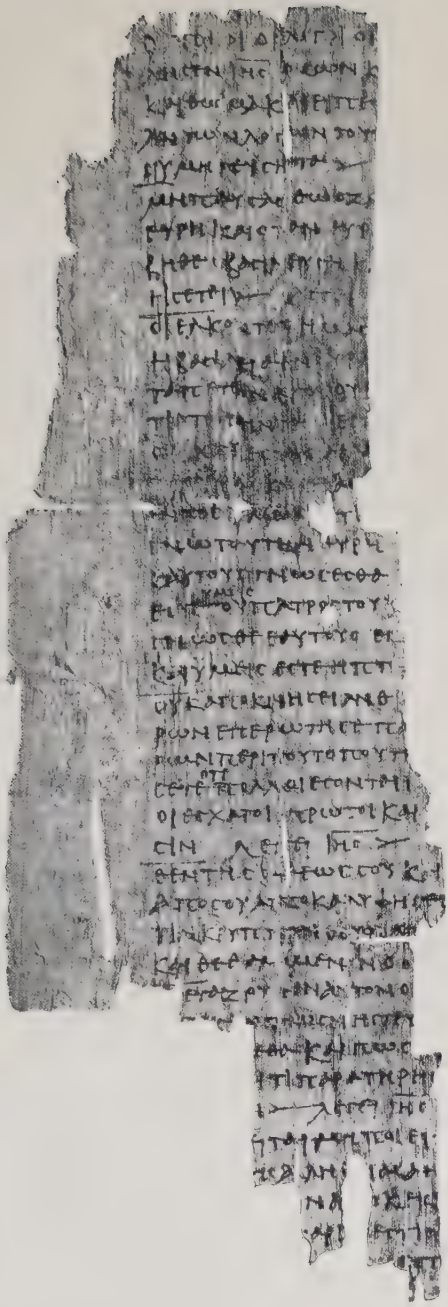
Logion 8. " Jesus saith, Thou hearest with one ear (but the other thou hast closed)."

Attempts have been made from many quarters to restore the broken text of the Sayings, and all manner of questions have been raised as to their source and consequent authority, but in the main the editors have seen no reason for departing from the views they originally formed. These, in their own words, may be summarized as follows: " (1) that we have here part of a collection of sayings, not extracts from a narrative gospel; (2) that they were not heretical; (3) that they were independent of the Four Gospels in their present shape; (4) that they were earlier than A.D. 140, and might go back to the first century." [1]

Meanwhile the interest in the Sayings was still further quickened by a fresh discovery of a similar character at Oxyrhynchus in 1903.[2] Unlike the earlier collection, however, which, as we have seen, formed the leaf of a papyrus book, the five new Sayings were written on the back of a survey list of

[1] *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, I, p. 2.

[2] *New Sayings of Jesus and Fragment of a Lost Gospel*, with the text of the " Logia " discovered in 1897. By B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt (Frowde, 1904). See also *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, IV, No. 654.



D 919

NEW "SAYINGS OF JESUS"

Papyrus from Oxyrhynchus, belonging to the third century A.D. Now in the British Museum
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various pieces of land, and were prefaced by an Introduction or Heading to this effect:

> "These are the (wonderful?) words which Jesus the living (Lord) spake to . . . and Thomas, and he said unto (them), Every one that hearkens to these words shall never taste of death."

The Sayings themselves, again in the translation of the *editio princeps*, run as follows:

> *Logion* 1. "Jesus saith, Let not him who seeks . . . cease until he finds, and when he finds he shall be astonished: astonished he shall reach the kingdom, and having reached the kingdom he shall rest."
>
> *Logion* 2. "Jesus saith, (Ye ask? who are those) that draw us (to the kingdom, if) the kingdom is in Heaven? . . . the fowls of the air, and all beasts that are under the earth or upon the earth, and the fishes of the sea, (these are they which draw) you, and the kingdom of Heaven is within you; and whoever shall know himself shall find it. (Strive therefore?) to know yourselves, and ye shall be aware that ye are the sons of (almighty?) Father; (and?) ye shall know that ye are in (the city) of (God?), and ye are (the city?)."
>
> *Logion* 3. "Jesus saith, A man shall not hesitate . . . to ask . . . concerning his place (in the kingdom. Ye shall know) that many that are first shall be last and the last first and (they shall have eternal life?)."
>
> *Logion* 4. "Jesus saith, Everything that is not before thy face and that which is hidden from thee shall be revealed to thee. For there is nothing hidden which shall not be made manifest, nor buried which shall not be raised."
>
> *Logion* 5. "His disciples question him and say, How shall we fast and how shall we (pray?) . . . and what (commandment) shall we keep . . . Jesus saith, . . . do not . . . of truth . . . blessed is he . . ."

It is impossible to enter here into any discussion on the true character of these two sets of Sayings, which may well have formed originally parts of one collection, but there seems to be no good reason to doubt that, while they show traces of the sub-Apostolic environment out of which they sprang, they contain a distinct residuum of the Lord's teaching, rescued from the floating tradition of the time.[1]

[1] See further *The Sayings of Jesus from Oxyrhynchus*, edited with Introduction, Critical Apparatus, and Commentary by Hugh G. Evelyn White (Camb. Univ. Press, 1920).

Apocryphal Gospels.

Attention is drawn in the next chapter of this volume (see Chap. VI) to the more important Apocryphal Gospels, which have come down to us from an early period in the history of the Church. But there are in addition one or two of a fragmentary character which have been discovered on papyrus. One of these is included along with the so-called New Sayings of Jesus in the fourth volume of the Oxyrhynchus papyri,[1] and in its general contents is very closely parallel to passages in our Canonical Gospels of Matthew and Luke, especially the latter. It runs as follows:

> " (Take no thought) from morning until even nor from evening until morning, either for your food what ye shall eat or for your raiment what ye shall put on. Ye are far better than the lilies which grow but spin not. Having one garment, what do ye (lack?) . . . Who could add to your stature? He himself will give you your garment. His disciples say unto him, When wilt thou be manifest to us, and when shall we see thee? He saith, When ye shall be stripped and not be ashamed. . . ."
>
> . . . He said, The key of knowledge ye hid; ye entered not in yourselves and to them that were entering in ye opened not."

According to the editors the hand in which the text is written points to a date not later than the middle of the third century; but the Gospel from which it is taken may well go back a hundred years earlier. And though it is not possible to determine exactly the nature of this Gospel, the striking answer ascribed to Jesus in the concluding words of the fragment has certain affinities with a corresponding passage in the Gospel to the Egyptians, and may contain some elements of genuineness.

Our next fragment is longer, and again is taken from a work which goes back to a date before A.D. 200. The dialogue form in which the fragment is cast adds much to its interest, while the words recall the episode of *Matt.* xv. 7–20; *Mark* vii. 1–23. The conclusion of a speech of Jesus to His disciples comes first, and then the narrative proceeds:[2]

[1] *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, IV, No. 655.

[2] *Fragment of an Uncanonical Gospel from Oxyrhynchus*, edd. Grenfell–Hunt (Oxford Univ. Press, 1908).

" And he took them and brought them into the very place of purification, and was walking in the temple.

And a certain Pharisee, a chief priest, whose name was Levi (?), met them and said to the Saviour, Who gave thee leave to walk in this place of purification and to see these holy vessels, when thou hast not washed nor yet have thy disciples bathed their feet? But defiled thou hast walked in this temple, which is a pure place, wherein no other man walks except he has washed himself and changed his garments, neither does he venture to see these holy vessels.

And the Saviour straightway stood still with his disciples and asnswered him, Art thou then, being here in the temple, clean?

He saith unto him, I am clean; for I washed in the pool of David, and having descended by one staircase I ascended by another, and I put on white and clean garments, and then I came and looked upon these holy vessels.

The Saviour answered and said unto him, Woe ye blind, who see not. Thou hast washed in these running waters, wherein dogs and swine have been cast night and day, and hast cleansed and wiped the outside skin which also the harlots and flute-girls anoint and wash and wipe and beautify for the lust of men; but within they are full of scorpions and all wickedness. But I and my disciples, who thou sayest have not bathed, have been dipped in the waters of eternal life which come from . . . But woe unto the . . ."

We have space for only one more example, taken from a papyrus book belonging to the fourth century.[1]

" . . . overcame me. And Jesus stood by in a vision and said, Why art thou cast down? For it is not thou who . . . but he who gave (?) . . ."

The passage is so fragmentary that it is not possible to reconstruct the circumstances, but there is a certain plausibility in Dr. Vernon Bartlet's suggestion that we have here an otherwise unrecorded appearance of the Risen Lord to St. Peter, to rouse him from the remorse into which he had been thrown by his denial.

Christian Letters.

We have seen already the indirect light which the homely letters, recovered from the sands of Egypt, throw upon the form of our New Testament Epistles. But it may be well to

[1] *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, X, pp. 6 f., No. 1224.

add here one or two specimens of Christian letters, even though it is not always easy to determine whether they are really Christian or not—such a phrase, for example, as "the god" (ὁ θεός), which has such a definite Christian ring about it, being also used in pagan letters of the time.[1]

The oldest of these letters in point of time was written between A.D. 264 and 282, but the contents are not of much general interest, being chiefly occupied with business arrangements connected with corn.[2] And we may turn, therefore, to a letter which has reached us from Oxyrhynchus.[3]

It belongs to the close of the third or the beginning of the fourth century, and is addressed by a certain Sotas to his son. After references to our 'common salvation' and 'divine providence', Sotas gives directions about the 'separation' of some land, perhaps, as the editors suggest, for religious purposes. In their translation the letter reads as follows:

> "Greeting, my holy son Demetrianus! I, Sotas, salute you. Our common . . . is plain, and our common salvation (is secure?); for these are the objects of Divine providence. If then you have decided in accordance with ancient custom to give the arura to the place, see that it is separated, so that they may use it; and however you may decide about the work be of good cheer. Salute all who are in your house. I pray to God for your continual good health in every respect.
>
> (Addressed) To my holy son Demetrianus from Sotas."

With this may be associated another letter from the same collection, whose significance is clear. It is approximately of the same date.[4]

> "Thonis to his dearest Heracleüs, many greetings. First of all I pray for your prosperity and health before the Lord God. I would have you know, brother, that on the 10th of the present month of Thoth I received your son safe and sound in every respect. I shall take care of him as if he were my own son. I shall not neglect to make him attend to his work. . . ."

[1] For an excellent collection of Christian letters with translations and notes in Italian, see G. Ghedini, *Lettere Cristiane dai Papiri Greci del III e IV Secolo* (Milan, 1923).

[2] *Amherst Papyri*, edd. Grenfell–Hunt, (London, 1900), I, pp. 28 ff., No. 3(*a*). Cf. *Light from the Ancient East*[2], pp. 205 ff.

[3] *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, XII, No. 1492.

[4] *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, XII, No. 1493.

The homely character of these letters is further brought out by another writer's request to his ' brother ' that he should pay a debt he had incurred. The Christian character of the letter is confirmed by the occurrence of the Biblical contractions of κύριος and θεός. We again owe the translation to Drs. Grenfell and Hunt.[1]

> " To my lord brother Apollonius Nilus, greeting. First of all I pray for your prosperity before the Lord God. By every means, brother, give my brother Zakaon the confectioner about forty talents on my account, and let me know if I am to pay the equivalent amount where you are, and you shall have it, since . . . , as he could not bring it with him. Pray do not neglect this, brother, for you know my debt (?) in that quarter. I pray for your continued health, my lord.
>
> (Addressed) To my lord brother Apollonius from Nilus."

Our last example is of a more definitely religious character, and is published by Deissmann with a detailed commentary in his collection of Heidelberg papyri.[2] The text is also reprinted in *Light from the Ancient East*[2], pp. 215 f. (cf. Milligan, *Selections*, pp. 125 ff.), with the English translation followed below. The letter belongs to the fourth century.

> " To my lord and beloved brother Papnuthius, the Christ-bearer—Justinus greeting . . . which it behoved [me] to write to thy goodness, my beloved lord. For we believe thy citizenship in heaven. Thence we consider thee the master and new patron. Lest therefore I should write much and prate—for in much speaking they shall not escape sin—I beseech thee, therefore, master, that thou rememberest me in thy holy prayers, that we may be able (to obtain) a part in the purifying from sins. For I am one of the sinners. Count (me) worthy, I beseech, and accept this little oil though our brother Magarius. I greet much all our brethren in the Lord. The divine Providence keep thee in health for a very great time in the Lord Christ, beloved lord.
>
> (Addressed) To my lord and beloved brother Papnuthius, the Christ-bearer, from Justinus."

[1] *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, XII, No. 1495.

[2] *Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung*, I. (Heidelberg, 1905), No. 6.

Libelli.

From these letters we proceed to another class of documents which possess a vivid, if painful, interest, the so-called *Libelli*.

It is well known that during the Decian persecution in A.D. 250 certain Christians received false certificates from the magistrates stating that they had sacrificed in the heathen manner.[1] And this recusancy has now been strikingly illustrated by the discovery of a number of these *Libelli*.[2] They are all dated between 13th–25th June, A.D. 250, and resemble one another so closely as to suggest that a stereotyped formula was employed, which doubtless followed the language of the original edict, ordering the sacrifices to be offered. In the example printed below, the whole body of the certificate was either written and signed by the petitioner himself, or, as was so often the case in similar documents, by a professional scribe acting in his name, and was then countersigned on behalf of the Commission, who had been specially chosen to see that the Imperial edict had been carried out.

To show the terms employed we may quote one of the *Libelli* in full:[3]

> "To those chosen to superintend the sacrifices at the village of Alexander-Island, from Aurelius Diogenes, the son of Satabus, of the village of Alexander-Island, being about 72 years old, a scar on the right eyebrow. Not only have I always continued sacrificing to the gods, but now also in your presence in accordance with the decrees I have sacrificed and poured libations and tasted the offerings, and I request you to counter-sign my statement. May good fortune attend you. I, Aurelius Diogenes, have made this request."
>
> (2nd hand.) "I, Aurelius Syrus, as a participant, have certified Diogenes as sacrificing along with us."

[1] See Cyprian, *Ep.* 32 (3), "qui se ipsos infideles inlicita nefariorum libellorum professione prodiderant": cf. *ib.* 55 (2).

[2] Various specimens can be studied in Wessely *Les plus anciens Monuments du Christianisme écrits sur Papyrus* (being *Patrologia Orientalis*, IV, 2, and XVIII, 3) (Paris, 1906 and 1924). See also Paul M. Meyer, *Die Libelli aus der Decianischen Christenverfolgung* (Berlin, 1910).

[3] *Berliner Griechische Urkunden*, I, p. 282, No. 287 (= Milligan, *Selections*, pp. 114 ff.).

(1st hand.) "The 1st year of the Emperor Cæsar Gaius Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius Pius Felix Augustus, Epeiph. 2 (= 25th June, A.D. 250)."

In view of the fact that so many of these certificates have already come to light, all falling within the narrow limits indicated above, Wessely has suggested that at that time the whole population, pagan as well as Christian, had to furnish themselves with *libelli*, which, for the time being, took the place of the usual census returns. But there can be no doubt that it was with the Christians that the edict was mainly concerned. And the decipherment of the various signatures, bringing the different actors in the painful drama directly before us, make the documents among the most arresting of recent finds.

Magical Papyri.

In *Acts* xix. 19, we are told that, as the result of St. Paul's missionary preaching in Ephesus, magical books to the value of fifty thousand pieces of silver were publicly burnt. And the incident may remind us of the large place which magic filled in the old heathen religions, a place which is further emphasized by the numbers of magical papyri which have been brought to light. The intermingling of the names of the old Egyptian gods with Jewish and Christian names is very noteworthy, and testifies to the widespread growth of Christianity in Egypt.

A notable example is afforded by the great Paris magical papyrus containing the Greek text of an ancient Coptic spell, dating from the second century.[1] Part of it is devoted to a spell for driving out demons, in which, after an appeal to the spirit of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and "Jesus Christ, the holy one", the unclean spirit is adjured to come forth "by the god Sabarbarbathiôth Sabarbarbathiuth. . . . Come forth, O demon, for I shall chain thee with adamantine chains

[1] See Wessely, *Monuments du Christianisme*, pp. 183 ff., and cf. Milligan, *Selections*, pp. 112 ff. According to Professor Souter the pagan origin of this spell is proved by the fact that the name Ἰησοῦς is written out in full. Had it been written by a Christian, it would have been contracted (IC or $\overline{\text{IHC}}$), a sign of greater sanctity.

not to be loosed, and I shall give you over to black chaos in utter destruction."

Amulets or Charms.

This brings us to our last group of documents, the amulets or charms which continued to be used by many professing Christians for a much longer period than we often imagine.

For example, two Swedish scholars have recently edited a Christian amulet on papyrus which dates from the fourth century, and contains a prayer for the protection of a house and its inhabitants from all manner of harm and witchcraft.[1] The prayer ends: "Protect, O Lord, son of David according to the flesh, Who wast begotten of the Holy Virgin Mary, holy, highest god, out of the Holy Spirit. Glory be to thee, heavenly King. Amen." Then follow the letters Alpha and Omega, first in small, and then in large characters, and on both occasions separated by a cross, and finally the early Christian symbol of the fish.

With this may be compared a curious relic from Oxyrhynchus.[2] On a thin sheet of vellum, not in this case papyrus, there has been inscribed *Matt.* iv. 23: "And Jesus went about all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the Kingdom, and healing all manner of sickness, and all manner of disease among the people." And the words for greater efficacy have been arranged in columns in the form of small crosses, the place of one of the crosses, however, being taken by a roughly drawn bust of a human figure, probably intended to represent the wearer of the amulet.

The amulet belongs to the sixth century, and for its use of Biblical passages the editors compare another text from a slightly earlier source, in which are quoted verses from St. John's Gospel, and appeal is made to "the intercession of our lady the mother of God", and to various saints.[3]

[1] *Ein Christliches Amulett auf Papyrus*, edd. Eitrem–Fridrichsen (Christiania, 1921).

[2] *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, VIII, No. 1077.

[3] *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, VIII, No. 1151.

Similar features mark yet another example, which is also distinguished by a characteristic use of the Lord's Prayer. In 1899, during the course of excavations at Heracleopolis Magna, a small papyrus roll was found so tightly pressed together for the purpose of being worn round the neck that the work of decipherment was attended with great difficulty. But eventually it was found to read as follows:[1]

> " O lord God all ruling, the Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and thou, O holy Serenus. I Silvanus, the son of Sarapion, pray and bow my head before Thee, begging and beseeching that Thou mayst drive from me Thy servant the demon of witchcraft . . . and of pain. Take away from me all manner of disease and all manner of sickness that I may be in health . . . to say the prayer of the Gospel (thus): Our Father who art in heaven hallowed be Thy name, Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done, as in heaven so on earth. Give us to-day our daily bread, and forgive us our debts, even as we also forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation, O Lord, but deliver us from evil. For Thine is the glory for ever . . . O Light of light, true God, graciously give Thy servant light. O holy Serenus, supplicate on my behalf, that I may be in perfect health."

Here we must bring our fragmentary list of documents to an end. It has not been possible to do more than touch upon a few of the many important questions which the papyri suggest to the New Testament student. But enough, we trust, has been said to show that, even if they did nothing else, the papyri help us to realize in the most convincing manner that in the case of the New Testament writings we are dealing with true *documents humains*, and that, while we have the " treasure in earthen vessels ", " the exceeding greatness of the power is of God and not from ourselves " (*2 Cor.* iv. 7).

[1] *Berliner Griechische Urkunden*, III, No. 594 (= *Selections*, pp. 132 ff.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

See list of Books at the end of Chapter IV

CHAPTER VI

The Apocryphal Gospels

Meaning of term ' Apocryphal '.

In the early Christian centuries there were many Gospels in circulation other than those which are in the New Testament, and it is to them that we refer when we speak of Apocryphal Gospels. A few words are necessary to make clear why they are so described and in what sense the title is to be understood. In ordinary use ' apocryphal ', as applied to a statement or tale, means that it is fictitious, but that meaning is secondary and reflects the curious fortune of the word, which from being an honourable title came to be a term of reproach or contempt. In its primary significance it was used to describe certain highly esteemed writings, containing esoteric doctrine, which were kept *secret* by the initiated in select circles. There were such ' apocryphal ' books in the possession of early Christian (Gnostic) sects, and for them the high claim was made that they embodied a secret apostolic tradition, which set forth the true content and meaning of the Christian revelation. It was natural in these circumstances that when the Church, treasuring as it did the evangelic writings in general use, found it necessary to express its unity and to guard against heresy, all secret writings should have been looked upon with grave suspicion and that ' apocryphal ' should have been regarded as equivalent to ' spurious ' or ' false '. The word had already suffered this change of meaning by the end of the second century. In its new significance

the term was in course of time extended to cover writings which, although they had not emanated from secret circles, were rejected by the Church for a variety of reasons, in the main because they were tainted with error or had made an illegitimate claim to apostolic authority. Eventually, in the fourth and succeeding centuries, in view of the fact that many of the rejected writings were still being read in Church circles, lists were drawn up by ecclesiastical authorities, in which there was a clear-cut distinction between books that were to be received by Christians and books that were *not* to be received, all in the latter class being termed ' apocryphal ', which now bore the meaning ' heretical '. In the light of all this it would be natural, in speaking of Apocryphal Gospels, to give the title the opprobrious significance which it had acquired, but it is preferable, since all that are so designated cannot with justice be labelled spurious or heretical, to use it in a neutral sense and to understand *apocryphal* Gospels as meaning *uncanonical* Gospels, without any necessary implication that they had a questionable origin or that their contents are false.

I

Exclusion of Apocryphal Gospels from Canon.

When the necessity arose for forming a canon of New Testament writings, there was no uncertainty as to the Gospels which should be received and regarded as authoritative sources for knowledge about Jesus Christ. Alone among the many writings which were in circulation, dealing with the life and ministry of Jesus, the Gospels now in the New Testament received the stamp of Holy Scripture. It is important to realize how this had come about. It would be a serious misapprehension of the true state of things, were one to imagine that on some definite occasion official action was taken by the Church for the purpose of determining which Gospels should be admitted into the canon and which should be excluded. What had happened was something very different. From early days, as we learn from the introduction to St. Luke's

Gospel, there had been considerable literary activity in setting forth what had been handed down about Jesus Christ, and that activity continued after the apostolic age. None of the evangelic writings thus produced, not even those now in the New Testament, claimed on their appearance to have canonical authority; all alike were the offspring of the desire to present what was known or believed about Christ with the aim of satisfying the religious needs of the communities for which they were severally written. But as time went on, our four Gospels became widely known as the result of the constant intercourse which bound Christian communities together, and their pre-eminent value was recognized by their use in public worship in the more important churches. They had attained this position of exceptional authority not later than the middle of the second century, and this, be it noted, was due, not merely to their inherent worth which Christian people with a fine spiritual sense perceived, but also to the conviction, based on tradition which was regarded as trustworthy, that they contained the authentic testimony of apostolic writers. Accordingly, when it was felt to be necessary to have a canon of Gospel-writings to counteract the errors of a pseudo-tradition in sectarian circles, all that Church authorities did was to put their *imprimatur* on the Gospels which had already outdistanced their rivals and won an unchallengeable place in virtue of their intrinsic excellence.

It is clear from this brief survey of the history of evangelic writings before the canon was fixed that the Apocryphal Gospels were not rejected by any arbitrary decree of the Church. They simply failed to secure general recognition as authentic charters of the Church's faith, and even although no Gospel-canon had been formed, they would inevitably have fallen more and more into disrepute. From our knowledge of those which have survived in whole or in part we can have no hesitation in saying that the Church acted wisely and with true spiritual insight in the choice which it made. Even the best of the early uncanonical Gospels are not worthy to be set on the same level as those in the canon. When they cover familiar

ground, they lack the simple dignity of the New Testament Gospels; they fail to show the indisputable marks of truth, even where they do not betray the presence of heretical views; and when they supplement the Gospel narrative, apart from obvious inventions for dogmatic or apologetic reasons, they give at the best a romantic embellishment of earlier tradition and at the worst an odious misrepresentation of the life and character of Christ.

Historical Value.

Very markedly inferior as they are to the Gospels in the canon, the early Apocryphal Gospels are not on that account to be set aside as worthless. The question very naturally arises whether, written as they were in the generations immediately succeeding the apostolic age, they may not here and there embody authentic details otherwise unknown to us. It is obvious that the canonical Gospels tell us only a small part of what might have been narrated of Jesus, and it may be assumed that there were current in early days not only sayings of our Lord but also stories dealing with His ministry, which either were unknown to the four evangelists or were passed over by them as unsuitable for their purpose. While this might reasonably quicken our expectations on taking up the uncanonical Gospels, it becomes clear on examination that their value as additional sources of information about Jesus is so extremely slight as to be negligible. A handful of their recorded sayings at the most may have some claim to be considered authentic, and occasionally one may be disposed to admit that details are given in them of events which actually occurred, but there, so far as evangelic history is concerned, the matter ends. The truth is that such value as the uncanonical Gospels have lies elsewhere than in any increase of our knowledge of Jesus. If they shed no new light on Him, they at least reveal the diverse conceptions which men had of Him; they reflect the ideals of life which were entertained in the circles where they obtained favour, and they show in what way attempts were made to serve the threatened interests of faith. It is in the glimpses

which they give us of the character of popular or sectarian Christianity in early days that the Apocryphal Gospels are documents whose historical value is not to be disregarded.

Origin due to Doctrinal Interests.

It may in general be said that the early uncanonical Gospels presuppose the existence of those now in the New Testament and in greater or less degree are dependent on them. This being so, it may be asked why they were written at all. The reason is to be found in the character and religious interests of the community whose edification they were designed to promote, and in the necessity for warding off attacks to which its faith was exposed. It is intelligible that in certain circles where peculiar doctrinal or ethical views obtained, the Gospels which were in use elsewhere would be unacceptable. The desire would naturally arise for a presentation of the evangelic facts which would be in harmony with prevailing thought and feeling. If this desire was to be satisfied, some manipulation of the generally accepted tradition was necessary, but that did not seem a serious matter in an age which had little conscience for the obligation of depicting things as they actually were. Thus Gospels were produced which clearly reflected the conceptions and practical needs of the community for which they were written. In them the traditional material was used, but there was no hesitation in altering it or in making additions to it or in leaving out what did not suit the writer's purpose. An excellent example of such ' emended ' Gospels is found in the *Gospel of Marcion*, which, apart from minor changes, was simply the narrative of St. Luke, with everything omitted that revealed the true humanity of our Lord and His connexion with the religion of the Old Testament.

In some cases where adaptation of existing Gospels was felt to be inadequate, new narratives were composed which had little in common with them. These for the most part dealt either with the risen life of our Lord or with His antecedents, birth, infancy, and childhood. The post-Resurrection period was especially favoured by Gnostics, although not by

them alone, for there, with nothing to restrain their fancy, they were able to find a setting for their eccentric views, which, they declared, had been made known by Christ in secret revelation to chosen disciples. Doctrinal considerations similarly accounted in large measure for the interest shown in the infancy and childhood of our Lord. The early Gospels in this field had their *raison d'être*, not so much in the desire to satisfy the curiosity of those who longed to know more about Jesus than was told in existing Gospels, as in the desire to defend the person of our Lord against the misconceptions and attacks of unbelievers.

Popularity of Apocryphal Gospels.

Although from the end of the second century onwards the Church recognized no Gospels except those in the New Testament, the Gospels which had been rejected still continued to be used, some in outlying communities in public worship, and some in ordinary Church circles for private edification or entertainment. The most primitive of the uncanonical Gospels, the Gospel of the Nazarenes, was in use at the end of the fourth century in a community which set especial store by it; another, the Gospel of Peter, which was episcopally condemned at the close of the second century, was found in an Egyptian grave belonging to mediæval times (eighth to twelfth century); while the popularity of the early Childhood Gospels is shown by their influence on Christian poetry, by their translation into several languages, and by the impetus which they gave to the fabrication of similar writings more extravagant in tone. In vain ecclesiastical authority endeavoured to check the use of these apocryphal writings; there was a popular demand for them, and the demand was met by an ever-increasing supply. All sections of the Church showed favour for this type of literature, and in this respect the Coptic Church seems to have been pre-eminent. Even in the West where official opinion was strongly unfavourable, Biblical stories with a grotesque embroidery of legend were eagerly read. New cycles of legends came into being, such as that dealing with the Assumption of

the Virgin, and nothing was too extravagant or vivid in colour for the popular taste. With these later writings, however, which are apocryphal in the worst sense, we have here little concern.

Influence on Literature and Art.

The legendary stories contained in the Apocryphal Gospels had an extraordinary influence on mediæval literature and art. In particular, the later Gospels of the Infancy and Childhood were a rich mine from which poets and the writers of mystery-plays drew their material. Works like the *Golden Legend*, which was written in the thirteenth century and translated into many languages, spread far and wide the knowledge of the apocryphal tales, and so great was the popularity of this romantic literature that the *Golden Legend* was among the first books to be set up in type after the invention of printing. Art, too, reveals the far-reaching influence of the Apocryphal Gospels. The painters of the Renaissance found subjects for some of their finest works in the early legends of the Virgin Mary; we have, for instance, Titian's charming picture of the Presentation of Mary in the Temple (in the Academy, Venice) and Raphael's beautiful early work depicting the Espousal of Joseph and Mary (in the Pinacoteca, Milan). Pictures of the Annunciation embody details drawn from the Childhood Gospels and show Mary either with a pitcher at the well or spinning wool for the veil of the Temple. In representations of the Nativity and of the Flight to Egypt we find similar apocryphal details—the birth of Jesus in a cave, the introduction of an ox and an ass in adoration before the Holy Child, the Holy Family accompanied by wild beasts on the way to Egypt, and the bending down of a palm tree to yield its fruit to Mary. It is interesting, further, to observe that it was largely from apocryphal sources that Mohammedans received their knowledge of the origins of Christianity. The Koran reproduces, with some changes in detail, stories both of Jesus and of Mary that are found in the Childhood Gospels, while many other legends, not mentioned in the Koran, but drawn from the

same tainted sources, were collected by Muslim commentators. In general it may be said that the influence of the Apocryphal Gospels, at least of those of them which embellish the evangelic story with romantic and imaginative details, has been so deep and widespread that to-day some of these details are popularly regarded as authentic history, and that in Roman Catholic countries the minds of ordinary Christian people are far more saturated with the apocryphal legends than with the simple narrative of the New Testament.

II

In giving some account of the more important Apocryphal Gospels, we propose to deal first with those which are of the same general type as the canonical Gospels and then with those whose object was to supplement the early tradition.

Of those belonging to the former class we begin with a group that was current in Jewish-Christian circles. Only fragments of these Gospels exist, and it is uncertain whether they represent three Gospels or only two. The view here adopted is that while by general consent one Gospel stands unmistakably by itself apart, there are two others to be distinguished, although both are spoken of by early writers as "the Gospel according to the Hebrews".

Gospel of the Nazarenes.

Of these two the more important is the GOSPEL OF THE NAZARENES. Most of our information regarding it is derived from Jerome, who states that he found it in use among the Nazarenes, a Jewish-Christian community in Northern Syria, and that he translated it from Aramaic into Greek and Latin. It is interesting to note that Jerome, who accepted the view prevalent in the early Church that St. Matthew's Gospel was originally written in Hebrew, was at first disposed to think that in the Nazarene Gospel he had discovered the lost original of the canonical book. This fact justifies the conclusion, which information from another source confirms,

that the Gospel of the Nazarenes contained a narrative practically co-extensive with that of St. Matthew, and showing close affinities with it.

The Nazarene Gospel belonged to an early stage of evangelic literature, but there are widely different opinions as to its origin and relation to the Gospels in the New Testament. Some scholars regard it as embodying an independent tradition and place it as early as St. Mark's Gospel; others believe that it was earlier than canonical Matthew, which was simply a revised version of it; and others again are convinced of its secondary character, and hold that it was composed early in the second century by a writer who may have had at his disposal some primitive traditions but who nevertheless was acquainted both with St. Matthew and with St. Luke and followed the former rather closely. The view here accepted is the last-mentioned. The situation may be reconstructed somewhat as follows. In a community of Jewish Christians in which St. Matthew's Gospel was in general use, although St. Luke was also known, the desire arose to have a Gospel more in harmony with prevailing Jewish-Christian feeling. Accordingly, with St. Matthew as a basis a new Gospel was prepared, in which details were added from St. Luke and from floating tradition, and changes were made with the object of removing difficulties which were felt, of giving the narrative a greater appearance of actuality, and of bringing out more clearly the continuity between Christianity and the religion of Israel. Some such theory as this satisfactorily explains the composite features revealed in the fragments, which have affinities with St. Matthew and also marked peculiarities of their own.

In seeking to gain some idea of the Gospel of the Nazarenes we are under the disadvantage of having only fragments to deal with. These naturally were quoted by later writers for the purpose of showing in what respects the Gospel differed from the accepted tradition, and it may reasonably be assumed that in the lost portions the parallels with St. Matthew were closer. One or two examples may enable us to discern some

of the distinctive features of the Gospel, so far as it is known to us.

A fragment dealing with the experience of Jesus before His baptism has material entirely new, which may have had some basis in tradition but more probably was due to reflexion on a matter which seriously perplexed early Christians. Why did Jesus accept the baptism of John which was meant for penitents? The answer given by the Nazarene Gospel is that He accepted it because of His profound humility, or possibly (on another interpretation of the words) because after His first feeling that John's baptism had not any meaning for Him He came to realize that it had. The fragment reads: "*Behold, the mother of the Lord and His brethren said to Him, John the Baptist baptizeth for remission of sins; let us go and be baptized by him. But He saith to them, Wherein have I sinned, that I should go and be baptized by him? unless perchance this very thing that I have said is ignorance.*" It may be added that there is true insight in the suggestion that Jesus had searchings of heart before He went to be baptized.

As an example of the way in which the Nazarene Gospel combined two different narratives, we may take its version of the story of the Rich Young Ruler. When Jesus had made the great requirement, we read that "*the rich man began to scratch his head, and it did not please him*" (a somewhat vulgar detail surely out of harmony with the grave dignity of the incident). "*And the Lord said to him, How sayest thou, I have kept the law and the prophets? For it is written in the law, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself; and behold, many of thy brethren, sons of Abraham, are clothed in filth, dying of hunger, and thy house is full of many good things, and nothing at all goes out of it to them.*" It seems plain that here we have suggestions from the story of Dives and Lazarus in St. Luke inserted into the Matthæan narrative of the Rich Young Ruler, with the result that although the moral teaching is impressive the real point of the original story is lost. For while according to the canonical narrative the tragedy of the incident lay in the Young Ruler's rejection of Christ's call, because he could not face the sacrifice,

in the Nazarene Gospel a turn is given to the story which represents the man as incurring the condemnation of Jesus, because, while he had claimed to live in obedience to the law, he was in reality a hypocrite who had heartlessly neglected the poor.

Perhaps the finest thing in all the fragments of the Nazarene Gospel is the reported saying of Jesus: "*Never be glad, except when ye look upon your brother in love.*" This has the ring of an authentic utterance, and it suggests that the author of the Gospel was in touch with some good traditions. But when we take the fragments as a whole, it is difficult to think of the Gospel as other than a secondary writing. So far as we are in a position to estimate its worth, we are justified in saying that it is the best of the uncanonical Gospels, not to be characterized as apocryphal in the debased sense of the word, but with no title to be placed alongside the Gospels in the New Testament.

Alexandrian Gospel "according to the Hebrews".

The second of the Gospels, known in ancient times as "the Gospel according to the Hebrews", need not detain us long. As our knowledge of it comes from Alexandria, we may distinguish it from the Gospel of the Nazarenes by naming it the ALEXANDRIAN GOSPEL "according to the Hebrews". Only two sayings which occurred in it are definitely known, the one recorded by Origen, the other by Clement of Alexandria. The former deals apparently with the Temptation of Jesus and runs: "*Just now My mother, the Holy Spirit, took Me by one of My hairs and carried Me away to the great mountain Tabor*". The language in which the rapture of Jesus is described sounds grotesque, but it is reminiscent of *Ezekiel* viii. 3, and of *Bel and the Dragon* (v. 36), and suggests that Jesus yielded willingly to the constraint of the Spirit. The most remarkable feature of the saying, however, is the representation of the Holy Spirit as the mother of Jesus. This is probably to be explained by the fact that the Gospel was originally written in Aramaic, in which the word for Spirit (*ruḥa*) is feminine; whence it would quite naturally follow

that the Spirit from whom Jesus had His origin was spoken of as His mother. In the Syriac-speaking Church this would not have seemed strange as it does to us, for we find Aphraates (a Syrian of the fourth century) referring to the Holy Spirit as the mother of a man.

The second saying from the Alexandrian Gospel is reported in two forms, of which the longer reads: "*He who seeks shall not cease until he finds, and when he finds, he shall be astonished, and being astonished he shall reign, and reigning he shall rest.*" Like the saying quoted by Origen, this cannot be regarded as an authentic utterance of our Lord. It seems to be an elaboration of the words "seek and ye shall find", with the added thought that they who seek the blessings of the Divine Kingdom shall on receiving them be startled by their amazing worth. It is impossible with any assurance to characterize the Alexandrian Gospel with only these two sayings to go by, but if the sayings are typical, they point to a Gospel in which the accepted tradition was garnished by somewhat obvious reflections and by additions of a fanciful kind.

It remains only to be added that the saying quoted by Clement is practically identical with one of "the Sayings of Jesus" discovered at Oxyrhynchus in 1903 by Grenfell and Hunt. This has given rise to the suggestion that the Oxyrhynchus sayings were derived from the Alexandrian Gospel. That may be the case, but if it be so, it confirms the view that the Gospel, written probably in the early part of the second century, was a derivative writing, in which the material, although sometimes striking and not inharmonious with the evangelic tradition, did not bear the authentic stamp of the mind of Jesus.

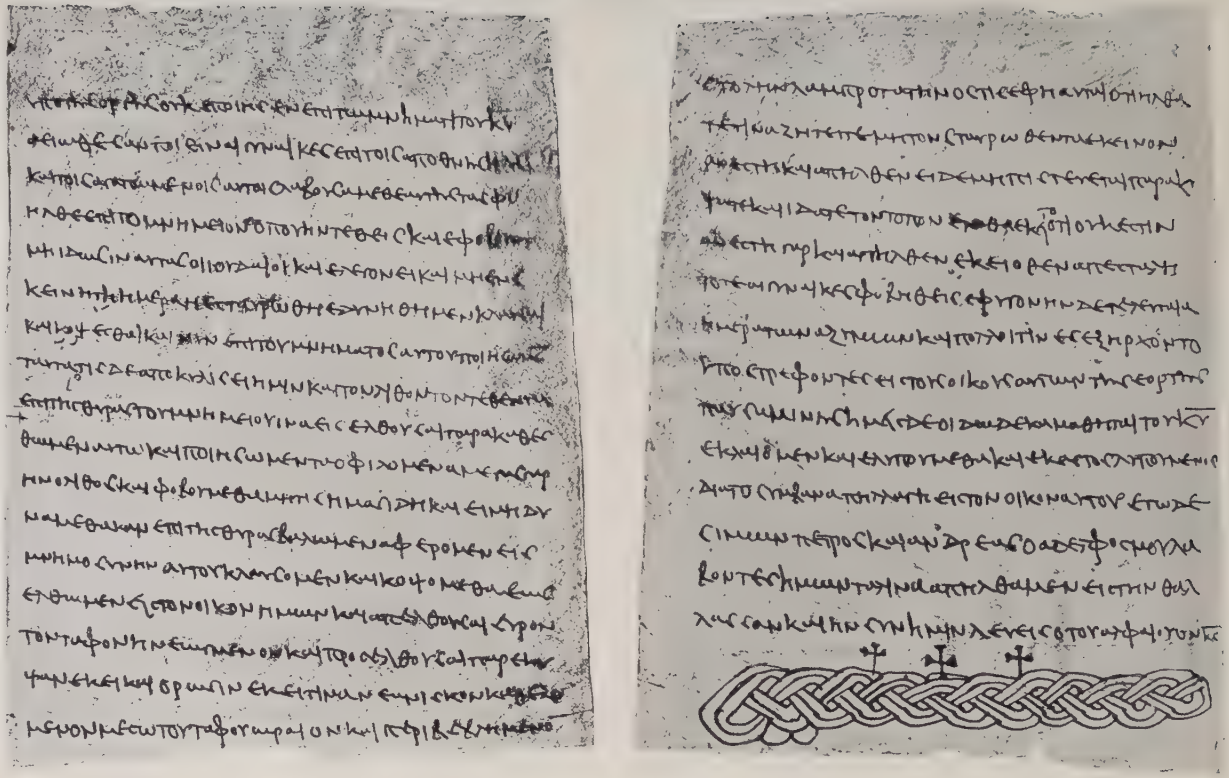
Gospel of the Ebionites.

The two Jewish-Christian Gospels which have been discussed, although they are to be regarded as secondary, are not in any sense documents of heresy. But the third Gospel in this group, the Gospel of the Ebionites (the Gospel of the Twelve Apostles), is a writing of an entirely different

character. It is one of the best examples of the type of Gospel in which the evangelic tradition was manipulated in the interests of a heretical sect. The Gnostic Ebionites, among whom the Gospel was current, were a party of Jewish Christians who rejected the Virgin Birth and saw in Jesus a mere man, on whom the Spirit descended at his baptism to fit him for his mission. In practice they were ascetics and vegetarians, looking with abhorrence on flesh as food and on the slaying of animals for sacrifice. The Gospel which they prepared made use of St. Matthew and St. Luke, and in these the most daring changes were made, so that the views of the sect might appear to have the authority of Christ. Two instances may be given. The saying "Think not that I came to destroy the law" appears in the Ebionite Gospel as "*I came to destroy sacrifices*", and the words in St. Luke (xxii. 15), which express the passionate desire of Jesus to eat the Passover with His disciples, are boldly changed into the opposite sense by reading: "*Have I, do you think, desired to eat this Passover flesh with you?*" The view taken of the person of Jesus is that He became Divine by adoption, by the entering of the Spirit into Him. There is only one other detail in this Gospel which may be mentioned. We read that after the Baptism of Jesus "*immediately there shone about the place a great light*"—an interesting early tradition which found wide acceptance especially in the East.

Gospel of Peter.

We now come to the consideration of a Gospel whose interest in recent years is associated with the romance of excavation in Egypt. The Gospel of Peter was known to scholars by name, but forty years ago all that one could have said about it was that it represented the brethren of our Lord to be the children of Joseph by a former marriage, and that it was a heretical writing of docetic tendency—a writing, that is, which set forth our Lord's humanity as not wholly real. In 1892, however, a large fragment of the lost Gospel was published from a little parchment book, which had been



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REDUCED FACSIMILE OF PORTIONS OF THE AKHMÎM FRAGMENT OF THE APOCRYPHAL GOSPEL OF ST. PETER

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discovered a few years before in the ancient Christian cemetery at Akhmîm in Upper Egypt.

The fragment contains an account of the Passion and Resurrection of Jesus which is considerably longer than any of the canonical narratives. There are details and passages which are entirely new, but in general the narrative is similar to those which are familiar to us, and close examination shows that the writer had made skilful use of all the New Testament Gospels. One feature strikes the reader at once; the Gospel exonerates Pilate from the guilt of condemning Jesus and betrays a strong antipathy to the Jews, on whom the whole responsibility for the death of Jesus is laid. In this we have a clear reflection of the embittered relations existing between Christians and Jews in the middle of the second century when the Gospel appeared, and of the eager desire of Christians at that time to stand well in the eyes of the Roman authorities.

An apologetic tendency is also seen in the writer's purpose to put beyond dispute the fact of the Resurrection of Jesus. Details are multiplied to show how groundless was the common allegation that the body had been removed from the tomb by the disciples, but the climax of the writer's vindication of the faith of Christians is reached in a description of the Resurrection itself, which was witnessed by Roman soldiers and by Jewish elders who had come to watch at the sepulchre. It was no uncommon thing in some early Christian circles to have recourse to fictitious narratives for the purpose of safeguarding the interests of faith. Men, in whom the historical conscience was feeble, were easily persuaded that events necessary to establish beliefs which they firmly held *must* have happened, and from that it was a short step to the statement that they had actually occurred.

The docetic views of the writer do not appear so clearly in the fragment as one would have expected from the information given by Eusebius that they were the cause of the condemnation of the Gospel by the Bishop of Antioch at the close of the second century. But it may be assumed that in the portion of the Gospel which has not survived docetic traits

were more noticeable, and we should be able to say so with certainty and to have a clear idea of their character, if Dr. Montague James's opinion (published 1927) were definitely established that he has discovered in two Latin Infancy Gospels traces of a narrative which was drawn from the Gospel of Peter. For in that narrative it is plainly indicated that the Birth of Jesus was a birth only in appearance.

We cannot do more than refer to the conviction which is gaining ground that the fragment of the *Revelation of Peter*, which was found in the same manuscript as the Gospel, was an integral part of the Gospel. The fragment contains a Vision of Heaven and a Vision of Hell granted to the twelve disciples, and it is important as being the earliest of a series of Revelations, whose conceptions find a splendid consummation in Dante's *Divina Commedia*.

Passing now to the Apocryphal Gospels which supplement the canonical narrative, we deal first with those of the Infancy and Childhood of Jesus.

Protevangelium.

The earliest of these Gospels is the so-called PROTEVANGELIUM OF JAMES, which tells the story of Mary's birth as a wonder-child, of her upbringing in the Temple at Jerusalem, of her espousal to Joseph who was miraculously chosen as her protector, of the marvellous birth of Jesus in a cave near Bethlehem, followed by the visit of the magi and the massacre of the Innocents. In its present form the Protevangelium dates from the fifth century, but the greater part of the book was written probably early in the second century and was known to Origen as " the Book of James ".

It is important to realize why a romance like the Protevangelium came to be written. It is not sufficient to say that Christian people were eager to know more about the antecedents and birth of Jesus than was recorded in the Gospels current in the Church. That doubtless was true, but it was quite another interest, and that a vital one, which led to the

circulation of stories such as the Protevangelium contains. Christians were concerned above everything for the Divine dignity of Jesus, and that was compromised in many minds by calumnies diligently spread by enemies of their faith. The story of the Virgin Birth lent itself all too easily to base misrepresentations, and when coarse aspersions were cast on the character of Mary, the need was felt for incontestable proofs which should place the Divine origin of Jesus beyond question. The Protevangelium came in answer to that need; it was " the natural fruit of the indignation " aroused in Christian hearts by the vile slanders of the Jews.

The Protevangelium is a work of pious imagination, and as a story it is told attractively and with true artistic feeling. But from beginning to end the writer never forgot the serious object which he had in view, the establishment of faith in Christ's Divine dignity on an unshakable foundation. The early history of Mary was conceived in a way that seemed fitting for one chosen to be the mother of the Saviour; an atmosphere of miracle surrounded her birth and she grew up in the Temple in spotless purity, fed by the hand of an angel. The miraculous conception was established by irrefragable proofs, so that even the Jewish authorities were convinced, and what was even more wonderful—Mary remained a virgin after giving birth to Jesus. The aim of the writer had been triumphantly attained; nothing was wanting to make it indubitably clear that He who had been born of Mary was a Divine being.

The Protevangelium had a profound influence in the history of the Church. It gave an impulse to the veneration of Mary, which ended in her adoration as the Queen of Heaven. It stimulated the appetite for stories of a similar kind, and these appeared in ever-increasing numbers, no longer in answer to any doctrinal need but simply as romances to entertain and edify. The Protevangelium was officially condemned in the West, but by means of forged letters the authority of Jerome was invoked in favour of a writing, known as the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, in which the material of the Protevangelium,

greatly embellished, was once more given to the public, along with additions from the Childhood Gospel of Thomas. In this writing, belonging to the early Middle Ages, we find for the first time the ox and the ass in adoration at the manger, a detail that had its origin, like some other apocryphal stories, in a suggestion from the Old Testament (*Isaiah* i. 3)

Gospel of Thomas.

Altogether different in character from the Protevangelium is another second-century writing, the Childhood Gospel of Thomas, in which are recorded wonderful deeds wrought by the boy Jesus and the astonishing knowledge possessed by Him. There is evidence which points to the stories having been taken from a Gnostic work, where, one would judge, their purpose was to show that even as a child Jesus was raised above all human limitations. In popular Church circles the stories were welcomed, while the esoteric teaching associated with them was cut out. Several of the wonders described are wicked and spiteful exhibitions of power; others are mere marvels devoid of any ethical significance; and only rarely do we find anything that reminds us of the compassionate healing ministry of Jesus. On the whole the picture given us is shocking to the moral sense, and one is filled with amazement that a collection of stories, in which there is hardly a glimmer of the spirit of Jesus, should have been read in Christian circles. But their popularity seems to show that in the desire to find in Christ's childhood some testimony to His Divinity there were Christians for whom the character of a miracle was as nothing compared with its display of supernatural power.

Gospel of Nicodemus.

An apocryphal writing of the fifth or sixth century, to which much later the name of the Gospel of Nicodemus was given, supplements the evangelic tradition by a detailed account of the Trial, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus and by a description of His Descent to Hades. The earlier part

of the Gospel, the *Acts of Pilate*, which may be based on a second-century document, belonged to the fourth century, and to it the *Descensus ad inferos* was later appended. Of the Acts of Pilate we need say nothing save that in the manner of the Gospel of Peter but with greater fulness of detail they sought by means of fictitious incidents to establish beyond the reach of doubt faith in the Resurrection and Ascension of Jesus. What gives the Gospel of Nicodemus its peculiar interest is its dramatic account of the Harrowing of Hell, when Jesus descended to the underworld after His death on the Cross. The *Descensus* had a great fascination for Christians from the first century onwards; the early idea associated with it was Christ's preaching to the saints of the Old Testament that they might be assured of salvation, but later there came the thought of a great deliverance wrought by Christ, whereby the souls of the righteous were set free from the power of Hades and raised to enjoy the bliss of Paradise. It is this latter conception, wrought out with great imaginative power, that we find in the Gospel of Nicodemus.

Conclusion.

The conclusion to be drawn from our survey of the chief Apocryphal Gospels is plain. Interesting and important as they are in giving us some insight into the mind of early Christians, they are not to be considered as sources of evangelic history, but rather enable us to realize by way of contrast how great a possession we have in the Gospels of the New Testament.

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PART III

THE EARLY CHURCH

CHAPTER I

The Theology of the New Testament

"Theology, what is it but the science of things divine?" Strictly speaking, the word should be reserved to describe the doctrine of God. But Hooker in this definition gives to it the extended meaning in which it is commonly used to-day and in which we use it here. By the theology of the New Testament we mean the ordered account of those ideas concerning God, concerning God's relation to man and man's relation to God, actual and potential, which find expression in the literature of the New Testament. A full treatment of the subject would include also some attempt to discover the forces spiritual and intellectual which gave rise to these ideas and the influences which went to their formulation. But one of the causes which has contributed most effectively to the modern view of the New Testament is the discovery that these ideas are not uniform. It was once thought possible to deduce from the various documents of which the New Testament is composed a uniform and homogeneous theology, to which all the various writers would, so to say, have subscribed. But closer study has revealed a very different situation. Instead of one type of religious thought common to all the documents we have to begin by recognizing many types, almost as many indeed as are the writers involved. And in particular there are three major types, the Synoptic, the Pauline, and the Johannine, along with certain others which may be called minor, as less fully elaborated and less influential upon later thinking. Of these the Epistle of James, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the first Epistle of Peter are representatives. All of these are

definitely Christian, inasmuch as they represent the results of the impact of Christ upon the religious ideas of later Judaism, results which were in some respects revolutionary. But they differ from one another in consequence of the idiosyncrasies of the writers, leading to wide variation in the selection of ideas, in the mode of their presentation and in emphasis. Even within the major types themselves complete uniformity is not to be looked for. The Johannine documents may show little internal variety; but the Pauline are marked by certain indications of change or development, and the Synoptic Gospels when compared with one another show even more clearly the successive effects of reflection, experience, and possibly assimilation from other sources. In a word, the older view of the New Testament, as embodying a system of thought or doctrine which was static and wholly harmonious, was so far from the truth that we ought to look on it rather as introducing us to a world of religious thought which has been thrown into solution and violently agitated, one in which we see the transition taking place from the old to the new, a transition the successive stages of which are registered in successive groups of documents.

The Synoptic Gospels

It is highly probable that no one of the Synoptic Gospels was in existence, in the form in which we have it, prior to the death of Paul. And were the documents to be taken in strict order of chronology the Pauline Epistles would come before the Synoptic Gospels. But, on the one hand, internal evidence leaves no doubt that Paul was acquainted with the traditions regarding our Lord's ministry out of which the Gospels were formed, that he had before his mind a clear outline of His character, and that he knew not a little of the contents of His teaching. On the other hand, we may take it for granted that while Mark embodies narratives and records which must have taken shape two or three decades earlier than the date of his work, Matthew and Luke incorporate not only the greater part of Mark but another document (known as Q)

the sources of which are at least as early as those of Mark. And if, as a theory recently put forth would lead us to believe, the matter in Luke which is independent alike of Mark and Q represents the original draft of the third Gospel compiled about A.D. 45, then the result of fifty years' investigation would be to give us the three Synoptic Gospels embodying, each with modifications of its own, one or more of three earlier sources. It is the task of New Testament theology to collect with all needed correction and to correlate the evidence contained in these sources.

The Conception of God.

The essential quality of any religion is given in the conception of God which it cherishes and seeks to express. And Judaism and Christianity have this in common to differentiate them from most other religions that they both start from a conception of God as having character and having a character which is known. In other words, Christianity as a system of theological ideas is built upon the revelation of God recorded in the Old Testament more particularly as it was formulated by the great prophets. Thus, for the writers of the Synoptic Gospels, as for all the other writers in the New Testament, God is one; " beside him there is no other ". He was creator of heaven and earth. He is " merciful and gracious, and abundant in goodness and truth; yet will by no means clear the guilty ". He has chosen Israel to be in a peculiar sense His people; and though because of their unfaithfulness the nation has been subjected to a foreign yoke, yet God is one who is pledged by many promises to intervene for their deliverance, as some would say from political servitude, or according to others " from their sins ". So He was to manifest Himself as a just God and a Saviour. But according to a further expectation which fluctuated between clearness and vagueness, that intervention was not to be direct and personal but through the agency of one whom God would raise up, whether a man or more than man, who was to execute judgment upon the enemies of the Jews and " restore the kingdom to Israel ".

Whether this figure was described vaguely as " he that should come ", or more definitely as the Anointed One, the Messiah, or the Christ, the expectation to which it gave form and substance was bound up with the Jewish conception of God and forms part of the background of Synoptic theology.

This conception of God, Jesus is represented by the Synoptic Gospels as holding, reproducing, and enlarging, enlarging in such a way as to transform it. God was for Him the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the Lord of Heaven and Earth, without whom no sparrow falls to the ground, the one and only God, alone perfect and alone good. He causes His sun to shine on the just and the unjust. For Him all things are possible. He is the sovereign judge of men, able to destroy both body and soul. He is the moral ruler of mankind demanding obedience to His will under penalties which extend beyond this life. To this conception, however, taken over from Judaism, Jesus added a new and transforming factor. He taught, rather by exemplifying than by making it the subject of instruction, the Fatherhood of God.

We must be careful neither to overstate the novelty nor to underestimate the significance of what His followers learned from Him on this subject. The idea of the Divine Fatherhood had not failed to present itself to the mind of the Hebrew people, as indeed it has been present to the minds of most primitive peoples. It is, nevertheless, very curious that allusions to it are so rare as they are in the Old Testament (not a dozen cases in all). Neither are they much more frequent in the intercanonical literature. Nevertheless they occur, and moreover they make it plain that the all-important transition has been already made from the primitive form of the conception according to which the relation rested upon a supposed physical descent of the people from the god, to the moral form where it depends upon choice and is conditioned by character.

Jesus was therefore not the author of the idea even in this form. Nevertheless, through His teaching and influence it acquired an absolutely new importance in religion. He employed this designation for God with a freedom and direct-

ness hitherto unknown. He employed it, as no one had ever done before, as the dominating and normative aspect of God in His relation to men. We may contrast with the habit of His speech the silence of the Psalms. There, if anywhere, where the language of religious devotion reaches its highest level in richness and variety, we should expect to find God addressed as Father. But it is not so, and the contrast when we examine the speech of Jesus is very striking. On His lips the name " my Father " or " your Father " displaces almost entirely every other name for God. And that it is no empty title appears from the fact that the gratuitous love and faithfulness which the name connotes, is precisely the aspect of the Divine Character which finds special emphasis and illustration in His teaching. Yet even more effective than this habitual assumption of the Divine Fatherhood was the fact observed by His disciples that His whole life was ordered and moulded by the conviction of its reality. It was by living out the relationship before their eyes that He did most to impress its truth upon their minds. He was the first man to know God as He really is. And through the communication of Himself to others they came to know God as Father too.

Jesus assumes that God is the Father of all men; He does not assume that all men are His sons. The relationship is for men potential. It requires to be realized in thought and practice, recovered, it may be, through penitence. And for Jesus this was one aspect of the highest good, that men should " know the Father ", in the sense given to the word " know " in Hebrew literature where it connotes the intimacy of close friendship, mutual understanding, and care. For the prophets it had been the goal, the goal of religious hope that men should " know the Lord " in this sense. For Jesus the goal was that they should " know the Father ". And He presented Himself as the indispensable organ and mediator of this knowledge. He, and He alone, had it; He, and He alone, had the power to communicate it; and it lay with Him to determine to whom the revelation should be made.

The Kingdom of God.

Another new factor in religious thinking—new not in form but in significance—was introduced by Jesus in His teaching about the Kingdom of God. Again, the roots of the conception lie far back in the Old Testament, in the thought of God as King over His people, in the predictions of an everlasting kingdom for the descendants of David, and in the picture in Daniel of the time when the successive world-empires would give place to an ideal kingdom, the rule of the people of God. But in the teaching of Jesus the idea has been so transformed as almost to lose touch with these earlier anticipations, has become so central as to compel the closest attention, and so plastic as almost to defy definition. In parable after parable He seeks to set forth the character of the Kingdom, its supremacy over every other human interest, the manner of its growth and the certainty of its consummation. It is something which is still lying in the future, something which God will " give " to the little flock, something for whose coming they are to pray. At the same time it is contemplated as something present. It is " in you " (or " among you "). It is " not of this world ". It " comes not with observation ". The young ruler who showed religious intelligence was " not far from the Kingdom "; that is to say, its distance was measurable not by time, but by the moral receptivity of men. It is therefore not merely something for which they are to wait, but something which they are to seek, to seek as for hid treasure, something which, when found, they are to enter. These so various and, in some respects, so contrary characteristics can only be subsumed under the statement that by the Kingdom Jesus meant both the rule and the realm of God. It was that realm of persons within which His sovereignty was accepted wholly, His will cheerfully obeyed. It stood also for God's rule, that sovereignty acceptance of which by individuals bound them together in a sacred society, the realm of persons within which God's will was done. Ideally, in its destined consummation, the Kingdom was still in the future.

Its growth though slow was sure, its consummation part of the determined purpose of God. But at the same time it was already present, within the reach of men; and the wise man will count no cost too great to secure it, to enter it, to become a member of the sacred society.

The same quality of pricelessness unites the idea of the Kingdom with those of ' life ', ' saving one's life ', and ' eternal life '. ' Life ', starting from the Jewish idea of life in the Messianic Age, is presented in the Synoptic Gospels as life on a higher plane, life that is life indeed, a life that is not lived by bread but by the total self-communication of God. The ' soul ' is the faculty in man whereby he can enter into communication with the spiritual world, whereby he can become partaker in this ' life '. To lose it is to forfeit the possibility of the higher life. When described in terms of ' life ' or ' salvation ' the *summum bonum* is contemplated in its individual aspect; when described in terms of the Kingdom the same goal is presented in its social form. But all these terms have this in common, that they denote the highest good of men, in the form in which Jesus bids them seek it.

Sin.

The great hindrance to entering the Kingdom, the great danger to the capacity for ' life ' is sin. At this point in His teaching, in His teaching about sin, Jesus makes perhaps the sharpest break with the official teaching of His time. By that the emphasis had come to be placed upon the punctual performance of ritual obligations, the punctilious avoidance of ritual uncleanness, whereby the Jew kept his place within the sacred People, and so continued to share in the favour of God arising from His choice of the nation. The things which ' defiled ' a man, i.e. disqualified him from public worship, were therefore external contacts with objects ritually unclean. For offences of another kind, offences committed " with uplifted hand ", in which were included most of those which we reckon as sin, the sacrificial system made no provision. The man who was guilty of these was " cut off from his

people ". This, the common doctrine of His time, was roundly repudiated by Jesus. Giving a deeper meaning to ' defile ', He proclaimed that what disqualifies a man for communion with God is what comes out of a man, the results of his disposition and the direction of his will. And the catalogue of such things which He gives in illustration prove on examination to consist almost entirely (" blasphemy " meaning vituperation of our fellow-men) of the things which a man does to others, whether individuals or members of a group such as the family. In branding such things as sin, as what cuts a man off from God, Jesus revealed the fact that God takes under His protection the well-being and happiness of men, alike of the individual and the group. What injures them in person, property, or self-respect, injures Him.

Such sins as we commonly account the grosser, and not infrequently as the only ones to be reckoned with, Jesus also sets in the light of the danger they involve of forfeiting the supreme boon of ' life '. These are they in which the organs of the body, such as eye or hand or foot, serve as the instruments of an evil disposition. He represents the danger arising from these as so great that a man will wisely sacrifice the member which thus ministers to his evil desire, if so be he might at such a cost enter into ' life '. It may be true that He does not expressly denounce sins of that class; but no language could make more vivid His sense of the danger they involve.

The Remedy.

To enable men to meet this danger of forfeiting the capacity for higher life and entrance into the Kingdom Jesus issued two categorical demands. The one was that they should " repent and believe ". By repentance He meant a complete change of attitude towards God and the world and other men. By belief He meant faith in God, complete trust in Him as the Father in heaven whose care found the highest illustration, yet an inadequate one, in the care of a human father for his children, a trust which counteracted all anxiety about the

things of this life. And this faith He called on men to exercise " in the gospel ", that is, in view of the great news He was proclaiming that the Kingdom of God was at hand, the fulfilment of the ancient promise of a new Order, based on a new covenant, under which the rule of God would be loyally and cheerfully accepted.

This demand for repentance and faith in God was reiterated by Jesus in a positive and more definitely ethical form in the command that men should love God with all their hearts and their neighbour as themselves. For this involved the same reversal of the current of a man's interest. Hitherto directed wholly on the self (however its true direction might be obscured) it was to be henceforth directed on to the not-self, recognized on the one hand as God, and on the other as the human ' neighbour '. If it be true, as McTaggart has maintained, that " love is not only the highest thing in the universe, but the only thing. Nothing else has true reality ", then this demand of Jesus deserves the place He gives it as the one positive and universal commandment He lays down. Other precepts of His which are recorded either refer to particular circumstances or to particular types of character, or prove to be illustrative examples of the central demand.

Jesus and the Kingdom.

The Synoptic Gospels represent Christ as the impersonation of the Kingdom. It has arrived because He has come. This is in accordance with that idiom of Hebrew thought which so identifies the head of the group with the group to which he belongs, the father with the family, the King with the Kingdom, that what can be predicated of the one can be predicated of the other. Jesus is conceived as summing up in His person the essential qualities of the Kingdom, faith, obedience, love toward God, superiority to the forces of evil, life that is beyond the reach of death. And it follows that men's relation to the Kingdom is conditioned by their relation to Him. Upon that relation depends a man's attainment of the *summum bonum*, his true happiness in this life and the life

to come. Thus Christ's " whole doctrine can be conceived ", as Harnack says, " as a message of the Kingdom ". And Jesus Himself is part of His Gospel.

The Christology of the Synoptic Gospels comprises two distinguishable elements. There is the record of what may be called the spontaneous revelation of the character and nature of Jesus, culminating in certain glimpses of His own consciousness regarding Himself; and there is the evidence, partly direct and partly indirect, as to the interpretation which was put upon all they knew concerning Him by those who formed the inner circle of His disciples. What these Gospels thus provided is not a Christology so much as some of the material for a Christology, together with certain incipient forms into which these incomplete materials provisionally crystallized. And the reasons which led to certain conclusions regarding Jesus are more important than the conclusions themselves. For whereas the conclusions may have been inadequate, as failing to subsume all the relevant facts, the facts are there to invite a more complete synthesis such as indeed followed. Moreover, in so far as these inferences fail to take account of all the facts, the discrepancy will make us chary of asserting that the facts have been recorded in order to justify the inferences; some other motive must have been at work. Thus, it would not be correct to say that these Gospels, or any of them, were written in order to prove that Jesus was the Messiah, seeing that much else is recorded concerning Him beyond what is covered by the Messiahship. If, for example, the ' miracles ' were a proof of His Messiahship, and recorded for that purpose, why introduce the teaching? No one had ever expected that the Messiah would teach. It is of great significance that of the two earliest attempts to collect what was remembered about Jesus, one (Q) appears to have recorded one miracle only (if that); otherwise (apart from the narrative of the Passion, if that were included) it is wholly occupied with the discourses of Jesus.

The Impression Jesus made.

The features in the Synoptic portrait of Jesus, each of which must make its own contribution to a final Christology, may be summarized as follows. What made the widest appeal and ultimately the deepest impression was His ' grace '. This was a human quality, yet one which in Him was raised to such a power that it attracted the crowds, gathered in the disciples, enchained the inner circle. It was a radiant adequacy of self-bestowal, the atmosphere which love creates around itself. It sufficed to change the aspect of life for those who in any real sense attached themselves to Him; they surrounded Him joyously as " the children of the bride-chamber " surround the bridegroom, so that for them the practice of fasting became immaterial. Complementary to this was His uncompromising severity against evil, on which we have touched above. Men saw His anger kindled against inhumanity, especially when it claimed the sanction of religion; against the exploiting of the religious instincts and obligations of men for personal aggrandizement and gain; against self-complacency and the superciliousness of superior persons who " despised others "; against inconsistency between the faith professed and the conduct displayed, due not merely to ' hypocrisy ' but to refusal to think out the implications of faith and duty. They saw in Him one who, while neither censorious nor self-righteous, was scathing in His denunciation of such things, things from which they knew Him to be free. A third recorded feature was His ' authority ' or power, whether as felt, or observed, or claimed. The Scribes claimed and exercised authority almost without limit; but here was one whose authority was felt to be still greater and at the same time different. It was not, like their authority, coercive, but persuasive. Men obeyed His commandments because they accepted Himself. These Gospels record this authority as observed in operation in the healing of the sick, in the casting out of demons, in raising the dead and in control over nature. While the first two of these classes were parallelled by the psychic power exercised by others

besides Jesus, and the instances which fall under the other classes may exhibit a tendency to enhance the supernatural character of events which were capable of a different explanation, the significant thing for our purpose is that in face of all these manifestations of power there was a repeated demand that Jesus should give " a sign ", in other words, should produce some portent which would make it impossible for men not to believe. However we may regard the miracles or differentiate between them, it is clear that neither singly nor collectively were they appealed to or accepted as providing proof that Jesus was what He was understood as claiming to be. It was not their purpose to demonstrate anything. At the same time these Gospels show Him claiming authority or power to forgive sin, to legislate with an authority which superseded that of the Scribes and even of Moses himself, to decide to whom it should be granted to know the Father. On the other hand, the Synoptic Gospels contain no evidence that Jesus was looked on by His contemporaries as other than human. Even the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, in which His birth is traced to supernatural interference with the course of nature, do not shrink from ascribing to Him specifically human characteristics and describing Him in all respects as a man. He is not represented as omniscient or omnipotent any more than omnipresent. Peter does not hesitate to " rebuke " Him. The point at which a sense of difference between Him and other men begins to emerge is found in His moral superiority, the sense of which deepens towards moral supremacy, preparing the way for the later conviction that His was a character of moral perfectness. His followers saw in Him one who, while holding out the highest ideals of conduct, betrayed neither any cause for repentance nor any sign of it. They saw a ceaseless activity of love without flaw of selfishness. And he who loves perfectly both God and man is the perfect man.

His Self-consciousness.

These are the main features in the impression made by Jesus on His contemporaries, as we find it recorded in the

Synoptic Gospels. At the same time these Gospels afford us glimpses of His own self-consciousness which are also factors in their Christology. A new era in the history of God's dealing with men had commenced with His arrival. It was an era to which wise men and pious in the past had directed eager eyes. He was one the significance of whose presence upon earth was such that the reasons why He had 'come' or been 'sent' were of vital interest to Himself and to others. And the nature of that interest was disclosed in the facts that He alone could make known to men God as He really is, and that the ultimate destiny of men was conditioned by the attitude they took up to Him. Further light upon His self-consciousness might be looked for from the descriptions or titles which He either accepted or used of Himself. Among these "Son of David" and "Son of God" were synonyms for the Messiah and add nothing to what was involved in that title. "Son of Man", which He used freely to describe Himself, had associations so many and so disparate (human weakness in Ezekiel, symbolic representative of the ideal Kingdom in Daniel, apocalyptic figure of Messiah in Enoch, agent of God's delivering purpose in Psalm lxxx) that its meaning in reference to Himself is quite ambiguous. And this may have been among the reasons which commended it to Him. It was arresting; it invited more questions than it answered; it connected Him with the hope of Israel; it combined the suggestions of lowliness and Divine appointment. Yet it was so plastic that He could put His own meaning into it. He was the Son of Man; but men were to learn from Him the meaning of the phrase. It is, however, His description of Himself as "the Son" which allows us to penetrate most deeply into His self-consciousness. He uses it absolutely without qualification or explanation; and as correlative to His frequent use of "Father" or "my Father" it involves a claim to unity with God in whatever quality is to be taken as characteristic of the Godhead

Messiahship.

The highly complex impression which Jesus thus produced

on those who knew Him in the flesh constituted a problem for which various solutions were offered. Some said He was a prophet; others identified Him with one of the prophets of old. When directly challenged by Jesus, Peter speaking for the group of disciples said, " Thou art the Messiah "; that was the formal interpretation of the person of Christ which was reached by the Synoptic Gospels.

This title must not be assumed to identify Jesus with any, still less with all, of the various types of Messianic expectation which were current at the time. The differences between Jesus and any of these types were at least as marked as the correspondences. And it is not possible to say what factor or factors in the self-manifestation of Jesus led to this recognition on the part of Peter. What he did was to apply to the Master the highest conception available to describe a human being, one which assigned to Him the central place in the carrying out of God's promised deliverance. The title characterized Him truly but not completely. It did not even give complete expression to the total impression which Jesus had made on His followers. Much of that remained to be gathered in subsequent and wider designations. Jesus Himself accepted the title, and in so doing acknowledged a vocation which included at least the rôle of Divinely commissioned Deliverer, of King in the Kingdom of God and of Judge of men. At what period of His life the sense of His vocation had come to Him it is not possible to say. It must have been present to Him before His Baptism, at which it received confirmation, and before His Temptations, each of which was addressed to the Messianic consciousness. But although the effect of His total self-communication was to lead to this recognition by His disciples, it had been no part of His purpose to encourage such recognition on the part of the people at large or the crowds who gathered round Him. He repeatedly enjoined silence on those who were inclined to proclaim Him promiscuously as the Messiah. For to have been widely accepted as such by people who neither knew nor understood His conception of Messiahship would have been to endanger His whole mission. In

this sense His Messiahship was a secret. Only to those who were in some degree truly attached to Him as 'disciples' or learners in His school could either the secret of His Messiahship or "the mystery of the Kingdom" be safely divulged.

The Synoptic Gospels record how immediately after Peter's acknowledgment of Jesus as Messiah he and his fellow-disciples were called upon to find room for a new element in their impression of the Master, one which completed the transformation of the Messianic conception. He whom they had just identified with the promised agent of deliverance was to be rejected of men and to die. This also had been present to the mind of Jesus since early in His ministry. The significance of that death and its value for men may have become plain to Him only at a later stage. It appears probable that He felt Himself called upon to combine with the vocation of Messiah that depicted in several passages of 2 Isaiah as the vocation of the suffering Servant of Jahveh; and that He found the explanation of the value and results of His impending sacrifice in the results claimed for the sufferings of the Servant. To this He refers in one of the only two passages in these Gospels in which He touches on the subject. He has come "to give His life a ransom for many", that is to say, by the sacrifice of His life to secure deliverance "for many" (the last words being an echo from Isaiah). These Gospels give no further explanation or application of this saying, nor yet of the other one, "This is my blood of the covenant which is shed for many." It is possible that the disciples understood these sayings in the light of other teaching which has not been recorded. Otherwise, they remained in their memory to yield their meaning in the light of subsequent events, of Scripture and of experience.

The Holy Spirit.

References to the Spirit of God are rare in Mark and Matthew but more frequent in Luke. In general, they provide a further illustration of the accuracy with which these Gospels reproduce the conceptions of their time. It is in connexion

with this conception of the Spirit that the distinction between the pre-Christian and the Christian periods is perhaps most clearly seen. In the Jewish Scriptures and later writings the Spirit is thought of as a Force, proceeding from God, the spirit of God acting like the word or the wisdom of God as an intermediary between the Creator and a finite world. Apart from a few passages in which the Spirit was spoken of in a way approaching to personification it was not credited with independence or initiative, or what we should call personality. It is the same view which prevails in the Synoptic Gospels. The Spirit is " the power of the Most High "; it comes upon individual men and women inspiring them for utterance and service. It descended upon Jesus at His Baptism, and afterwards " drove " Him into the wilderness. He is thenceforth regarded as endowed with the Spirit like the prophets of old, only more completely and more continuously. We have but few recorded allusions to the Spirit by Jesus Himself; and there is nothing in these (unless it be in the warning against " blaspheming " the Spirit) which goes beyond the conception which we find in the Old Testament, the Spirit as a divine power acting through men, whereby He Himself was enabled to do wonderful works. It has been pointed out with much probability that the idea may not have been entirely congenial to His mind. " His sense of God was immediate and personal. He may have felt that an idea like that of the Spirit removed God to a distance, or put an abstract power in the place of Him. His silence on the Spirit would result unconsciously from the effort to think of God directly as the Father who was ever near to His children." (*E. F. Scott.*)

Eschatology.

The subject of eschatology presents one of the most difficult problems in the study of the Synoptic Gospels. Both the amount and the character of our Lord's predictions regarding His Parousia or Second Coming are very difficult to ascertain with certainty. It is in the first place remarkable that none of these predictions is attached to any of the announcements

He made as to His impending death; all of these stop short at the resurrection. On the other hand, it is impossible to doubt that on more occasions than one He foretold His return in power and glory. Yet some influence seems to have been at work elaborating these predictions, giving them increased definiteness and combining with them many of the traditional features of Jewish eschatology. A careful comparison of these Gospels together with Q (assuming that Q as a whole did not differ from Q as we know it) reveals the presence of two well-marked tendencies in the shaping of this tradition. In Q, Mark, and Matthew we find a series of documents which display a tendency to increase the amount and to enhance the significance of our Lord's teaching along this line, a tendency to incorporate conventional features of Jewish Apocalyptic. If the Gospel of Matthew, which was composed probably about the year A.D. 85, insists more definitely than either of the others that there is to be a visible return of Christ within the lifetime of those who saw and heard Him, it is probably because the approach of the time when such predictions must be either fulfilled or finally disappointed, led to a feverish quickening of Apocalyptic expectations. It has been said of Matthew that he insists that both Anti-Christ and the Parousia are overdue. On the other hand, in the series Q, Luke, John, we may perceive at work a different method of facing the problem created by the lapse of time. Luke ignores the figure of Anti-Christ, interpreting the Abomination of Desolation in terms of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, while John eliminates the whole Apocalyptic tradition by transmuting the Second Coming into an immediate return of Christ as the Spirit-Paraclete.

The Transition to Pauline Theology

Between the contents of the Synoptic Gospels and the theological reflections of Paul stand the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, each of them making its all-important contribution to the interpretation of Christ and of Christianity.

Apart from the two proleptic sayings of Jesus regarding His death, there is no indication of any interpretation being put upon these events prior to their occurrence. The (late) ending of Mark witnesses to the belief that after Jesus was " received up " He " sat down at the right hand of God ", meaning that from henceforth Jesus was not thought of apart from God, or God apart from Jesus. But in general the silence of these Gospels on the implications of the death and resurrection of Jesus testifies to the purity of the tradition which they preserve. The beginning of such an interpretation is found in the early chapters of Acts, for which Luke probably employed some quite early sources, and in which we find evidence of a stage in Christian reflection, especially on the person of Christ, which is certainly pre-Pauline. The material for such reflection was stored up in the memories of those who had been witnesses of His life, death, and resurrection; the form in which it was cast was largely the result of an eager study of the Old Testament; the impulse to it was given by the necessity of accounting for one to whom His disciples had given loyalty, affection, and something which can only be described as faith. That already before the Crucifixion they had taken up such an attitude to Jesus is a direct and certain inference from the existence of the community to which came the experience of Pentecost. That the scattered and discomfited disciples of Jesus had reassembled, that they were prepared to receive and accept the appearances of the risen Master, that they took steps, as related, to restore the circle of the Twelve, that they, to the number of a hundred and twenty, were waiting for some great religious experience, of which Christ was to be the source, can only be due to the fact that in some sense and degree they had already ' believed on Him ' before the crucifixion. Not even the Resurrection was an event calculated to create religious faith; what it did was to revive a faith already there.

The early chapters of Acts, confirmed by the witness of Paul in First Corinthians, provide material scanty yet sufficient to enable us to recognize the incipient theology of the nascent

Church. It is possible to admit that the speeches of Peter and Stephen are not verbatim reports of what was said, and yet to feel sure that certain of the more important ideas contained in them were already current in the pre-Pauline Church. This is attested by their obviously primitive and provisional character.

Christology.

The starting-point of this interpretation was the conviction that Jesus was the Messiah, a conviction proclaimed with an enthusiasm which invited, and held with a tenacity which braved, persecution. Great stress was laid on the Resurrection in the light of which Jesus was seen to be Messiah in spite of the cross. Implications of His Messiahship which would quickly emerge were the ideas of His pre-existence, His Kingship in the Kingdom of God, and His function as the destined Judge of Men. Peter further describes Him as ' the prince of life ', using a word which implies that He at once inaugurates and controls the experience of Messianic salvation here described as ' Life '. In two passages Peter four times uses of Christ a word which A. V. translates ' son ' or ' child ' of God, but which more probably means ' servant '. Accepting the latter rendering we have distinct allusions to the Servant passages in Isaiah, and an indication that the combination of the functions of Messiah with the experiences of the Servant which had been made by Jesus, had not escaped the observation of His followers. The title ' Son of God ' is once given to Jesus, but does not take us beyond the position of the Synoptic Gospels, where it is a synonym for Messiah. The title ' Son of Man ', however, which is used by Stephen, at least opened the door to a vast significance for Christ. But the most pregnant of these descriptive appellations was ' Kyrios ' or ' Lord ', which appears as given to Christ already in the Acts; and along with the title were assigned to Him certain functions and attributes which to ears accustomed to the LXX Version would inevitably suggest one who enjoyed some at least of the attributes of Jehovah. To Christ so con-

ceived and described the Acts represents the disciples as addressing prayer (and prayer that He would forgive men) and worship. Yet it is ' Jesus ' to whom prayer is made, and in the name of ' Jesus ' that the Apostles taught. Neither were the miracles of Jesus ascribed to His independent initiative; they were wonders which " God did by him "; and for all the approximation of Christ to the dignities of God, Peter can still be content to say that " God was with him ".

References to the death of Jesus are but few in Acts; but it is definitely connected with " the determined counsel and foreknowledge of God ", and had indeed been foretold by " all the prophets ". Still, the connexion between the death of Jesus and the Divine plan remains unexplored; we only have it on Paul's authority that included in the primitive Gospel was the declaration that " Christ Jesus died for our sins according to the scriptures ".

The Holy Spirit.

The conception of the Holy Spirit which is reflected in Acts does not differ from that which meets us in the Synoptic Gospels or the Old Testament. The Spirit is still a Divine Force, something which is " shed forth ", and makes its presence felt in phenomena of a psycho-physical character. The most striking and abiding of these is the *glossolalia* or speaking with tongues, in which we are to see ecstatic speech, not comprehended by the hearers though acting by the power of association and suggestion so that those who were *en rapport* shared in the thought of the speakers. The community which came to self-consciousness as a " church " through the common possession of this Spirit was knit together in the closest bonds of brotherly fellowship of which the " community of goods " was the natural expression, and was sustained by the expectation of an immediate return of Christ as the Messiah with power.

The Theology of Paul

Paul became heir to these conceptions concerning Christ, His person, His death, and His early return, in the unanalysed form in which they were held by the primitive community. It is a serious mistake to represent him as either ignorant of or indifferent to the historical facts of the life and the teaching of Jesus. He must have been prepared for his work as ' persecutor ' by obtaining some knowledge of the beliefs which animated the disciples, and he cannot have carried out his task without learning more. After his conversion he was in touch with disciples both at Damascus and at Jerusalem; and throughout his career he must be supposed to have taken the many opportunities which would come to him to inform himself more fully concerning the life and teaching of Jesus and the interpretation which had already been put upon them. The opposite opinion is largely based upon a misunderstanding of a verse in 2 Corinthians, and is contrary to the evidence contained in Paul's Epistles. It can be shown not only that he was acquainted with the main facts in the history of Jesus and attached cardinal importance to His true humanity, but that much of the teaching of the Lord was known to him, probably through oral tradition, as well as so much information regarding His manner of life that Paul was able to draw many important inferences as to His character, e.g. His courtesy and considerateness, His obedience, His grace, and His endurance. There were therefore three factors at work in the shaping of Paul's ' theology ', the body of religious ideas with which as a Jew and a Jew of the Pharisaic school he had been indoctrinated, the far from inconsiderable amount of information which he had concerning Jesus, and those spiritual and ethical experiences which he shared with others who by an act of faith had committed themselves to Jesus as Lord. The correlation of these factors and the harmonious exposition of the result was the work of Paul as a thinker, and the thought-forms in which the results were expressed were largely shaped by the influence of the Old Testament.

The theology of Paul is best studied under the general aspect of Salvation, which is at once comprehensive of all his leading ideas, and significant as bringing his thought into at least formal relation with the religious needs and aspirations alike of Jew and Gentile. In his usage of the term, ' salvation ' describes the essential Christian experience as something which has been accomplished in the past, as a process which is going on in the present, and as a consummating experience in the future. The significance of the word itself is capable of wide variation, beginning with deliverance from physical danger and death, passing through deliverance from national disaster and degradation, and ending in that deliverance from sin, guilt, and alienation from God which issues in perfect character and eternal blessedness. In one form or other Salvation was craved for and looked for not only by the Jews but by large numbers of the peoples round the Eastern Mediterranean in the time of Paul. Many of the religious cults which at that time attracted the widest support did so by the offer of Salvation in some sense which commended itself to the needs or fears of the people; the message of the Church was " there is none other name under heaven whereby ye must be saved ". And the idea of Salvation provided a point of attachment between Paul's teaching and both the aspirations of Judaism and the cravings of the Gentile world, while it combined with great capacity for extension and deepening a valuable connexion with what was central in the religious expectation of the Jews.

Genesis of Paul's Theology.

The revolutionary change in Paul's thought and life took place when, on the road to Damascus, he was led to acknowledge Jesus of Nazareth, whose followers he was engaged in persecuting, as Messiah and Lord. The causes or the process which led to this startling reversal of the whole current of his life cannot be entered upon here. But the implications of it provide the framework for Paul's thinking as a Christian. Some of these doubtless remained for subsequent discovery.

But certain immediate inferences would follow from the recognition of Jesus as Messiah; e.g. that if he had come, then the Kingdom of God had come, and Salvation as a comprehensive description of the blessings of the Messianic Age was already within reach of men. In other words, the whole contents of Jewish eschatological hope moved forward from the plane of an undated future to the plane of an immediate present. The highest religious expectation was actually fulfilled; it became a present experience. Moreover, the fact that this took place through faith in a Messiah who had been crucified involved (though Paul may not have been at first aware of it) a profoundly significant change in his conception of God. The struggle which had gone on in Paul's mind over the claim made for Jesus that He was the Messiah was essentially a struggle between the old conception of God and a new one. If it was " by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge " of God that the Messiah had been delivered to die, then God must be other than Paul had learnt Him to be in the school of Pharisaism. Consciously, or unconsciously for the moment, Paul consented to that conception of God which was the conception of Jesus, one which included the Cross, the undeserved experience of shame and suffering, as a factor in the Divine method of salvation, the organ of the Divine purpose. The same synthesis between Divine holiness and Divine sacrifice was achieved by Paul looking back upon the crucifixion as had been achieved by Jesus looking forward to it.

Deliverance from Servitude.

What we call Paul's ' theology ' consists chiefly of the answers he gave to the questions: What must have happened in order that this gift of Salvation should be already ours? By what means have the obvious and insuperable barriers to its arrival been removed? His Christology, in like manner, arose out of the attempt to find a satisfying answer to the questions, Who then is this by whom these barriers have been removed, through whom this supreme gift has come to men, and what is His relation to God? The barriers which Paul recognized

were of three kinds, Servitude to other powers than God, Condemnation on the ground of transgression, and Alienation from God. Human life in the first century was largely shadowed and poisoned by fear and specially by fear of the unseen. The lower end of the scale of unseen hostile forces was represented by the demons as numerous, as invisible, and as injurious to men as germs are with us to-day. At the upper end were found the mighty forces, the " elemental powers of the universe ", " spirit forces of evil in the unseen ", classified sometimes as " angels, principalities, thrones, and powers ". When connected in imagination with the planets, the constellations, or the signs of the zodiac, they provided the background for the actual religion of Babylonia, which had not been without influence on the Jewish people. It could even be said by Stephen that God had handed over His people " to worship the host of heaven ". It was through the constant dread of these unknown and inscrutable forces that large sections of mankind passed their lifetime in bondage; they cringed before the unseen. The same phenomenon is observed to-day among peoples at the same level of civilization. " For the African," says Schweitzer, " Christianity is the light which shines in the night of fear. It assures him that he is not in the power of Nature-Spirits and ancestral ghosts, but that in all that happens the will of God maintains its sovereignty."

Another servitude under which Paul saw men labouring, especially the Jews, was the servitude of the Law. " Be not entangled again in that yoke of bondage," he writes to such Jewish Christians as might hear his letter to the Galatians read. And he would have said the same of any system of tabus, precepts, or regulations by the observance of which men thought to escape the anger of heaven. " The written code killeth " was one of his fundamental convictions.

The third form of servitude was the servitude of Sin. In nearly all his references to sin (in the singular) Paul is thinking of it not as we think of it, but as an external almost personal force, one which is there prior to, and apart from, any consent to it on the part of man. He regards it in fact

as one of the evil spirit-forces; it entered humanity from without, and so opened a door for the entrance of Death, who is regarded as an objective power of evil. Sin has thus come to have dominion over men, ruling over them both from without and from within, and using as the organ of its power the 'flesh' or physical constitution of man, which though originally 'good' had come historically to be the seat and instrument of evil. Paul probably took over from Jewish tradition the view that this situation was due to the disobedience of Adam. But the only use he makes of this is to appeal to the common view that Adam had entailed subjection to sin upon his descendants though they had not personally deserved it, as an illustration of what he believed to be the result of Christ's great act of obedience, namely, that it secured deliverance from that servitude even for those whose only ground of claim was their faith in Him. The universality of Sin, on which he laid great emphasis, was for him simply a fact of observation. "All have sinned, and show that they lack the glory of God."

From all these forms of servitude Paul held that Christ had (potentially at least) set men free. The word which he used to describe this act of Christ and this experience of men was Redemption, in the sense of emancipation, deliverance. He gives us no reason to raise the question, what was the price paid, still less the question, to whom was it paid. "For freedom Christ has made you free." From every form of spiritual, religious, or moral servitude Christ had emancipated men, potentially all men, actually all who had faith in Him.

As to the way in which this had been accomplished by Christ, it is not difficult to ascertain Paul's theory, when we collect the indications he gives under each of these heads. The essential thing in each case was the entire oneness of Christ with humanity, coupled with His headship of the new humanity which is to be. He was one with mankind through His incarnation, 'made of a woman', one with the Jews, 'made under the law', one with men in that he bore 'the form of a servant', i.e. in all except consent to it, shared man's relation to Sin

and the other hostile forces. At the same time He was the Adam of a new race, its head and representative, not in the modern but in the ancient connotation of the word. With us a ' representative ' owes his position to choice or appointment, and he may lose it. For the ancients the representative character of the head of a family, a clan, or a nation was inherent and inalienable. What he did they were held to have done. And, if the primary condition of Christ's work in Redemption was for Paul the incarnation, the taking by Christ of a true manhood, human nature as it had come to be through inherited propensity, the second element in his explanation points to Christ's death, in which according to an illuminating passage in Colossians He had stripped off from Himself the flesh, that which gave the spirit-forces of evil their opportunity of attack, and by His resurrection manifested His triumph over them. The Cross thus pronounced the doom of Sin, and of all those evil forces under whose dominion men groaned. They had been ultimately responsible for the death of Christ (*1 Corinthians*, ii, 6, 8), but were now rendered innocuous; man was delivered from the fear of them and could be delivered from their power, from the Law as a yoke, from Sin as bondage, from the terror of Fate and the dominion of Death.

Justification.

The second barrier to Salvation was Condemnation, that status, the opposite of righteousness, into which men had automatically fallen through transgression of the known will of God. Paul's thought and language here move wholly on the forensic plane. The ' guilt ' of which he thinks is not such as a modern man is conscious of in the secret of his own heart; it is the condition in the eye of the law of one who has been convicted. And the righteousness by which he sees it cancelled is not, in the beginning at least, ethical goodness; it is just acquittal, the reversal of the verdict of guilt. The name by which this is commonly known is Justification. And Paul's first conviction on the subject was that any attempt on man's part to secure his own acquittal, to earn it either

by obedience or by ritual observance, was both hopeless and wrong. His almost vindictive criticism of the Law as a system was due to the fact that it had held out the hope that by its strict observance it was possible to recover this righteousness. " He that doeth these things shall live." In his own case a long-sustained and almost passionate attempt thus to compass " his own righteousness " had been a failure. And the same Law which had encouraged him to hope now condemned him to despair. " A ban be on everyone who abideth not in all the things written in the book of the law, to do them." But the Gospel was " a Divine Force unto salvation " because therein was conveyed unto those who believed a Divine righteousness, a righteousness which was from God, an acquittal which should prove the starting-point of an ethical process the end of which would be a righteousness like that of God. This righteousness reached men through " the grace ", that is, the undeserved favour, of God; it was granted " to faith and on the ground of faith "; God was at once Himself just and the justifier of him who founded on faith in Christ. There was henceforth no condemnation. The sentence was reversed. Former sins were passed over through the forbearance of God. Man could start as it were on level terms again.

It is probable that had Paul been asked the question he would have said that in this way the righteousness of God was vindicated. With his intimate knowledge of the Old Testament he must have been aware that for the prophets and psalmists there was the closest connexion between what they meant by the righteousness of God and the salvation or deliverance of His people. It was by such deliverance that God was expected to manifest His righteousness. Nevertheless, that is not the conclusion to which the Apostle points in the famous passage in *Romans* iii. There is no reason to suppose that he is thinking specially about the sins of bygone generations, or that he draws a distinction between the ' passing over ' and the ' remission ' of sins, or that he felt that any such passing over had led to the impugning of the Divine righteousness. He is concerned with the sins of himself and the

men of his own generation, and with the righteousness of God as it is manifesting itself in the form of the salvation of His people. Neither does he teach that anything had been needed to make God willing to justify men, to confer on them this status of righteousness. What was needed was something which qualified and enabled them to receive it, that was the condition of their receiving it. And that was 'faith'; and what evoked faith was Christ upon the cross 'commending the love of God'.

Reconciliation.

The third barrier to Salvation which Paul believed to have been effectively removed by Christ was Alienation from God, resulting in suspicion, dislike, even hatred of God on the part of man. Herein he revealed a conception of sin and its consequences deeper and more religious than that underlying the doctrine of Justification.

'Remission of sin', 'acquittal' did not reach the full meaning of what we understand by forgiveness, which involves the complete restoration of happy relation and fellowship. Paul saw that the effect of sin was not exhausted in condemnation or punishment, that indeed its worst effect was to be found in the severing of the relation between His children and God. Men were "cut off from the life of God". Something more than Justification was required. Paul calls it Reconciliation. This was indeed the heart of his Gospel. "God was in Christ reconciling mankind unto himself." "We pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God." It is to be noted that he nowhere suggests that God either required to be or was reconciled to men. Even in those passages in which he speaks of men as 'enemies' of God, it is certain in most cases and probable in all that he is thinking of human hostility to God. (In *Romans* xi. 28, the word may mean "treated as enemies".)

The Death of Christ a Sacrifice.

There is no room in Paul's teaching for any suggestion that something had to be offered to God as though " to placate an angry Deity ". This is true even in view of the familiar verse in *Romans* iii, where serious misunderstanding has been caused by the use of the word ' propitiation ', which introduces a range of ideas quite foreign to Paul's thinking. If the passage is carefully studied in the full context of the Epistle, and the word is given its simple etymological meaning, what Paul says is that God set forth Christ as one able and intended to restore friendly relations, that is, as one who by His death rightly understood would reconcile men to God. The thought is, in fact, the same which we find crystallized in the fourth Gospel: " I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me." An earlier passage in the same Gospel (" As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up ") suggests the source of the imagery which was before the mind of Paul also. As Moses set the brazen serpent on a pole, so God set forth Christ upon the cross. As the serpent was the symbol of the mischief from which the Israelites were suffering, so Christ had been to such an extent identified with sin (short of any consent to it) that He could be said to have been " made sin for us ". And as the gaze of the stricken Israelite directed to the symbol of vanquished evil brought healing, so beholding Christ upon the cross with understanding of the meaning of His sacrifice wrought peace with God within the soul.

There are other passages in Paul in which he alludes to Christ's death as a sacrifice, but no other which even appears to define the character of that sacrifice. And if it be not here, then there is no reason to credit Paul with the view that the sacrifice of Christ was in any sense penal, expiatory, or substitutionary.

That Paul regarded the death of Christ as a sacrifice, one willed by God and one acceptable to God, there can be no manner of doubt, nor yet that for him the death of Christ was

the cardinal point in the process whereby God wrought the salvation of man in all its forms and implications. Thus he makes it clear that Christ's death was " on our behalf ", " for our benefit "; that therein He gave Himself for men. Further, it was a sacrifice " in connexion with sin ", " on account of our sins ". Its purpose and result were to restore or establish a relation of amity, love, and sonship between man and God. It was a necessary sacrifice because without it Redemption could not have been accomplished, or Justification bestowed, or Reconciliation achieved. And it was a sacrifice which was designed and provided by God, having indeed been foreshadowed in the law and the prophets. It was in accordance with the whole trend of the revelation of God in the Old Testament; one in which the Father and the Son united in a common purpose. " God spared not his own Son, but freely gave him up for us all." It was a sacrifice in which what Christ did for man God did, one also in which what Christ did towards God, man did. On the Cross Christ represented God to man, he " commended " therein not only His own love but God's. Similarly, He represented man to God, potentially, all men, actually, all those who by faith entered the new race of humanity of which Christ was the head, the first-born in a new brotherhood. His great act of Obedience was their act, and availed to cancel the effects of Adam's disobedience. And inasmuch as a sacrifice is essentially a costly guarantee, a guarantee of rejoicing in the presence and fellowship of God, or a guarantee of repentance and purposed obedience, the sacrifice of Christ was acceptable to God as a guarantee of the filial submission and repentance of all those whom He represented. Such appear to be the chief elements in Paul's valuation of the death of Christ as a sacrifice.

The Faith which Saves.

These things had been wrought by Christ, Redemption, Justification, Reconciliation; but they had to be appropriated by men. It was not possible even for God to make them effective in human experience unless men were moved and

prepared to receive them. And ' faith ' was the name which Paul gave to the act or attitude of the human heart which was receptive of this composite gift of Salvation. The Apostle uses the word in several widely different senses, such as conviction, faithfulness, good faith, or honour, ascertained truth. But he also uses it quite clearly in a specific sense characteristic of his theology, according to which it describes the human condition of salvation. This is the faith which ' saves '. This faith is, in the first place, essentially directed towards persons, towards Christ, or towards God in Christ. That is to say, it is not found in intellectual assent to propositions of any kind. It is not belief in doctrine, or in the Gospel, or in the sacrificial death of Christ to which Paul attaches this saving quality. And in so far as ' merit ' is sometimes claimed as a result of " the acceptance of a truth, the proof of which is absent ", we find an express contradiction of one of Paul's most cherished convictions. The second thing about this faith which saves is that it involves a moral attachment to the person towards whom it goes forth. This is the significance of a phrase which comes nearer than any other to a definition of faith in this sense. It is " faith which becomes operative through love "; not merely that it results in deeds of love, but that, *ipso facto*, it establishes a moral and emotional relation between the believer and Him to whom it is directed. If we ask what it was that Paul felt to be present in the consciousness of the believer at the moment of believing, it would be best expressed as an utter and entire committal of himself to God, to God in Christ, following on an overmastering impulse of the will to respond to the love of God which had been manifested in Him. It involved thankful acceptance of forgiving love, reinstatement as right with God and a union with Christ, a union of will and moral experience so complete that His death to sin, to the Law as a system of righteousness, and to the authority of the spirit-forces of evil, as well as His new life which followed, became part of the believer's experience. Henceforth those who had been " dead in trespasses and sins " may be thought of as alive " under new conditions of

life ", " alive unto God "; those who had been ' carnal ' or under the dominion of material things may be thought of as ' spiritual ', or raised to the plane of spirit. So that Paul can treat of Salvation as a progressive experience in terms of Life or life " in the Spirit ". For Paul, therefore, it is faith and faith alone which appropriates the results of Christ's life and death, while at the same time it provides the condition for the working out of salvation in the ethical sense by establishing a vital moral union with Christ.

Faith produced by the Word of Christ.

This faith, according to Paul, came " by hearing ", not, as some have thought, by participation in the sacraments. This is hardly to be doubted. It was " by the foolishness of preaching " that God chose to " save them that believe ". The proclamation of " the word of the Lord ", i.e. the message about Christ or the Gospel, was able by itself to evoke this faith. " In Christ Jesus I begat you by the Gospel." The central part of Paul's message was concerning the Christ living and glorified and concerning Christ crucified. He seems to have laid much stress upon the crucifixion as a spectacle. He reminds the Galatians how Christ has been ' placarded ' before them. He had been " obedient even up to the death upon the cross "; and it was " in connexion with our sins " that He died. And God had put the seal of His approval, and indeed of His participation in what then took place, by raising Christ from the dead. In fact, this was nothing less than God's " own Son ", whom God Himself set forth upon the cross in order through His death to confirm and commend His own love to men. Such appears to have been the main contents of the message, the proclamation of which Paul expected, and evidently not without reason, to result in the evoking of faith.

Baptism.

Paul saw in Baptism the normal but not necessary, the helpful but not indispensable, sign and seal upon the act of

faith in appropriating the gift of God in Christ. If the inward condition for receiving Baptism was faith, the external condition appears to have been the public acknowledgment of Christ as Lord. The convert was baptised in or into " the name of Christ ", the word ' name ' connoting Christ as He is known, almost what we mean by the personality of Christ, and the phrase as a whole conveying that the person baptised has passed under the authority and jurisdiction of Christ, has been incorporated in His personality. Baptism being at this period normally by immersion provided a vivid picture of what Paul believed to have been already the experience of the convert, his dying with Christ to the lower life, and his being made alive with the higher. Other images which Paul used to express the same effects of the faith-union such as " crucified with Christ ", circumcised " with the circumcision of Christ ", served to suggest the same complete stripping off of the old life, but could not be pictorialized in a rite. In Baptism, however, the plunging below the water provided a vivid representation of the death of the old man " with his affections and lusts ", even as the emergence from the stream gave a striking illustration of rising again to life in God. A further idea which Paul connected with the rite was the incorporation of the baptized person in the Christian community or the Church. To this he refers in Galatians (" as many of you as have been baptized into Christ have enrobed yourselves in Christ ") in accordance with his habit of speech, to which we must return later, his habit of equating Christ and the Church. Paul is curiously silent as to the cleansing effect of Baptism (this may be accidental); so far as our evidence goes he looks upon it as the symbolic seal upon the faith-union with Christ and its moral implications, and upon the admission of the believer to the believing community. He said of circumcision, " it has its value "; and the same phrase would probably express his appreciation of Baptism. In any case, just as he points out that Abraham " only got circumcision as the seal of the righteousness which belonged to his faith as an uncircumcised man ", so he looks on Baptism as a

seal upon the blessings of forgiveness and fellowship which had already been appropriated by faith.

The New Life.

The Salvation thus achieved and thus appropriated has to be worked out and realized, so Paul taught, in a process of spiritual and ethical development. His confidence in the certainty of the result rested partly on the entire newness of the conditions, partly on the manifold provision which was made by the living Christ for the security and the growth of the new life. " The old things have passed away; behold they have become new." Believers on Christ had been translated out of the kingdom of darkness into the kingdom of God's Son. They were on a new platform—of grace, on a new plane—of spirit, on a new footing with God—of sonship, in a new relation to God—' holy ', or ' saints ', in the original sense of the word, namely, " belonging to God " or " God's people ". In these and other forms Paul set forth the completeness of the change which had taken place and the hopefulness of the new conditions. But perhaps the most pregnant of the conceptions under which he presented it was that of Life. The Christian had entered into life of a new kind, life of a higher order, life with the quality of eternity. It was life cognate to that lived by the risen Christ, life in which all the qualities of personality were raised to a higher power. Paul was not afraid to face the fact that while this was a true account of the Christian experience, it was conditioned in its realization. The Christian was " alive by the Spirit " now, and yet Life in its fulness was part of his hope of the future. Men were still " in the world ", though they might be " not of the world ". The higher nature was still enclosed in the " body of flesh ", and the flesh was still weak because of the corruption introduced by sin. Paul did not shrink from this paradox of experience, but shaped his teaching in view of it, to encourage men to perseverance and hope, in the assurance that " God who had begun a good work in them would perfect it to the end ".

The Holy Spirit.

Paul saw the principle of the new life in the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of God or the Spirit of Christ. To the Jewish and primitive Christian conception of the Spirit he gave a development and an application which appears to have been original with him. For he ascribed to the Spirit character, initiative, purposive action, ethical quality which together represent what we mean by personality. He seems to have arrived at this conception, not by identifying the Spirit with Christ—on the contrary, he is careful rather to observe their distinctness—but by equating the two. He read the character and discerned the purpose of the Spirit from his knowledge of the character and purpose of Jesus. In fact, just as John afterwards averred that Jesus had " declared the Father ", so Paul in effect assumes that He had revealed the Spirit. It is plainly his conviction that it is the privilege of every true Christian to have the Spirit, to be " in the Spirit ", to have the Spirit in him.

The Church.

But the Spirit is only one of the terms in which Paul describes the sphere or atmosphere in which the new life is lived. He saw that life lived also in the sphere of the Fellowship or Church, and, still more commonly, as lived " in Christ ". The last phrase, which he employs so frequently in various forms (" in Christ ", " in the Lord ", " in Him "), offers a real difficulty to the modern mind, even when we have got beyond the conception of the living Christ as just the man Jesus raised to heaven. The difficulty is removed, however, when we keep in mind the correlation of these three phrases, which mutually explain each other. Thinking of Christ in terms of the Spirit, Paul could think of Him as immaterial and omnipresent, in whom it was possible to conceive of human souls as ensphered. Similarly he equated Christ with the Church. This was made possible by that conception of solidarity between the head of a group and the group itself

which was so familiar to ancient thought. Paul's frequent description of the Church as the Body of Christ is more than an ordinary metaphor or figure of speech. It signals to reality at several points, the inherent relation of the several members to one another, the reciprocal relation of the head to the members, the phenomena of nourishment and growth. And so, as Calvin says (and Pelagius before him), " Paul calls Christ the Church ". In other words, he saw in the body of believing men and women a true representation of the living Christ on earth; and to belong to that Fellowship was to be " in Christ ".

In whichever way the new sphere was conceived, it was recognized by Paul as providing the condition for ethical development, the goal of which was being " conformed to the image of Christ ". Being " in the Spirit ", it was natural for the Christian to bring forth the " harvest of the Spirit ", the interior fruit of love, cheerfulness, tranquillity, the virtues of long-temperedness, kindness, generosity, the external features of honour, considerateness, self-control (*Gal.* vi. 22), it was natural to take the spiritual point of view, which is life and peace, instead of the material point of view, which is death (*Romans* viii. 6). In the sacred Society or Fellowship Paul saw a special function in quickening spiritual perception and educating conscience. It was the Fellowship of Christ, for Christ had called it into being, and within it the presence of Christ was specially manifest. For similar reasons it was the " Fellowship of the Spirit ". And in taking to itself as it had done the ancient name of *Ecclesia* or Church this new Society had served itself heir to the spiritual inheritance of Israel, to the consciousness of being God's people, entrusted with the task of maintaining His worship and making His name known. But the Fellowship was also an organ of spiritual insight. Within it Christians were taught as though by Christ Himself; it was " in company with all God's people that men were to learn the full dimensions of God's love "; and it was the community as a whole which was to grow up into " a new man ", a new humanity, in whose manifestation would be seen the true return of Christ.

The Lord's Supper.

Paul saw the appointed nourishment of this new life in the Word, and probably (though the evidence is only indirect) in the Lord's Supper. It was his teaching which was as milk, and which he would fain have changed to meat for strong men, the total self-communication of God by which men 'live' (*Matthew* iv. 4). The symbolism of the Lord's Supper in which men partook of natural food with Christ's teaching in their minds must necessarily have involved the conception of feeding upon Christ "by faith in the heart". But Paul does dwell on that aspect of the rite. In the first of the two passages in which alone he refers to it he emphasizes its power to express and confirm the fellowship of Christ's living Body, the Church (of which the loaf was the symbol), based upon the new covenant sealed by His blood (of which the cup was the symbol). In the second passage he exhibits the power of the rite to call Christ to remembrance, to produce a vivid sense of His real presence with His disciples, who "showed forth his death" not only as a fact of history but as the secret of new life in themselves, in the spirit of brotherhood and sympathy which broke down all distinctions and swept away all selfishness. If Paul connected the Eucharist with the idea of sacrifice at all (which is doubtful), the matter of the sacrifice was the Church itself, the Body of Christ. "It is this," says Augustine, "that the Church celebrates by means of the sacrifice of the altar . . . where it is shown to her that in what she offers she herself is offered." The same thought may find expression in Paul's phrase, "that the offering up of the Gentiles might be acceptable". The Life which was Salvation found its nourishment as well as its origin in a self-committal to God perpetually renewed.

The Future Consummation.

While Paul thus proclaimed and explained Salvation as achieved in the past, and exhibited it as a process in the present, he looked forward to its consummation in the future.

This consummation he connected sometimes with the anticipated return of Christ, sometimes with what was to follow after death. He appears to have shared at first in the conviction of the primitive community that the coming of Christ would take place very shortly, indeed within his own lifetime. In his later Epistles he fixes his mind rather upon death as the horizon of earthly experience, beyond which lies resurrection and the consummation of salvation. As to the events which were to precede the Lord's return, and the circumstances of His appearing, Paul was content to reproduce the scheme and the imagery which were characteristic of the Jewish apocalypses and had their origin in prophetic descriptions of the day of the Lord. His own contribution to the subject is found in two conceptions in which he shows striking originality. The first has to do with the character of the anticipated blessedness. This is not to be looked for in any kind of gratification of the senses, tastes, or ambitions, nor yet in any triumph of national or individual aspirations, but in a personal relation between the Saviour and the saved. His own contribution to this aspect of the subject is given in such phrases as, " so shall we be ever with the Lord "; " to depart and be with Christ, which is far better ". It is in the continuation and the perfecting of the relation established by faith that he sees the complete realization of salvation.

Paul equally shows originality in the conditions which he anticipates for the life beyond the grave. On the one hand, in contradistinction to the Jewish doctrine of a future life, which posited a resurrection of the corporeal frame, Paul categorically asserted that " flesh and blood can not inherit the Kingdom of God ". On the other hand he rejected all suggestion of a future existence in a disembodied state and taught that for the fleshly body would be substituted a body, frame, or form which belonged to the spirit-world. So Redemption would find its completion when the Lord should " fashion anew our body of humiliation, that it may be conformed to the body of his glory ". Fellowship with Christ and likeness to Christ, these were the two essential things in Paul's hope

of the future. When we realize what Salvation meant for Paul, how it included all the religious hopes which he had cherished as a Jew, how it offered the immediate fulfilment of these, only in a higher and transcendent form, how in regard to every factor of that salvation and every stage in it, Christ was the sufficient means and the necessary agent for its accomplishment, we see how natural it was for Paul to place Christ in the highest category he could venture to claim for Him. He had begun by recognizing Christ as the Messiah of Jewish expectations. And this carried with it the assigning to Christ of certain prerogatives and functions, such as pre-existence, kingship in the Kingdom of God, and the function of Judge before whose tribunal all men must appear.

Christology.

That Paul also took over from the primitive community the conception of Christ as ' Kyrios ' or Lord has been strongly denied in recent years by scholars who would trace the usage to Hellenistic sources, and find its explanation in a desire to equate Christ with the heroes of mystery cults to whom this title was commonly given. This theory, however, is now losing ground, and the probability is that the source of the title is to be found not in Hellenism but in the Old Testament, and specially in the LXX, where it appears very frequently as the Greek form of the word which the Jews in reading substituted for Jehovah. What makes this highly probable is the fact that Paul not only gives Christ the title, but transfers to Him many of the functions and phrases which in the Old Testament are associated with " the Lord ". And there is further evidence from other terms which he uses in reference to Christ. Thus he undoubtedly conceives of Him as the Wisdom of God, and in Colossians claims for Him functions in connexion with creation which in the Jewish literature had been claimed for Wisdom. In speaking of Him as the Glory and as the Rock or Stone, he equates Him with figures to which Old Testament writers had attached great significance. This shows the field in which Paul's mind was working in the

search for analogies and terms in which to account for Christ, and points clearly to the Old Testament as the source of the term Kyrios also.

Whatever may be the significance of the Messiahship and the Lordship for Paul it is clear that it did not impinge upon the conviction, which also he shared with the primitive Church, as to the reality and completeness of our Lord's humanity. This was indeed indispensable to the explanation which Paul gave of salvation. Christ was one with the world of men He came to save. At the same time He was one with the Father. He had been originally in the form of God, and might have been equal with God, but had refused to look to his own things. On the contrary, He had emptied Himself, and was found in the form of a man, so truly a man that He shared the human experience of being " a thrall, subjected to evil spirit forces ". And God had bestowed on Him the equality He had refused to claim, giving to Him " the name which is above every name ", the name of Lord.

If this title of ' Lord ' indicates the rank which Paul claims for Christ, the description, " the Son ", used absolutely or emphasized in such a phrase as " the Son of his love ", makes clear the relation he believed Him to have to God, a relation personal, ethical, and inherent, involving community of purpose and a community of nature, and yet compatible with that subordination which Paul always recognizes in the relationship. Paul never speaks of Christ as ' God '. In one or possibly two cases there may be room for uncertainty; but that is swept away by the improbability that his monotheistic convictions would have allowed him to take that step, and by the absence of any indication of the violent opposition which such teaching would certainly have roused among the Jews. What we see in the Apostle is one who was compelled by all he knew of Jesus, and by all that he and others experienced of the power of the living Christ, to take up to Him the attitude which otherwise men take up to God alone, to pray to Him, to trust Him, to worship Him, one who was thus pressed up to the verge of acknowledging Christ as God but withheld

from doing so by his hereditary monotheism. Paul thus becomes the first illustration of the truth that " the reality of the creeds lies in that surrender of the soul which precedes their articulate utterance ".

The Epistle to the Hebrews

The particular contribution of the Epistle to the Hebrews to Christian theology is delimited by the purpose of the author, and this again is inspired by the religious history and situation of those to whom he writes. These appear to have been a small but homogeneous group, possibly a local church at Rome or in its neighbourhood, for whom the synagogue had been the portico of the Church. As Jews, either by race or by conviction, they had been in the habit of attaching the highest value to the Levitical system, and particularly to the ceremonies of the Day of Atonement. They had become Christians, but the glamour of old associations and of the old ritual was still strong upon them. Some crisis in the affairs of the Church or of Judaism (possibly the outbreak of the war with Rome) had created a feeling of spiritual insecurity. They were seriously tempted to fall back from what was only spiritually discerned upon what appeared to be more real, because visible and tangible, upon the external forms of ritual, sacrifice, and priesthood, familiar from the Book of the Law. The writer of this Epistle would recall them to unhesitating allegiance to Christ and the spiritual view of life, to the recognition that faith is " sure confidence in what we hope for, a conviction of the reality of the unseen ". His bede-roll of the heroes of faith is a list of those who " endured as seeing the invisible ".

The invisible was " within the veil ", that is to say, for this writer the Tabernacle with its successive chambers leading ultimately through a heavy curtain to the Holy of Holies was an eloquent symbol of human life; religion was a means of access to God; it functioned primarily through worship; and what those he wrote for required to be assured of was that in every particular the means whereby access to God had

been secured under the Old Covenant were even more effectually provided in and by Christ; in fact, the old apparatus of worship was related to the means of access available in Him only as the shadow to the substance. And what is central to his exhibition of the transcendent character of the Christian dispensation is the representation of Christ as Priest or High Priest, whose death was a sacrifice in the power of which He passed within the veil, into the world of reality, and at the same time secured for men cleansing from their sins and free and confident access to God. The writer works out the analogy in detail, marking the similarities and the differences between the Levitical priesthood and the priesthood of Christ. Thus, He is a priest, but one " after the order of Melchizedec " (cp. *Psalm* cx, 4), where the contrast is with the Levitical priesthood which is " after the law of an external commandment ", and the suggestion is near at hand that " the priesthood which can bring us nearer God must be one of inherent character and personality ". His priesthood is unique and unchangeable. He Himself is holy, undefiled, and separate from sinners, yet not because He does not know the power of temptation; on the contrary He has been " tempted like as we are yet without sin ". He entered not into a holy place made with hands, but into heaven itself. The sacrifices of the tabernacle could never " take away sin ", however frequently and faithfully they were repeated. The sacrifice of Christ needed no repetition, and it was completely effective, as " the offering of the body of Jesus Christ through which we have been sanctified ". " Having therefore boldness to enter into the holy place by the blood of Jesus, . . . and having a high priest over the house of God, let us draw near with a true heart."

So the writer summarizes his message and appeal; and it should be noted how much of what is cardinal in Paul he either omits or only touches perfunctorily. He shows no interest in the teaching of Jesus; he never refers to His resurrection, although he assumes it; he makes no use of the word ' love ', and no significant use of the Fatherhood of God or the Lordship of Christ or the conception of the Spirit.

He does not mention the Eucharist, and betrays no interest in the organization of the Church.

It does not follow that the writer to the Hebrews was either ignorant of or indifferent to these things. His main contribution is an interpretation of the work of Christ based, as Paul's was not, upon the analogy of the Levitical system. But he shares with Paul in his convictions as to the real humanity of Jesus, as to His unique Sonship, as to the necessity of His death, and His ability to " save to the uttermost " those who " come unto God through him ".

The Apocalypse

The Apocalypse of John, the nucleus of which may be practically contemporary with the Epistle to the Hebrews, gives special development to two subjects in Christian theology, to the appreciation of the person and work of Christ, and to the presentation of the " times of the end ". As to the latter the specific contribution of this writer is only slight. The greater part of his material is taken over from earlier Jewish Apocalyptic, and what has significance for his own point of view is found in the alterations which he makes in order to fit the anticipations to the circumstances of his own time, and in the additions for which he appears to be himself responsible. The latter represent almost entirely the destruction of the political forces by which the Church was challenged followed by the idealizing of present earthly conditions. But the seventh chapter emphasizes the universality of salvation, and describes salvation as finally experienced in terms of worship and security and freedom from sorrow. And the book runs out on the same ethical and personal note which we find in Paul and John. " His servants shall serve him; for they shall see his face." " Even so, come, Lord Jesus."

But the most striking feature in the theology of the book is the position assigned to the Lord Jesus, the exalting of His Divine glory and of His redeeming work. In the eyes of the writer it is He indeed who is the author of the book. He is

its centre, and at every point is seen exalted in supreme authority over human affairs. The letters to the seven Churches embody the conviction of Christ's living activity, of His knowledge of, and interest in, the situation and character of each particular Church. He dispenses praise and blame, warning and promise. He holds the keys of human destiny. His existence reaches back to before the beginning of creation. He is the absolutely living one, by whom it can be said, as God alone can say, " I am the first and the last." The description of the Ancient of Days in *Daniel* is transferred to Him. He holds the keys of Hades and of death. He shares with God in the praises of heaven. Even angels join in worshipping " God and the Lamb ". If it cannot be said that the conception of Christ underlying this and similar language really goes beyond the conception reached by Paul, it is found here clothed in imaginative forms and associated with the traditional attributes of the Most High which have the effect of reducing the distinction between Christ and God to vanishing-point.

The title of " the Lamb " links the thought of the Apocalypse with the Gospel of John. It is no mere title but a description of Christ in the special aspect of His relation to men which is revealed in the sacrificial death upon the Cross. It is in the character of the Lamb that He takes His place in the centre of the heavenly Court; to Him as such belongs the book of Life wherein are written the names of the redeemed; and as such He is at once the light and the temple of the new Jerusalem. In one pregnant phrase the writer penetrates more deeply than any other writer of the New Testament into the mystery of Divine suffering as the price of redemption—" the lamb slain from the foundation of the world ".

The Epistle of James

The strictly theological material of this Epistle is so limited in extent and so undeveloped in character that it is tempting to suppose, as many good scholars have done, that it reflects the incipient stage of Christian theology, and must be dated

certainly before the epistolary work of Paul. But there is internal evidence to the contrary. It is difficult to believe otherwise than that James had learnt, by hearsay at least, of the antithesis between faith and works which was so emphatically drawn by Paul. And there is no indication that this antithesis had been clearly raised by anyone previous to the Apostle. And another explanation is at hand to account for the diminished theological interest in this Epistle. Other documents belonging to the last third of the century, such as the non-Pauline portions of the Pastoral Epistles and the Second Epistle of Peter give evidence of the same phenomenon, which manifests itself even more clearly in the next century, e.g. in the *Epistle of Barnabas*, the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, and the *Shepherd of Hermas*. The outstanding fact is that the glow of the Pauline Epistles is no longer there. Reconciliation with God, death to sin and resurrection to newness of life in Christ crucified and risen, union with Christ by faith, possession of the Spirit of sonship as the pledge of eternal life and the source of unhampered spiritual energy—these splendid convictions of the earlier time are no longer recognized. Less emphasis is laid upon the Fatherhood of God, the sacrifice of Christ, and the grounds and motives of a good life. Even when the same terminology is used, it lacks the freshness and spontaneity of experience. Organization has largely taken the place of inspiration. Emphasis is now concentrated upon faith as the acceptance of truth, or as the body of truth to be accepted, " the faith once for all delivered to God's people ". The high tides of the Spirit had passed, and men less conscious of inward guidance and authority fell back upon the authority of the Church, " the pillar and bulwark of the truth ". The spiritual experiences of the earlier times were not reproduced in many of the later converts, and for their sakes it became necessary to insist more and more on " good works " as the expression of true Christianity and the guarantee of sincerity. The spirit and many of the forms of Judaism filtered back into the Christian Church.

The Epistle of James is a conspicuous example of this

moralistic tendency. Among the good gifts of God the chiefest is the " word of truth ", by which when it is implanted in the heart Christians are born to be " a kind of first-fruits of God's creatures ". This word of truth embodies the perfect law, which is really the Mosaic law set in the light of Christ's teaching. Faith is the activity in man whereby he accepts this word of truth both theoretically and practically. It is the firm persuasion that the word which God has spoken is a true word together with the resolve to obey it. It is " faith in our Lord Jesus Christ " because it means acceptance of His claim to be Messiah and of His authority as giver of new forms to the law. It is claimed as an intrinsic quality of this faith that it produces good works. So that " faith without works is dead ". Herein James appears to be intentionally controverting not so much the teaching of Paul (" by faith ye are saved ") but rather a misunderstanding and misapplication of that teaching. Paul would not have disagreed with James, however much James might insist on disagreeing with Paul. For Paul also faith without works is dead, in the sense that he also looked to faith to produce Christian character and conduct. The real difference lay in their respective interpretations of faith. For James it was the assent to revealed truth which carried its own imperative; and justification or righteousness followed as the result and reward of faith. For Paul it was a personal self-committal to God in Christ, which in itself opened the way for the coming of salvation as the undeserved gift of God, but which at the same time being " made operative through love " established a faith-union with Christ whereof Christian character and conduct was the natural result. The difference in the conception of religion shows itself further in the absence from the later document of any emphasis on the Spirit, and from the thinning of the Fatherhood of God to its identification with the idea of Creation.

The Johannine Theology

The much debated question as to the authorship of the Gospel and the first Epistle of John has not yet been solved. But it has fallen into the background in comparison with the yet more important question as to the character of the Gospel. Even if we were satisfied that John the son of Zebedee was its author we should still have before us the problem, Did he mean to write history or something else? The phenomena by which his work differs from the Synoptic Gospels are familiar. The three place the scene of the Ministry mainly in Galilee, John mainly in Judea. The three suggest one year as the duration; John would give it three. The three arrange in various ways material which is chiefly made up of brief and vivid narratives of characteristic action, of mighty works, specially of healing and the casting out of demons, together with reports of sayings, parables, and discourses whose connexion with the narrative is topographical or chronological rather than genetic. In John the number of episodes related is much smaller, is, indeed, very few until we reach the Last Days, but in most cases the event related becomes a text, as it were, for a long discourse. These discourses purport to have been spoken by Christ, but in some cases certainly, in others probably, the speech of the Master passes imperceptibly into the language of the Evangelist. And when we compare what is reported as the utterance of Christ with the undoubted work of the Evangelist and that again with the reported speech of John the Baptist, we can detect no difference in style or tone; and these again show the closest similarity with the style and tone of the first Epistle. It is not possible to resist the conclusion that much of the discourse material is the reflective work of the Evangelist himself; and as it is not possible to say how much, it becomes necessary to treat as such all that is not attested as due to Jesus by the witness of the Synoptic Gospels. There is further a marked difference in the presentation of Christ. In particular, there is no trace

in John of any change or development in Him or in His self-presentation to men. From the beginning He presents Himself as the Messiah. So far from veiling the claim, He takes every opportunity to press it. His reported speech is marked, far more than in the Synoptists, by detailed and sustained argument with opponents, the general purpose being to assert and prove His claims.

And this is precisely what the writer states clearly to have been his purpose in writing. It is that those to whom he writes " may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing they may have life through his name ". It need not be supposed that those whom he had in view were anything but believers already. His object is not to create faith, but to deepen and confirm it. Neither was it John's purpose to substitute a new gospel for those already in existence, nor yet expressly to correct these (though he does, in passing, tacitly correct certain mistakes) but to supplement them by deepening and enhancing the impression of the Divine glory of Christ, which they had suggested rather than proclaimed. And this he does by reading back into the history of the Lord's ministry the experience which Christians had had for sixty or seventy years of the presence and influence of the risen and glorified Christ.

John, be it noted, neither adds nor omits any primary facts or convictions regarding Jesus (except that he makes no reference to the Virgin Birth). He either reproduces or assumes the main features of the Synoptic record, and the main interpretations we have found in Paul. He relates the Passion and the Resurrection with the same fulness as his predecessors. For him, as for Paul, Christ is the Messiah, the Son of God, the revealer of the Father. His death is a sacrifice for the sins of the world. The same mystical union which Paul predicated as the result of faith reappears in John, only treated with increased emphasis and elaboration, " I am the vine; ye are the branches." If, as has been said, the treatment of the subject falls short of Paul's fervour, that is only natural. The relationship is here looked at from the side of the giver.

While John builds into his theology the same factual materials as Paul, he gives to some of them an interpretation of his own. Thus, he accepts and elaborates Paul's analogy to the sacrificial death of Christ (" As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up "); but he has also his own analogy, interpreting the sacrifice in terms of the Levitical system (" Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world "). The crucifixion, according to John, took place at the time when the Paschal lambs were being slain. In the first Epistle he reveals a conception of sin as pollution which is not found in Paul (" The blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin "). He reflects the conviction of a later generation in the teaching that baptism to be efficacious must be baptism with the Spirit as well as with water. He tells about the last supper, but omits all reference to the Eucharist. It is not enough to say that he takes the Institution and the memorable words for granted. For he appears deliberately to substitute for these the washing of the disciples' feet, and it appears at least possible that he intended to direct attention away from the form of the Eucharist to its moral implications, already emphasized by Paul (" I am among you as one that serves "). And this may give the clue to the difficult problem presented in the sixth chapter, where we find one sacramental conception, and that on the surface a very material one, embedded in teaching which strongly emphasizes a spiritual interpretation of the rite. The two points of view are thrown into a contrast which can only be deliberate. And the contradiction is only to be solved by supposing that one theory is presented in its extremest form in order to be criticized and interpreted in the light of the other.

What the Evangelist has seen and desires to set forth is the Divine glory of the Son of God. This has guided him in the selection of the episodes in the life of Jesus which he relates. They are the striking ' signs ', events, actions which were in fact transparencies through which that glory shone. They are not to be understood as allegories, in which the

several details have their spiritual meaning, but as narratives of happenings in which one aspect or other of that glory was made manifest, Christ as the healer of human ills, as the creator of life which is beyond the reach of death, as the heavenly nourishment of that life. It is reported as a promise of Jesus that He would cause Himself to shine before those who believed on Him; and this is what the Gospel records that He did. It is not to be wondered at if the meaning of the action, being so much more wonderful to the Evangelist than the action itself, has reacted upon his narrative in the addition of significant features, the emphasizing of the supernatural, as though he felt it must have happened so, for that is what it meant. Moreover, in setting forth the spiritual realities which shine through these events, John writes with a consciousness of inspiration corresponding to that of the ancient prophets; the Spirit is leading him " into all truth ". It is as natural for him to say " Jesus said " as it was for them to say " Thus saith the Lord ". And the portrait which he gives of Christ springs from the fact that " he transfers the picture of the exalted Christ as it stands before his soul to the earthly life of Jesus ". He links with the historical Jesus the blessed experiences which have become his through fellowship with the risen Lord.

The Evangelist employs this method in order to press home one dominating conviction, that Christ is the incarnate self-expression of God. Yet, in doing so, he not only refrains from, he guards against, any inclination to sacrifice the true humanity of Jesus. Even more vividly than the Synoptists he represents Him as sharing in the human conditions of life. He was " that which we have heard, that which we have seen with our eyes, and our hands have handled ". As Son He was subordinate to the Father. " My father is greater than I." " The Son can do nothing of Himself." But equally does he exalt the Divine glory of Christ, lifting the conception of Him to the plane of the universal, by interpreting Him in terms of Life and Light and Logos. For Jew and Gentile alike Life, whether it was conceived as life with God or as

immortality, had been the object of age-long search and longing. Both the Synoptic Gospels and Paul had testified to the satisfaction of that longing through Christ; but John makes the conception central and cardinal. Christ *is* Life; He has come to give Life; He is the bread of Life; He has " the words of eternal life "; that is to say, the communication of Himself to men both creates Life and sustains it. The adjective ' eternal ' describes the quality of this Life rather than its duration. Its duration is a corollary from its quality. For it is Divine life, life on a plane beyond the reach of imperfection, moral weakness, death. Its secret is found in that knowledge of God which implies a relationship of confidence, submission, and love. And as Christ is Life and the mediator of Life to men, so is He Light, " the light of the world ", " the light that lighteth every man coming into the world ". He illuminates the sphere of unknown realities, after which the Greek mind had been groping in darkness. The light which radiates from Him is the light of the knowledge of God. His glory does not consist merely in power or splendour or anything which He has for Himself alone; it is " full of grace and truth "; it has the quality of communicating itself to men and of unveiling the spiritual substance of life.

If it is as Life and Light that the true nature of Christ enters into the experience of men, it is as the Logos that John represents His relation to God, making use of a term which would be quite familiar to Christians of Greek culture, and not without significance for those of Jewish upbringing. The two streams of speculation on Divine things which had employed this notion of the Word of God, had met in Philo, who found in it the organ of connexion between the absolute good and the finite world of matter. It is not necessary to suppose that John was acquainted with the writings of the Alexandrian philosopher; but he must have breathed an intellectual atmosphere which was impregnated with his ideas. He knew that for a large section of the thinking world the Logos stood for the Divine Wisdom contemplated as though separable in thought from God, sometimes hypostatized as a

distinct personality, the organ of creation and the intermediary between God and His world. It was a step of the highest significance which John took (possibly anticipated by Paul) when he seized this half abstract, half personal conception and formulated the thought—the mysterious world-power, this messenger and mediator of God, whom Jews and Greeks surmised and accepted, whom they described by names of all kinds, but most comprehensively as the Logos, this being has clearly and convincingly revealed himself, and we Christians know him through blissful experience. He is our Lord Jesus Christ.

The theology of John is thus almost wholly a Christology. And even here there is nothing of serious import which really goes beyond Paul. Again and again John crystallizes into a word or a phrase what Paul has put in a phrase or an argument. But Paul's theology appears as a deduction from Christian experience; he builds towards it; it is an inescapable conclusion from what Christ has done for those who believe on Him. John starts from the other end, from the conclusion at which Paul arrives. He too finds in the facts and inferences of Christian experience the material for his conception of Christ, but he throws them into the form of a portrait of the 'historical Jesus', a report of His handling of the problems of human life. This is most clearly seen in the teaching about the Holy Spirit. The eschatological sayings of the Synoptic Gospels had created, as we have seen, the gravest of problems for the Church towards the end of the first century. Paul had struck out a possible line of solution in his conception of the living and growing Church, the representation of Christ as the returning Lord. But a crisis of Judgment and a visible Parousia still remained part of Paul's anticipation. John completed the discovery of Paul. The whole future was already present. Eternal life was here and now, only capable of indefinite development. Judgment had begun already; it was continuous. And the return of Christ had already taken place, He had returned as the Spirit.

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CHAPTER II

The Early Missionaries and St. Paul

Lack of Information on Apostolic Christianity.

The historian has constantly to acknowledge the greatness of his ignorance and the insoluble character of the problems which confront him. Nowhere is this fact more evident than in the field of the history of primitive Christianity. This was fully realized by Eusebius when early in the fourth century of our era he set about writing what was henceforward known as ' ecclesiastical history '. He was a learned and laborious man, and had at his disposal the best Christian library in the world. Moreover, he lived in Palestine and was familiar with all the scenes of our Lord's ministry and of the earliest labours of the apostles. Yet how little light can be thrown on the great problem, as to how within a century and a half of the Crucifixion the saving name of Jesus had been proclaimed in well-nigh every part of the vast empire of Rome, and the knowledge of Him had spread far beyond its frontiers.[1]

Nor are we able to do more than guess how the belief in Jesus had come to be, so to speak, developed into an organization, widely scattered, yet so closely united in every part of the world that a movement in Asia Minor almost immediately disturbed the peace of the churches in Rome and Carthage; and the troubles of the Christians in the heart of modern France were instantly communicated to the believers in Asia and Phrygia. The exact steps by which the Catholic Church made its appearance in the world are unknown to us; yet,

[1] Eusebius in the Preface to his History says he has embarked on a desert and untrodden path (*ἐρήμην καὶ ἀτριβῆ ὁδόν*).

though unsupported by arms, money, or prestige, it was soon destined to prove itself the one indestructible force in the entire Roman Empire.

Nations present on the Day of Pentecost.

The first suggestion that faith in Jesus as the Christ was intended to be widespread, at any rate in the Jewish world, is to be found in the enumeration of the peoples present at Jerusalem when the Holy Spirit descended upon the disciples on the day of Pentecost. There are said to have been in the city Parthians, Medes, Elamites, inhabitants of Mesopotamia, Judæa, Cappadocia, the province of Asia, Phrygia, Pamphylia, Egypt, and Cyrene, strangers from Rome, Jews and proselytes, Cretans and Arabians. Again, the foreign synagogues, whose members assailed Stephen, are called those of the Libertines, Cyrenians, Alexandrians, Cilicians, and of the provincials of Asia.[1] Thus from the very first the book of Acts implies that the knowledge of the death, resurrection, and proclamation of Jesus as the Christ was being diffused in every part of the civilized world.

Because the only definite information we have about early missionary work is that given in Acts and the Pauline Epistles, it is not possible to ignore the fact that the Roman Empire, even before the conversion of St. Paul, was full of unknown preachers of the Messiahship of Jesus.

Although, therefore, we have to indulge in much conjecture, it is absolutely necessary to try to obtain some idea of the possible extent of the labours of these forgotten missionaries before the sending forth of Barnabas and Saul with their 'minister' Mark on their memorable expedition to Cyprus and the southern districts of Asia Minor.

It is said that on the day of Pentecost of those who heard the speech of Peter three thousand were baptized. Whether this incident, as related by the author of Acts or of his source, is to be taken as literal history it is not necessary for our pre-

[1] *Acts* ii. 9–11; *Acts* vi. 9. Asia in the New Testament always means the Roman province.

sent purpose to discuss. The fact remains that a very large number of persons, including visitors to Jerusalem for the feast, were so far persuaded by Peter that they believed that the crucified Jesus was the promised Messiah, and submitted to an initiatory rite of baptism. When Pentecost was over these people for the most part went back to their homes, related their experiences to their friends, and thus prepared for the future missionaries of the Gospel. That they ceased to be Jews and members of their respective synagogues is scarcely credible. They believed that the Messiah had come, been raised from the dead, exalted to the right hand of God, and would return to save His people.[1]

Diffusion of the Gospel in the East.

Of the different nationalities as they occur in *Acts* ii the first group is composed of those who lived on and beyond the eastern frontiers of the Roman world.

The Parthians, Medes, Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia belonged to Rome's great rival Parthia. These countries, as we learn from Josephus, were in constant communication with the Jews of Jerusalem; and in the days of the last Asmonæans, the rival factions of that distracted family had looked for support either to the Romans or the Parthians. At a later date Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee, had evidently a good deal to do as intermediary between the Cæsar and the Great King. The story of Asinæus and Anilæus shows the power and turbulent character of the Jews of Mesopotamia as well as their unpopularity with the other inhabitants. The conversion of Izates of Adiabene and his mother Helena reveals the close connexion between a frontier kingdom lying on the borders of the two empires and Judaism.[2] That the faith in Jesus should spread eastward very early need not surprise us; and there may even be some basis of fact underlying the curious story of Abgar of Edessa, who is said to have heard of the miracles of the Christ, and to have written asking Him to

[1] Josephus, *Wars*, I, i, 1; I, xiii and xvi; *Antiq.*, xiv, 15; xviii, 4; xviii, 9; xx, 2–4.

[2] *Antiq.*, xviii, 9.

come to Edessa. In answer the King received a letter from the Lord promising that He would after His resurrection send a teacher who would cure him. By command of the Master, the Apostle Thomas dispatched Thaddæus (Addai), one of Seventy, who after healing and converting Abgar became Bishop of Edessa. Eusebius, the church historian, who was a native of Syria, says that the correspondence was preserved in his time (*c.* 320) at Edessa. The story is generally discredited, though it has at least this much probability that it has a parallel in that told by Josephus about Izates King of Adiabene and his mother Helena, who embraced Judaism, a proof of the interest the petty princes of the Near East took in the affairs of Palestine; and although the first Christian Abgar of Edessa is placed at the end of the second century, there may well have been a tradition of the Gospel having been preached in Edessa in the days of Abgar the Black, who was a contemporary of the Christ.[1]

Labours of the Twelve Apostles Unknown.

This hypothesis, for it cannot be more, would if accepted involve important consequences. The disappearance of the original Apostles of Jesus is a perplexing problem. In the first chapters of Acts they are represented as the recognized rulers of the church, but after the persecution about Stephen we hear no more about the activities of the Twelve. One of them, James, the brother of John, was slain by Herod. Peter was imprisoned but delivered; the rest, with the doubtful exceptions of John and Philip, vanish from the scene of history. None of the apostolic Fathers mention them; and we have to wait till the third century for any tradition about them; and even then such learned men as Clement of Alexandria and Origen have little to tell us.

Possibility that most went to preach in the East.

Eusebius, the father of Ecclesiastical History, widely read

[1] Eusebius, *H. E.*, I, xiii. Prof. Burkitt in his *Eastern Christianity* discusses the legend.

as he was, can tell us nothing of the Twelve outside the New Testament, save on the authority of Origen, who in his commentary on Matthew says that tradition makes Thomas go to Parthia, Andrew to Scythia, John to Asia; the Roman province having early become more important than even Antioch as a Christian centre. Peter naturally, on the strength of his First Epistle, accepted at a very early date as genuine, is credited with evangelistic work in the Asiatic provinces to which the letter is addressed.[1]

It was a popular belief that the Lord had ordered the Apostles to remain in Jerusalem for twelve years and then to go forth to their different spheres. Tradition records that the majority went beyond the frontiers of the Roman world to Scythia, Parthia, Ethiopia, India, &c. Does this mean that the first missions were directed eastward to the Jews of the Dispersion? It would be but natural if it were so. As the historian Josephus sent (so he tells us) a Hebrew or Aramaic draft of his History of the Jewish War to the non-Greek-speaking Jews in Babylonia, where they were numerous and influential, so the first Christian missionaries at Jerusalem would naturally turn their eyes not so much to their brethren in the West as to the great Hebrew settlements in the East. Among these they may have had a transitory but not a permanent success in persuading people to acknowledge Jesus as the Christ, but their converts may have gradually abandoned their belief and become merged in the prevailing Judaism. This would account for the disappearance of definite record of the labours of most of the Twelve and conserve the widespread conviction that they were active missionaries.[2]

The general impression which consideration of the very

[1] Eusebius, *H. E.*, III, i, quoting Origen's Commentary on Genesis. In *H. E.*, V, x, mention is made of Bartholomew having left a copy of Matthew in Hebrew characters in India.

[2] The rabbinical schools in Babylonia were very influential, and wherever they were Christianity made but little progress among the Jews. Galilee, where was the patriarch and the school of Tiberias, though it had been the scene of Christ's preaching, had very few Christians in the fourth century.

meagre sources leaves on me is that it is probable that most of the first apostles travelled, as was not unnatural, eastward with their message, which had few results; because the Jewish and eschatological preaching of Jesus as the Messiah could have had little permanent hold on communities of Jews, when His return was, to them at least, so unaccountably delayed. Certainly the Christians later made a great thrust eastward, but this was when they had broken with Judaism, and after the Apostolic Age had passed away.

Earliest Missionary Work Unrecorded—Summary of Events in Acts.

We have next to inquire from the Acts of the Apostles what missionary work had been accomplished before the labours of Paul and Barnabas are recorded.

Before doing so, however, it is necessary to enter upon the question of chronology. The narrative in Acts does not help us much. What is found in the first eight chapters from the Ascension to the death of Stephen may have occupied some years or a few weeks. Leaving out the questions of sources and doublets, and taking the bare record of *Acts* i–vii as it stands, we have: (1) the Ascension of the Lord; (2) the assembly of the church to fill the place of the traitor Judas; (3) the day of Pentecost, the speech of Peter, and the enrolment of 3000 members of the new community; (4) the healing of a lame man at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple, arrest of Peter and John, who the next day were brought before the Sanhedrin and, after making their defence, were dismissed; (5) the liberality of Barnabas and the dishonest act of Ananias and Sapphira; (6) another arrest by the priesthood of the Apostles owing to their increasing popularity; (7) the complaint of the Hellenists, the choice of the seven, and the preaching of Stephen.

Now all that is here recorded, even if we ignore the possible repetition of facts related, for example the two narratives of the gift of the Spirit and the two arrests of the disciples, might all have happened within a few days,

certainly during the summer following the day of Pentecost.

This is followed immediately by the conversion of Saul, the persecutor, on his way to Damascus, where he had heard that there were many of 'the Way' and had asked the High Priest to authorize their arrest. No hint, however, is given as to how Damascus became a centre of the new faith; yet Ananias, to whom Saul was sent to be healed of his blindness, seems not to have been a very recent convert. The labours of Philip, one of the Seven, and of Peter and John in Samaria are next mentioned, without any note whatever as to time, and lastly we find Barnabas fetching Saul to Antioch, where an important work of conversion was going on, with the result of what is called a 'great crowd' of disciples being added to the church. This so far attracted public attention in the city that the name Christian was bestowed on the believers.[1]

At last we are given a definite date in the Acts. Herod Agrippa, here called Herod the King, persecuted some members of the church in Jerusalem, beheaded James, the brother of John, and arrested Peter. When the 'angel' freed the Apostle, he went to the house of Mary, the mother of Mark, told those assembled at prayer there to inform the other James of his deliverance, and apparently left Jerusalem, to go whither we are not told. We know, however, that this Herod was made King of Judæa in 41 and died at Cæsarea in 44. According to Acts, as to the chronological order of which we cannot be sure, it was subsequent to this that Paul and Barnabas began their first missionary journey.

Paul's Statement of his Acts after his Conversion.

In his epistle to the Galatians Paul supplements the narrative in Acts, and in some respects gives an entirely different impression as to what is there said to have occurred. He

[1] The name 'Christian' in *Acts* xi. 26, is only in the New Testament applied to the believers by Herod Agrippa II, *Acts* xxvi. 28. In *1 Peter* iv. 16, they are to glorify God and not be ashamed if any of them suffer 'as a Christian'.

implies that more than seventeen years had elapsed between his conversion and the writing of the letter. He allows three years from the time he went to Arabia, whither, it is generally assumed, the Apostle retired, chiefly for the purpose of meditation. But it is not impossible, especially in view of his having incurred the suspicion of the ethnarch of the native king, that Paul was engaged in preaching the Gospel around Damascus, and in the Decapolis. Three years after his conversion, and not very soon as Acts seems to imply, Paul went to Jerusalem and saw Cephas, and James, the Lord's brother, staying there fourteen days. He revisited the city after a further period of fourteen years. In the meantime he had been in Syria and Cilicia, and was known at Jerusalem only as a former persecutor who had become a zealous preacher of the Gospel. On the occasion of this visit, Paul had evidently been associated with Barnabas, and had completed his first missionary journey, related in *Acts* xiii–xiv. As to how long Barnabas and Saul worked together after being sent on their mission from Antioch, Acts is disappointingly silent.

But it is evident that Paul during these seventeen years had both independently and in connexion with Barnabas done a great deal of evangelization, outside Cyprus and the south-west of Asia Minor, of which there is no record whatever. Besides these two there were many missionaries; but it would appear that little or nothing had been done in the west, except possibly in the Asian province.

First Preachers probably seldom molested.

As far as we are informed, except in Jerusalem, there had been no molestation of the preachers, although Paul provoked hostility at Damascus, which was only natural, considering his antecedents. Nor do we hear of any of these unknown missionaries gathering their converts into churches. It seems permissible to hazard a conjecture that they confined themselves to proclaiming Jesus to be the Messiah, as to accept Him would not necessarily imply a severance from the synagogues which they were accustomed to frequent. In the East

the Jewish communities were large and probably wealthy and influential; nor was there any strong prejudice against the race as there was later in every Greek city. Those who believed in Jesus as the Christ may well have been allowed to be unnoticed and to have provoked no hostility by promulgating their doctrine concerning Him.

Reasons for Hostility to them in the West.

It was quite otherwise when the preachers turned westward. There they were in an entirely different atmosphere. The Jewish religion was tolerated, and even privileged, but the people were hated and suspected. This made the Jews likely to be intolerant of any novel doctrine which might draw suspicion upon their communities. The Apostles, when the Jews drove the disciples out of the synagogues, were compelled to establish themselves in churches. Their preaching of Jesus as a Messiah or King gave Jews and Gentiles a handle against them, especially in Asia, a province devoted to the worship of Rome and Cæsar.[1] Jerusalem was not the centre of this hazardous propaganda; but Antioch, the greatest city in the east. There we find the five founders of western missionary work in the preachers and teachers whose names are recorded in Acts, Barnabas, Symeon Niger, Lucius of Cyrene, Manahem a foster brother of Herod Antipas, and Saul.

The mention of Lucius of Cyrene is interesting, because this province is one evidently important in early Christianity of the evangelization of which nothing is related. Cyrenians are said to have been present on the day of Pentecost, and theirs was one of the synagogues in Jerusalem said to have been hostile to St. Stephen. No less than four are mentioned by name in the New Testament, Simon who bore the Lord's Cross, and his sons Alexander, and Rufus, and Lucius; and before Barnabas and Saul had started from Antioch, Cyprians and Cyrenians had preached Christ to the Greeks. Yet with

[1] See the chapter by the late Professor H. T. F. Duckworth in Foakes-Jackson and Lake's *Beginnings of Christianity*, Vol. I, Part II, Chapter I.

the exception of Synesius, it is hard to recall a single Christian bishop in the first four centuries who hailed from Cyrene.[1] The evangelization of those two early and most important centres of early Christianity, Alexandria and Carthage, is not so much as hinted at in the New Testament.

It has been already indicated above that, except of St. Peter, we have no definite information of the labours of any of the rest of the Twelve Apostles in Acts or elsewhere in the New Testament. None of the other missionaries or preachers mentioned was an immediate follower of Jesus; though tradition places a few among the Seventy mentioned in the Third Gospel. In this category we may place Barnabas of Cyprus, Saul of Tarsus, John, Mark, Silas, Timothy, Philip the Deacon, and Stephen the protomartyr.

The Mission to Cyprus.

Not more than twenty years after the Crucifixion, and possibly less, the three delegates of the Church of Antioch, Barnabas, Saul, and their younger companion John Mark, a relative of Barnabas embarked at Seleucia and landed at Salamis in Cyprus. From what we have gathered from Acts the island, then full of Jews, was hardly virgin soil for the evangelists. These three preached in the synagogues and seem to have had few adventures till they reached Paphos at its eastern extremity. Here we meet with a dramatic yet most perplexing incident. The island of Cyprus was a senatorial province in the hands of a pro-consul named Sergius Paulus. This great official, who is described in Acts as a man of intelligence, sent for Barnabas and Saul and inquired about the subject of their preaching. He had an evident interest in such matters, as he kept by him a Jew named Bar-Jesus, who is called a ' magician and false prophet '. This man endeavoured to dissuade the pro-consul from listening to the two missionaries, and was sternly rebuked by Saul, now called Paul, and smitten with temporary blindness.

[1] Cyrene was inhabited largely by Jews; and it is remarkable how slowly Christianity made its way in such countries or cities. Josephus, XIV, vii, 2.

The bearing of this somewhat bald narrative on early Christian missions is important.

Missionaries and Miracles.

In the first place, though nothing is said about the false prophet exercising his magical arts, but only of his powers of persuasion, there is, at least, an implication that the first Christian preachers were regarded by many who opposed them as workers of magic. It will not be forgotten that St. Paul first suffered persecution at the hands of Gentiles when he cast the spirit of divination out of the girl at Philippi; or that at Ephesus the sons of the High Priest Scæva tried to cast out a demon by the Name of Jesus, as by a valuable charm possessed by the Apostle. Even more remarkable is the legend which has made the career of Simon Peter one continued contest with the magician Simon Magus, in which the inferior magic of the pretender is defeated by the superior wonders wrought by the Apostle. That the career of every Christian missionary was supposed to be accompanied by supernatural happenings is certain; nor were these considered by any means to confirm the truth of what he taught. On the contrary, both Jew and heathen boasted that they possessed at least equal powers.

Silence about Sergius Paulus.

The disappearance of Sergius Paulus from not only the record preserved in Acts—for the author at times condenses his narrative by omission of matters which would be to us of the highest interest—but also of all mention in subsequent legend is very strange. No convert of such rank and importance is mentioned in the New Testament. True, we have no record of him outside Acts; nevertheless there is in the *Fasti* a Sergius Paulus *consul suffectus* in A.D. 94, and the fact that this one is called by so well informed a writer proconsul (ἀνθύπατος) forbids us to relegate him to the long list of imaginary characters in early Christian story. It has been inferred that Saul of Tarsus took the name of Paulus in honour of his

first distinguished convert, but there is absolutely no warrant for this. Nor did Sergius Paulus catch the imagination of any hagiographer. He disappears entirely. Perhaps too much importance is attached to the word 'believed', which is often used in the New Testament in the sense of becoming a member of the Christian society, whilst all that may be implied is that Sergius Paulus, seeing the power of the apostle in blinding Bar-Jesus or Elymas, and being struck by what he had heard, was greatly impressed. At any rate he does not subsequently figure as a Christian.[1]

Paul and Barnabas in south of Asia Minor.

After Cyprus we are told of the joint work of Paul and Barnabas in Asia Minor. If it lacks the vividness of the description of later events related by an eyewitness, the narrative throws much light on missionary methods in the early days of the Gospel.

Pisidian Antioch cannot have been a large town. It contained one synagogue, to which if anything of interest occurred almost all the inhabitants flocked. This happened when Paul, at the invitation of the elders, addressed the congregation. It would not seem that the subject of the sermon gave any offence: on the contrary it was eagerly listened to, and the Apostle was invited to preach again on the following Sabbath. In the meantime everyone was talking about the newcomers, and nearly the entire population, Jewish and Gentile, came to hear them. This aroused the jealousy of the Jews, whose opposition caused the Apostles to make the momentous decision to address themselves henceforward to the Gentiles. It is possible that, as 'the word of the Lord is said to have spread throughout the district', the preaching continued for some time; but finally the leading Jews prejudiced the more important women in the city against Paul and

[1] Renan (*St. Paul*) thinks that the 'conversion of Sergius Paulus meant no more than that he was convinced of Paul's power by the fact that he overcame Elymas. But this does not explain how no notice was taken of such a convert as the Proconsul of Cyprus.

Barnabas; and they were expelled from the neighbourhood.

This missionary journey is of special value as indicating what must have been the course of much of the early preaching of the Gospel. The scene is not in a highly civilized country, with important towns in close proximity to one another, but in a sparsely populated district amid mountainous surroundings. The Antioch here mentioned was nothing like its namesake in Syria, Lystra and Derbe were unimportant towns at the time, and Iconium is described by the geographer Strabo as a little city (*πολίχνιον*).[1]

There is nothing dramatic in the persecutions said to have been endured. The missionaries are driven out of places little better than villages, and pelted by shouting mobs. They are not brought 'before kings and rulers', but before petty officials influenced by Jews and a few wealthy women, and the magistrates connive at the insults they endure. Their sufferings are of the sordid kind endured by the Methodists in the middle years of the eighteenth century. This makes the apparently dry record of *Acts* xiii–xv so interesting, and, from its very absence of idealism, so graphic.

Two things shall be borne in mind before quitting the subject of this journey. One is that the work done was not confined to cities or synagogues. From Lystra the word of the Lord spread throughout the whole district. At Iconium the apostles remained for a considerable (*ἱκανόν*) time. When they fled to Lystra and Derbe they stayed to announce the Gospel in those cities and in the surrounding country. Not content with this they took their lives in their hands, and went over the country again to confirm the faith of their new converts and to add to the number of disciples. Further, they formed them into societies under elders, perhaps similar to those of the synagogues. This means that the missionary work was done thoroughly and systematically, and everything possible

[1] The country seems to be singularly unlikely for pioneer missionaries to have visited of their own accord. The district, where not desert, is suitable for pasturage, and has never been populous, though Iconium was once an important Turkish capital. Deissmann says that Lystra is over 4000 feet above the level of the sea.

Rome
Three Taverns
Appii Forum
Puteoli
ITALY
SICILY
Rhegium
Syracuse
Melita
(Malta)
THRACE
MACEDONIA
EPIRUS
ACHAIA
Philippi
Neapolis
Amphipolis
Thessalonica
Berea
Apollonia
Samothracia
Troas
MYSIA
Assos
Mitylene
Chios
Athens
Corinth
Cenchreae
Samos
Ephesus
Miletus
Trogyllium
Cos
Cnidus
LYCIA
Rhodes
Patara
Myra
CRETE
Lasea
Salmone Prom.
Phenice
Clauda
Fair Havens
SYRTIS
AFRICA
CYRENE
BITHYNIA & PONTUS
GALATIA
CAPPADOCIA
PHRYGIA
ASIA
Antioch
LYCAONIA
Iconium
Derbe
Lystra
PISIDIA
PAMPHYLIA
Perga
Attalia
KINGDOM OF ANTIOCHUS
CILICIA
S. Ieucia
Antioch
SYRIA
Salamis
CYPRUS
Paphos
Sidon
Tyre
Ptolemais
PHOENICIA
Caesarea
Antipatris
Joppa
Jerusalem
JUDAEA
Map to illustrate
SAINT PAUL'S JOURNEYS
0 50 100 200 300 Miles
1st. Journey
2nd. Journey
3rd. Journey
Voyage to Rome

to ensure its permanence was accomplished. This is the first mention we have, moreover, of the establishment of Christian churches in heathen countries. Perhaps, previously to this, a heathen who believed in Jesus as the Messiah attached himself to a Christian, or even to the local Jewish synagogue, but Paul and Barnabas seem to have encouraged their converts to form communities of their own, a great step in the development of the Church.

The principle of Gentile Christianity had been established by St. Peter when he baptized Cornelius, and ate with him and his company at his house of Cæsarea. The work of Paul and Barnabas had proved the possibility of founding a great Gentile Church.

Missionary Work of Paul, Silas, and Timothy.

Into the settlement as arranged between Paul and Barnabas with the Church of Jerusalem, and in the subsequent parting of the two at Antioch, and with the discrepancies between the narrative in Acts and the statements of Paul in his letter to the Galatians, it does not seem necessary here to enter.[1] The second journey undertaken by Paul, Silas, and Timothy illustrates another aspect of missionary enterprise in the first days of the Church.

True to his principle of revisiting those he had converted, Paul with his companions, Silas and Timothy, went for the third time over the country known as Phrygia-Galatia. Save that he took Timothy to be his companion at Lystra, nothing is told us of his work; though it is possible that sickness or persecution, or perhaps both, drove him to take refuge in Galatia proper, where he founded a Christian community. At any rate the missionaries were not able to preach either in Asia or Bithynia; and owing to a vision of a man of Macedonia appearing in a dream to Paul, and saying "Come over to Macedonia and help us," they took the momentous decision to preach the Gospel in Europe.

It is remarkable that Paul was not allowed at this time to

[1] Cf. *Acts* xv. 6–21 with *Gal.* ii. 1 ff.

proclaim his message in the two provinces of Asia Minor, Asia and Bithynia, in which Christianity was soon destined to have its most important centres. The province of Asia was full of churches early in the second century, whilst the number of Christians in Bithynia was the cause of no little perplexity to the younger Pliny about A.D. 110. The question of the conversion of Asia must be deferred for the present, and we must follow Paul in his adventurous journey in Macedonia.

Conditions of Early Missionary Travel.

How the first preachers maintained themselves and were able to go as far as they did can only be conjectured. Some of the journeys of Paul and his companions must have been attended by extraordinary hardship. They probably carried a small stock of money, but otherwise they must almost literally have obeyed the Lord's injunction to the Twelve in *Matthew* x. But in the ancient world hospitality to travellers was a duty recognized by Jews and Greeks as well as by Christians. In that curious document the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, which has been well described as an intensely Jewish Catechism, not only apostles, but Christian travellers, are to be received for two and even three nights and given enough food to reach their next halting-place, a rule which may have been derived from a common Jewish practice. This may explain two circumstances recorded in Acts concerning the mission of Paul and Silas. One is the circumcision of Timothy before taking him as a companion. Outwardly Paul and Silas were Jewish teachers of some importance, and as such were certain of entertainment by their fellow countrymen. Had they been accompanied by a young Gentile, they would not have been sure of so ready a welcome.[1] The other is that they were "forbidden by the Holy Ghost to speak the word in Asia". In that populous province they must have passed through many Jewish settlements and have realized so

[1] *Acts* xvi. 1–3. St. Luke's comment is "on account of the Jews in those parts".

thoroughly the hopelessness of their task as missionaries of Jesus that they felt that God had not called on them to make converts in the district. Nevertheless they pressed forward, and finding work in Bithynia equally impracticable, determined, under divine guidance, to take their message out into a country where Jewish influence was less preponderant. When they crossed into Macedonia they truly took the Gospel to the Gentiles. Their adventures at Philippi and Thessalonica are typical of the perils of missionary work in almost every age, and the charges brought against the missionaries and the treatment they received characteristic of the two cities.

Ill-treated at Philippi.

The healing of a girl with ' a spirit of divination ', who was a source of profit to her owners, was the cause of heathen hostility to Paul and Silas at Philippi, where, as at Ephesus and later in Bithynia, the new preaching was attacked as bad for the business interests of the place. With the Philippian Jews the missionaries seem to have lived in amity, and to have habitually attended their meeting-place for worship. The local magistrates were probably rough Roman veterans, who, on hearing that the men about whom a riot was being made were Jewish strangers, charged with corrupting the morals of Roman citizens, dealt with the case summarily by ordering them to be soundly flogged and imprisoned. In the morning their release was ordered; but their hasty act of injustice called forth a serious protest. Paul and Silas claimed that they were Roman citizens; and the two had to be dismissed with profuse apologies. Without doubt the story of the misconduct of the Philippian magistrates spread far and wide, and the preachers were secured from similar ill-treatment in Macedonia. Philippi was probably the first Gentile church, and certainly no church was subsequently a cause of greater happiness to St. Paul because of the loyal affection continuously displayed towards him by his converts.

Charged with Disloyalty at Thessalonica.

When the mission reached Thessalonica they found a large city with a considerable Jewish population. Paul's experience at Pisidian Antioch seems to have been repeated. At first favourably heard in the synagogue, the preachers excited hostility in making converts among the Gentiles who had been previously attracted by the older Judaism, and especially among the wealthy ladies of the city. The jealousy of the Jews found scope in intrigue. They stirred up the mob to accuse Paul and Silas of disloyalty to the empire, in this suggesting another prejudice against Christianity, namely that it was likely to disturb existing conditions under which such a city as Thessalonica was enjoying peace and prosperity, as a free city with its own government. The cry was that the Christians were turning the world upside down, saying that Jesus was another Emperor. As Paul and Silas were in concealment, the city rulers, evidently disbelieving their absurd charge, took surety of Jason with whom Paul and Silas were lodging and dismissed the case.

Thessalonica is of especial interest to the student of missions, as this is probably the first church to which epistles extant in the New Testament were sent; and also because here we have the first instance of Christian Gentile converts being persecuted, and hints at the subject of the message addressed to them. The two epistles to this church are most instructive documents, if the circumstances under which they were written are considered. In the first place the Thessalonian church had been founded and organized only a few months, or possibly weeks, before the letters were written. The preaching of the Apostle had led them to expect a sudden and tragically dramatic return of Christ, and of the revelation of a ' Lawless One ' who would cause great trouble on earth and ultimately be annihilated. Already perturbed by rumours and forged letters from Paul, the Thessalonians were in a state of disorder, and some had refused to work, preferring to live for the very short time the world was to last on their

richer brethren. Naturally the church needed the steadying voice of St. Paul, who though he then shared the belief in the near approach of a great catastrophe never lost sight of the need of sobriety and orderly conduct.

Paul at Athens.

Philippi was a military outpost of the Roman Empire; Thessalonica a free city and trading centre; the next place, Athens, the intellectual capital of the world. This is the first place in the recorded journeys of St. Paul where he was entirely alone. His proceedings on this occasion are of great interest, if only showing how a Christian teacher made his approach to the heathen in the midst of academic surroundings. It is true that he went to the synagogues where apparently he encountered little or no opposition; but the most significant scene of his operations was in the Agora. What occurred must have been similar to the occasion on which Justin Martyr met Trypho in the Xystus of Ephesus a little less than a century later. We may imagine the Apostle wearing the cloak of a philosopher, and conversing with the versatile and inquisitive inhabitants of Athens who desired to be informed as to his system, which he afterwards publicly expounded by invitation on the Areopagus.

Whether or not Luke has given an accurate summary of what St. Paul said on this occasion, this famous speech on Mars Hill is of deep interest as the earliest Christian apology addressed to heathen. It begins with the assumption that the Athenians worshipped the true God, though they were ignorant of the fact. Then the Apostle asserts that we ought not to think that God the Creator of all dwells in any one temple, or is benefited by any service man can render Him, because He is the author of the life of all. All mankind through God shares in a common brotherhood. The past has been a time of ignorance in which humanity has been groping in the dark seeking to discover and lay hold of God. Now, however, God has been manifested to man by their future Judge, Jesus Christ, the assurance of whose message is

seen in the fact that God has raised Him from the dead.

Speech at Athens an Early "Apology".

This assumption that the religion of the Christ is no new one, but the natural one of mankind unspoiled by superstition, is made by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans, and is the underlying implication of the indignant words addressed by him and Barnabas to the men of Lystra, when they wanted to do them worship as gods. It is the fundamental argument of all Apologies for Christianity, and it may be safely assumed that from henceforth in the West there was a regular approach made to the Gentiles by the proclamation of Jesus as their Judge, rather than by insistence on His nature and His relationship to the Father.

It is a remarkable instance of the historical fidelity of Acts that the story of Paul's visit to Athens ends so abruptly. His hearers are not 'cut to the heart', as were Peter's on the day of Pentecost, nor do they inquire what to do to be saved. Some derided the Apostle, others with true academic politeness expressed a hope that they might hear him again. Only two, a woman named Damaris, or Damalis, and Dionysius the Areopagite are recorded by name as believers. No church is organized. Paul simply departs. Yet of all Paul's converts no one has left so deep an impression in subsequent tradition as Dionysius, whose spurious writings were so much studied by the scholastics of the Middle Ages.

The little effect produced by the speech at Athens may be characteristic of the early propaganda of the Christians. It was not apologies which produced the converts. People were seldom drawn to Christ by appeals to reason; and the speech at Athens, full as it is of courtesy, well-chosen topics, and based on a sound philosophy, was for the time at least a comparative failure. We must turn to the subsequent missionary career of the Apostle in order to discover the secret of his success, and to aid us we have invaluable hints let fall almost casually in his letters.

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Photo: Alinari

THE AREOPAGUS, ATHENS

Facing page 408

The Epistles to the Thessalonians.

About the time of his departure from Athens Paul wrote to his converts at Thessalonica, and in the two epistles we have the earliest opportunity of gaining an insight into a Christian community. Even if the letter to the Galatians was earlier in date, it was addressed to believers in different cities scattered over a wide extent of country; and besides, we are not completely agreed as to who these Galatians were; but Thessalonica provides us with the opportunity of looking into the condition of a community in a single city, of the origin of which we have, at least, some information.

Thessalonica was a busy mercantile and manufacturing town, an excellent place to make the centre of diffusing opinions throughout Macedonia. Paul, who had a wonderful eye for strategic points, had evidently hoped to evangelize the province from this city, and had achieved some success. "For from you," he tells his converts, "sounded out the word of the Lord not only in Macedonia and Achaia, &c." The Apostle had evidently intended to make the city his home for a while, as he resumed his craft there in order not in any way to be a burthen on his converts. The little body of believers was evidently organized during the very short space of Paul and his companions' residence among them. Persecution at the hands of the Jews who had evidently the support of the more disorderly citizens had given the community a certain cohesion, and the Thessalonian Christians had evidently recognized leaders of their own. There can be little doubt that the general conduct of this infant church was satisfactory to Paul. Its members had shown firmness in persecution and loyalty to their founders. Nevertheless, as Gentiles, they needed to be warned against underestimating the seriousness of carnal sin, and are admonished to observe strictly the laws of sexual morality. But the real danger lay in the excitement caused by the message that Jesus would shortly appear in glory, which was leading some to disregard the ordinary duties of life, and abandon themselves to an idleness which, combined

with a feverish expectation of supernatural happenings, would certainly encourage disorder.

Paul's Early Eschatology.

Judging by the tone of both the Thessalonian letters the preaching of the Mission in Macedonia must have been far more exciting in character than it was subsequently. The last day is pictured as a dramatic scene. Those who had slept in Jesus are to come with Him, the Lord is to descend from heaven with a shout with the voice of the Archangel and the trump of God. We who are alive and remain are to be caught up to meet the Lord in the air. The Lord Jesus is to be revealed from heaven with His mighty angels, with flaming fire, taking vengeance upon them that know not God. All restraint will be removed from the earth and the wicked will be revealed, " whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders ". Him " the Lord shall destroy with the spirit of His mouth and shall destroy with the brightness of His coming ". Such fiery preaching in a busy town like Thessalonica had naturally more attraction than the calmly reasoned appeal to the leisured citizens of Athens.[1]

Eschatological Christianity undoubtedly was a great means of ensuring the reception of the Gospel; and if we are now inclined to condemn its presence in the Thessalonian letters, or to depreciate the earliest preachers for having accepted and proclaimed it, it may be well to remember that it has not only been a powerful influence on conversion to Christ in the past, but is operative in the present day. The *Dies Irae* has still its appeal and will continue to awe future generations. The mystery of the unseen world with its emotions, hopes, consolations, and terrors cannot be entirely absent from the thoughts of anyone who accepts Jesus as the Christ and his Lord.

But the greatness of St. Paul is seen less in his infallibility than in his capacity to learn by experience. He was not a young man, nor an inexperienced missionary, when he wrote

[1] *1 Thess.* iv. 13–8 resembles *1 Cor.* xv. in some respects; but *2 Thess.* ii. 1–12 is unique in the recorded utterances or writings of the Apostle.

to the Thessalonians, but his later letters show how rapidly his mind developed.

The Church of Corinth.

Paul's arrival at Corinth was a truly momentous episode in his missionary career. In the first place it marked for a time at least the end of his days of itinerancy, as he was able to remain more than a year in one place to superintend the firm establishment of a Christian community. Further, he was in a centre from which he could be in constant touch with important places elsewhere. He also came in contact with fellow-workers of a different type from those who had been connected with the Church at Jerusalem. In a sense his known work as a preacher came to an end in three great cities, Corinth, Ephesus, and Rome; for though there are hints in the Acts and his epistles of his indefatigable work as a traveller hereafter, nothing is definitely known of his adventures as such. For our purpose this part of the life of the Apostle is important as illustrative of the spread of the Gospel in populous towns.

Corinth a Cosmopolitan City.

The older Corinth with its venerable and famous past was no more. The city, one of the richest in Greece, had, as the capital of the Achean league, too deeply offended Rome to be pardoned; and, after its capture by the consul Mummius in 146 B.C., was utterly destroyed and no inhabitants allowed to remain on its ruined site. In the same year Carthage experienced a similar fate, both cities being left desolate for a century, when Julius Cæsar resolved to rebuild them in 46 B.C. Both in the first century were of great importance as commercial cities; but the Corinth of St. Paul was a comparatively new place, inhabited by a cosmopolitan crowd with no tradition of corporate life, and the city was notorious for its immorality.

But for missionary purposes, Corinth possessed great advantages. It was full of transient visitors passing from East

to West, who would carry the Gospel as they journeyed either to Italy or to Asia Minor. At Corinth the Apostle was brought into contact with Rome. He found there Aquila and his wife Priscilla, with whom he may have been previously acquainted. They, or at least Aquila, were natives of Pontus and had been expelled with other Jews by the Emperor Claudius, according to Suetonius, for raising constant tumults about 'Chrestus'. It is highly probable that this couple were believers; for nothing whatever is hinted at of their being converted by Paul. This would mean that there were Christians in the imperial city before the middle of the first century. That all the Jewish inhabitants left Rome because of the imperial decree is improbable; probably it was confined to foreigners, or to Jews who had made themselves conspicuous in the tumult. Anyhow, most even of those who had been expelled would find themselves soon back in the Jewish quarters. With these Paul was probably in correspondence, as the voyage to Rome was constantly being taken by traders, especially in the summer months. Aquila and Priscilla, who entertained the Apostle and perhaps took him into partnership, became devoted friends, and, no doubt, brought him into contact with the Roman believers. Thus Paul was an influence in Rome long before he visited the city.[1]

Paul's Method of Evangelization at Corinth.

The brief narrative in the eighteenth chapter of Acts is important as illustrating the method of evangelization at this period. All the week Paul worked at his trade, and on the Sabbath he attended the synagogue and took part in the discussions, doubtless on points of law. He created a good impression on both the Jews and Greeks who came there, and convinced them of his right to be heard. But he did not attempt to make converts at first, and was allowed to teach unmolested.

But when Silas and Timothy came to Corinth, Paul took a

[1] Is it not possible that Suetonius' statement that the Jews were expelled from the city by Claudius is a hint that some preacher had aroused Jewish fanaticism by declaring the Messiah had come in the person of Jesus?

bolder attitude and plainly declared that Jesus was the Christ. This procedure was assuredly judicious. To proclaim the message of salvation might seem the more heroic course; but to gain the confidence of a missionary's audience is surely the wiser. The introductory work of Paul did this by 'persuading (ἔπειθεν, *Acts* xviii. 4) the Jews and Greeks', who would all have been up in arms had he brought forward his message suddenly. As it was, when he proclaimed Jesus and was rejected and had left the synagogue, he had a band of faithful disciples. Henceforward he preached in the house of a devout heathen named Justus, and was joined by Crispus, a ruler of the synagogue, and all his family. Here he established a veritable church, and many Corinthians not only believed but were baptized, thus formally accepting the Faith.

In his first epistle to Corinth Paul says expressly that he did not baptize anyone himself except Crispus and Gaius, and, possibly, a very few others. It is not necessary here to discuss the doctrine of baptism; but it is evident that the rite was regarded with increasing importance, partly as a step by which a believer became indissolubly united to the Christian body. It is remarkable that at this early period the principal leader among the missionaries rarely baptized in person. When Peter converted Cornelius and his companions "he commanded them to be baptized". The Fourth Gospel says that Jesus Himself did not baptize but only His disciples. At a very early date, however, the duty of baptizing was entrusted to the head of each Christian community. St. Paul lays very great stress on the mysterious significance and the grace conferred by this Sacrament.

Difficulties due to the Character of his Converts.

When later Paul wrote to the Corinthians much light is thrown on the difficulties of a Christian missionary in keeping together the community he had organized. No such vivid description of a Christian society in early days is to be found as in the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

The Corinthians were true Greeks in being receptive and

intelligent, and at the same time factious and disputatious, evidently regarding the new religion as an opportunity for indulging in their national propensities. They demanded of the Gospel something to satisfy the intellect rather than the heart, and to provide food for speculation rather than a motive for right conduct. The acceptance of Christ as their Saviour did not hinder their condoning a serious moral scandal, nor check their inveterate propensity for litigation among themselves. The women showed a tendency to disregard the ordinary conventions of propriety by appearing unveiled in the public assemblies.[1] All were much perturbed by the question as to how far they should shun contamination by eating meat which might have formed part of a sacrifice, but this did not hinder them from converting the Supper of the Lord into a riotous heathen meal, marked alike by excess and a selfish disregard of the poorer brethren. Indeed the Christian assemblies were disorderly in the extreme. Those who possessed the so-called ' Gift of Tongues ' exercised it with a want of restraint which contributed nothing to edification, the prophets delivered their messages with no regard to one another, and, as St. Paul says, if a heathen entered the apartment he would say it was filled by little better than frantic enthusiasts celebrating their orgies. Even the doctrine of the resurrection was denied by people who anticipated that the appearance of the Christ in glory would only be witnessed by those who survived to see it in person and not by those who had already died.

Such then were the difficulties which an apostle encountered in his efforts to transform a Gentile congregation into a well-ordered Christian body devoted to the attainment of the virtues which should adorn a true Church of Christ.

Corinth probably typical of other Churches.

Nowhere does the spiritual genius of Paul shine more brightly than in the First Epistle to the Corinthians when

[1] *1 Cor.* xi. 1–16. The writer of this chapter has discussed the question of St. Paul and female ministrations in his *St. Paul*, Appendix, p. 335.

read in the light of the circumstances under which it was written. He treats every question which the Corinthians had put to him in a previous letter with due consideration; and, trivial as some of these appear to us, he always seems to perceive their true bearing. He deduces lessons valuable for all time and in all conditions of life from incidents purely local and temporal in character. The epistle is well worthy of careful study if only as a guide to the founder of a new church; for Paul not only understood how by persuasion to make converts but the far more difficult art of keeping them when made, and directing their progress. The Corinthians were in evident danger of making their Church into little better than a factious debating society, and their services of worship into orgies, such as were common in Greece. It was necessary for the missionaries of the new faith to be constantly on their watch for similar signs of degeneration among their converts. What happened at Corinth was probably, if we did but know, happening in every Gentile settlement of Christianity, though the believers in Macedonia, especially Philippi, displayed a better type of religion than the unstable Greek population of Corinth. It is no small credit to the methods adopted by the first preachers of the Gospel and to the power of their message, that Gentile Christianity, which lacked the background and the previous discipline of Judaism, was so great a success morally and spiritually in a very short time; for any knowledge of human nature will enable us to realize the difficult problems they met with.

Misunderstandings concerning the Early Missionaries.

Hitherto little notice has been taken of the difficulties Paul and his companions had to encounter; and it must not be forgotten that these were experienced by countless other itinerating missionaries. The Apostle has given a brief but eloquent description of what he had endured, in his Second Epistle to the Corinthians, and in a single verse enumerates no less than eight kinds of perils. " In journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by my own

countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren." Here, however, it may be sufficient to mention a few typical examples of the sort of accusations by which their enemies sought to embroil them with the magistracy in different places.

Accusation of Sedition.

The Roman Empire in which the first missionaries made their adventurous journeys was by no means like the highly organized bureaucracy of the fourth century, but a collection of civil administrations varying in every city. It is noteworthy that in the record of Paul and Barnabas's travels in Asia Minor at Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, they were not accused of illegality to the magistracy, but were objects of mob violence. In Europe it was otherwise: Paul at Philippi, Thessalonica, and Corinth was accused of sedition. At this time the charges were regarded as ridiculous, but on them the persecutions of later years mainly rested.

Thus as we have seen at Philippi the mob brought Paul and Silas before the magistrates, declaring in the first place they were Jews, secondly that they were disturbers of the peace, and finally that they were teaching customs which it was unlawful for Roman citizens to observe. As Jews, the missionaries were not amenable to any law. Their religion was fully recognized; but were they justified in persuading Roman citizens to embrace a foreign superstition? The Philippian *duumvirs*, as we have seen, behaved with illegal violence which they had cause to regret.

At Thessalonica the accusers and the charge made against the Apostles were different. The city was a free town with its own officials, and its liberty to manage its own affairs was scrupulously respected by the Roman government. The people were equally careful not to forfeit their privileges by giving offence. But in every large centre of population there must be a disorderly element, and Jewish intrigues fomented a riot, the blame of which was laid on Paul's shoulders. He

and his friends were accused of disturbing the peace of the world by declaring that Jesus and not Cæsar was the true Emperor. The city rulers (*politarchs*) saw the absurdity of the charge and contented themselves with making Jason, Paul's host, give security for his good behaviour. Nevertheless the Apostle had in the end to leave Macedonia, though his friends Silas and Timothy were allowed to remain. Ridiculous as the charge of disloyalty was, it became later one of the most serious causes of persecution, and one of the chief reasons for which anyone could be condemned was the refusal to offer sacrifice to the *genius* of the emperor. The insistence of the early apologists that they were good citizens and free from any thought of sedition is a proof of the frequency of the charge of disloyalty.

The Jews attempt to deprive Christian Preachers of their Rights as Jews.

At Corinth, persecution came as usual from a Jewish source. Paul had apparently been there some time when Gallio entered upon his office as proconsul, and was naturally inexperienced in his new duties, and the Jews had hopes that he would be led to oblige them by condemning Paul. The charge was brief and apparently simple. "This man is persuading people to worship God contrary to the Law." This was a crafty attempt to deprive Paul of his undoubted right to be recognized as a Jew, and thereby to be tolerated. Gallio saw the snare and dismissed the accusers with just contempt.[1] As Acts abundantly proves, the Roman government would not interfere with a Jewish teacher who was protected by law; but once Christianity ceased to be identified with Judaism it became an illegal religion.

Christianity opposed to Financial Interests.

Paul's two years at Ephesus are very significant in illus-

[1] The absence of any hint that the Roman government molested the preachers of the gospel, or regarded their message as illegal, supplies an argument in favour of the early date of Acts, unless it is an apology.

trating missionary work in those early days; and after this period his labours as a free preacher of the Gospel were drawing to a close. From that time we have no precise knowledge of his adventures as an evangelist. At Ephesus the enemies were not Jews but a guild of craftsmen whose business it was alleged was injured by the new teaching.

In the story of it as related in Acts we have a vivid account of a heathen attack on Christianity in a large centre of population, the motive of which is sufficiently clear.

At Philippi, as we have seen, a small company, owing to a girl who had, one may suppose, some of the powers attributed to a modern medium, caused Paul and Silas to be accused of Jewish propaganda; but at Ephesus a formidable guild of workmen raised a riot because the new religion injured trade. This is the first example of Christianity incurring unpopularity for being opposed to pecuniary interests. Much the same reason may have been at the back of the numerous accusations of Christians brought to the notice of Pliny the Younger, when proconsul of Bithynia; and he notes as one of the salutary results of his severity that the farmers had once more found a market for hay for the sacrificial victims.

Ephesus a Centre of Christian Propaganda.

At the time of the Apostle's narrow escape from the disturbance caused by Demetrius the silversmith, it must be remembered that Christian propaganda was already being accomplished in Asia on a considerable scale, and that *Acts* xix implies that already Ephesus was a centre of missionary activity.

Paul's friends Aquila and Priscilla were, as is seen in their dealings with Apollos, capable of acting independently, and as their business led them to travel extensively, they were able to spread the gospel far afield; and though Paul wrote later to the Christians in the Roman province of Asia, he had at least never visited the Laodicæans for whose welfare he expresses much anxiety. When Demetrius raised the workmen against Paul he declares " that not only in Ephesus but

throughout Asia this Paul hath persuaded and turned away much people", from which it may be legitimately inferred that not only the Apostle himself but his emissaries had been working energetically in one of the most populous provinces in the empire. It is strange, however, that so little credit is given in Christian tradition to the labours of Paul during his important sojourn at Ephesus. The great and rapid spread of the Gospel in Asia is one of the most remarkable facts in Christian history.

Unrecorded Labours of Paul.

Acts only gives hints of Paul's evangelistic work after his departure from Ephesus; but from his epistles it is evident that he traversed a great extent of country, and a single sentence in his letter to the Romans suggests that, far from keeping to the coast of Macedonia, he boldly penetrated inland and even reached the province of Illyricum. Careful as he was never to neglect any church he had previously founded, the Apostle had the enthusiasm of a pioneer for going where no missionary of the Gospel had been before. This casual mention of Illyricum affords food for some interesting surmises, and makes it less incredible that Paul may have visited Galatia proper and even at the end of his life fulfilled his purpose of going to Spain. His indefatigable zeal may well have led him away from the beaten track into districts in which no record of his missionary work was preserved even in local tradition. For the present, however, we may leave the record of the labours of St. Paul to consider the perplexing problem of the extraordinary success of the Gospel in Asia Minor and especially in the Roman province called Asia.

Diffusion of Christianity in the Province of Asia.

In 133 B.C. Attalus III, King of Pergamus, bequeathed his dominions to the Roman senate and people, and the new province developed into the most prosperous part of the Empire. In the book of Revelation seven churches are addressed, and Ignatius wrote to three of these and to two places besides.

Thus by the close of the first century we know of nine Christian settlements of sufficient importance to be specially selected as representing 'Asia'; Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicæa being addressed by John, and Ephesus, Magnesia, Tralles, Philadelphia, and Smyrna by Ignatius. In addition to these Paul sent letters to Colossæ and Laodicæa. Another city mentioned in the New Testament, Hierapolis, attained no little celebrity in early Christianity. Many of these places in the second century are known to have been bishoprics, presided over by some of the most important men in the early Church.

As to the evangelization of the country, except for what is told us in Acts about Paul's labours, we have no contemporary information. From the fourth chapter of the Epistle to the Colossians we may infer that, although the Apostle had never visited the valley of the Lycus, where Colossæ, Hierapolis, and Laodicæa were situated, yet he intended doing so, and had been in correspondence with these towns through his friends. St. Mark, the relative of Barnabas, it may be noticed here, was evidently likely to visit Colossæ; and what is true of this group of cities may be true of others within the province of Asia, although, strange to say, tradition connects the evangelization of Asia with the names of John and Philip, but never with that of Paul.

How did the Gospel reach Rome?

The labours of Paul as a missionary were at any rate suspended for many years by his imprisonment at Cæsarea, and his journey to Rome and detention in the City. It is now necessary to attempt to answer the question: How did the Gospel reach Rome? That it had done so long before Paul's arrival between A.D. 58–60 is abundantly evident.

For more than a century the Jews had been a large and united foreign community in the city. They were represented in almost every social class. The poor Jew with his wallet was a common object in the streets; the Jewish quarter with its illuminations on Herod's birthday was noted by the satirist;

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Photo. L. B. Audigier

FRENCH TRAPPIST MONKS' CHAPEL, TRE FONTANE, ROME

The traditional site of the execution of St. Paul. His head was said to have made three distinct leaps; at each place where it struck the earth a fountain welled forth

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the fortune-tellers and vendors of dreams were often Jews, for this race with its peculiar religion and its strange characteristics inspired the populace with involuntary awe. The Jewish slave and freedman's intelligence made them useful to the aristocracy, and the princes of the Herodian house enjoyed the friendship of the imperial household and the leaders of society. Tradition, which we need not question except in its details, implies that from the first appearance of the belief in Jesus as the Christ, He excited interest in Rome.

Of the early history of Roman Christianity there is a constant danger of our assuming more knowledge than we actually possess; but it is almost certain that the story of Jesus must have been familiar in certain circles from the first. Legend says that St. Peter came to the City when Herod Agrippa "put forth his hand to vex certain of the Church", that is after A.D. 41; and it connects this his first visit with the Senator Pudens. According to another story Peter supplants Simon Magus and drives him from the house of another senator, named Marcellus. Although we may question the right of these stories to be regarded in the light of history, it is obvious that there was at the bottom of them a belief that Romans of high rank had from the first taken an interest in Christianity. This seems to be confirmed by the evidence of the catacombs as well as by the letter of Ignatius to Rome praising the liberality of the church there, and earnestly requesting them not to use their wealth and influence to procure his pardon and thereby deprive him of the honours of martyrdom. When Paul came to Rome as a prisoner the Roman brethren went as far as Appii Forum, forty-three miles from the City, to meet him, which seems to indicate that they were not all members of the lowest class. If the sixteenth chapter of Romans were really intended for the residents in Rome, Paul must have had many friends and possibly relations there. According to Tacitus the Christians in the city must have been very numerous in the days of Nero. It is strange that we should know so little about the Roman Church; for, except Clement, its early bishops are nothing more than

names to us, and its sacred sites are, to say the least, doubtful.

Paul in the Pastoral Epistles (I, II Timothy and Titus).

Even if the Pastoral Epistles are not admitted to be by St. Paul they are certainly ancient, and the notices in them regarding the movements of the Apostles are thought by many, who reject the rest of the letters, to be genuine. From these we gather that after two years at Rome Paul was set at liberty and revisited his old haunts in Macedonia and Asia Minor. Crete is mentioned as having a Christian church under a very important apostolic man, for Titus appears in the Pauline epistles as a coadjutor worthy of the greatest confidence. The Epistle implies that St. Paul visited Crete, as he left Titus there; nothing is told us about how it was he came there, nor what he did. The Cretans who were at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost may have carried the Gospel to their native island. Very little is known of Jewish settlements in Crete, though Josephus says that an impostor who pretended to be Alexander, the son of Herod the Great and Mariamne, was well received by the Jews there. From the remark that at a later time Titus had gone to Dalmatia, that district and Crete must be added to the provinces in which Christ had been preached in the Apostolic age. There remains Spain, whither Paul says he had desired to go after his visit to Rome, and which may be the boundary of the West spoken of by Clement of Rome as a sphere of Paul's apostolic labours.

The existence of the very ancient belief that the Roman Church was founded by Peter and Paul, who appointed Linus as the first bishop, is one of the great problems of the history of early Christianity. From the New Testament we have positive reason for saying that Paul did not plant the Faith there, and no evidence that Peter visited the City. Roman Christianity may even be earlier than the alleged sojourn of Peter in Rome, i.e. before A.D. 44.

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Photo. L. B. Audigier

FRENCH TRAPPIST MONKS' CHAPEL, TRE FONTANE, ROME

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St. Thomas in India.

Legend says that Christianity reached India even before Paul's death. In the *Acts of Thomas* it is related how Jesus sent Thomas to preach in India, having sold the Apostle as a slave to a merchant who brought him to the court of King Gundophorus. There was really a Parthian king of that name, as his coins attest, and he seems to have reigned in north-west India. The Christians of St. Thomas, who claim to have been converted by the Apostle, live about Madras on the south-eastern coast of the peninsula still, and form an unquestionably ancient society, although it is extremely doubtful whether they can trace the origin of their church to an apostolic foundation.

Early Missionary Work Thorough.

The details as to how the missionary work of the Church in the first two or three generations was carried on, and even the names of the first preachers, must remain unknown; all that we can say is that the work was energetically and, one may add, thoroughly performed. St. Ignatius was martyred in Rome in about A.D. 108, and in his letters it is plain that the churches of Asia Minor were completely organized bodies in communion with one another; and from the correspondence between Pliny and Trajan, the next province of Bithynia was already full of Christians. Nor is it of such primary importance to inquire precisely into how these infant churches were governed, as it is to realize the fact that wherever the Gospel had spread Christian communities were regularly established with duly constituted officers, and that the idea of a world-wide Christian society or Catholic Church was prevalent at an early date.

Yet when all this is taken into account there are a few perplexing problems to be faced, some of which are not easy of solution. Two of these seem worthy of especial consideration for the scholars of the future: (1) the relation of Christianity to Judaism; and (2) the extent of the

hostility of the Roman government to the Church. I do no more than venture to suggest these without attempting any solution.

Two Problems:

(1) Relation of the Church to the Synagogue.

How far had the Church separated itself entirely from the synagogue? From the tenor of the arguments in the Epistles to the Galatians and 2 Corinthians it is plain that St. Paul was constantly troubled by Christians who were disposed to regard the faith of Jesus as a branch of the old Jewish polity. Towards the end of the Apostle's career the situation seems to become less acute, and the observance of the Law no longer the burning question. By the days of the publication of the Fourth Gospel and of the letters of Ignatius and Clement, Judaism and Christianity seem to be distinct religions at any rate in lands west of Palestine. In the East, judging by the romance of the Clementines, which may reflect an earlier view than that of its composition in Palestine and the East, what is called Pauline Christianity seems to have been repudiated as an innovation; but was it so in Europe or even Asia Minor? Were there really Petrine and Pauline schools at the beginning of the second century? As we realize our ignorance, can we accept the plausible theories, which were so widely accepted only a few years ago?

(2) When did Gentile Persecution begin?

Again, did Gentile persecution originate with Nero; and is there sufficient evidence to show that the attempt to stamp out Christianity began so early? I confess to a difficulty in accepting the very positive statements of scholars of whom I dare not claim to be more than the humblest of admirers, as to the reality of the persecutions by Nero and Domitian in Rome, and am inclined to believe that the days of legalized persecution began with Trajan. We have practically but few facts to go upon, and in the absence of any definite informa-

tion doubt is, to say the least, allowable.[1] But that the silent spread of the Christian faith and its amazing success from the day of Pentecost to, say, A.D. 110 is one of the most astonishing facts in human history is beyond question.

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[1] The testimony to the persecution by Nero is recorded by two Roman historians, Tacitus and Suetonius, both of whom were very young when it occurred, and wrote in mature life. There is no contemporary Christian document describing it, though it may be alluded to in the book of Revelation. The question is whether Nero executed the so-called Christians for their religion or for their alleged conspiracy to burn the city in A.D. 64. Tacitus says nothing of the sufferers being martyrs in the sense of braving death rather than deny their faith, and Suetonius makes no mention of the cruelties inflicted by Nero on the Christians after the fire; but he only says that the emperor, among his salutary reforms in the best years of his reign, made the Christians, among others, leave the city of Rome. Of Domitian's alleged persecution at the end of his reign—he died in A.D. 96—the evidence is not clear. Tertullian at the end of the second century is our authority that Nero and Domitian, because they were the two worst emperors in the first centuries, persecuted the Christians—a proof that they were afflicted by none but by wicked rulers. I have discussed the subject in *Peter, Prince of Apostles* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1928).

CHAPTER III

The History of Christianity from the Death of St. Paul to the Reign of Constantine.

I. The Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries

NOTE.—The standard work on this subject is Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (translated, *The Expansion of Christianity*).

The Spread of Christianity to the Reign of Diocletian.

The death of Paul left the Christian Church already a widespread society, represented by local communities scattered over Syria, Asia Minor, the Balkan Peninsula, and Italy. It had established its independence of the Judaism out of which it had sprung, and accepted a mission of universal scope. The imagination of its members had been caught by the wide and rapid expansion of the new faith in the short period since the death of its Founder. That the Gospel had been preached ' in all creation under heaven ', or ' in the whole world ', were clearly hyperbolical expressions in the lifetime of Paul,[1] but they register a consciousness of universality which is an integral part of the early Christian outlook. In geographical extension and in sheer numbers the achievement of the first generation of missionary activity is very remarkable. " A great multitude ", we are told, perished for the faith in Rome alone under Nero.[2]

[1] *Col.* i. 6, 23.

[2] *Multitudo ingens*, Tacitus, *Ann.* XV, 44; πολὺ πλῆθος, I Clement, vi, 1.

Such a term is no doubt relative, but it implies a substantial membership. Elsewhere in the West Christianity was but feebly represented. It may well be that it reached both Gaul and Spain before the end of the first century, but if so, it was quite unimportant. In the East, where it began, it went powerfully forward. Besides the regions already mentioned, it is on all accounts probable that Egypt (Alexandria) and the neighbouring Cyrene were early evangelized.[1] In its old seats in Asia Minor Christianity was a force to be reckoned with by the beginning of the second century. By sheer accident we possess direct information for Bithynia in 112 A.D.; we learn that Christians were numerous in town and country, so that in some places temples were deserted and pagan festivals discontinued.[2] Our informant is the governor of the province himself, and his statement must be accepted, however surprising it may be. Nor is there reason to think that Bithynia was exceptional among the Anatolian provinces.

In the second century there was great missionary activity along the eastern frontier and beyond, where the ancient Church of Antioch exerted its influence. It is significant that a legion quartered at Melitene had many Christian soldiers under Marcus Aurelius.[3] Not less significant is the growth of a Syriac-speaking Christianity which in the second century had its own translation of the Gospels and a considerable indigenous literature. It found a centre in the Mesopotamian kingdom of Edessa, whose native kings were Christian before their territory was absorbed in the Empire in 216 A.D. The period of the Antonines saw the beginnings of the advance of Christianity in the West. Under Marcus there were churches in Gaul important enough to draw down persecution on them-

[1] " Egypt and the parts of Libya about Cyrene " are mentioned as the home of persons present in Jerusalem on the Day of Pentecost in *Acts* ii. 9–11: the list may well be influenced by the author's knowledge of the geographical spread of Christianity in his own time. Cf. also *Acts* xi. 20; xviii. 24.

[2] Pliny, *Epp.* X, xcvi [xcvii], 9.

[3] So much at least is probably historical in the legend of the " Thundering Legion " (Xiphilinus, Epitome of Dio Cassius, lxxi, 11; Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V, v).

selves, and they found a leader in the great theologian Irenæus, who had come from the province of Asia. Gallic Christianity, however, remained as yet comparatively weak. In North Africa there was a much more important movement. It was in the African provinces that a genuinely Latin Christianity first arose, which produced in the second century the first Latin version of some of the New Testament writings. Indeed the rapid and intense penetration of Christianity in this region is one of the most remarkable phenomena of early Church history. Tertullian at the close of the century could claim, with some exaggeration, that Christians were " almost in a majority in every city " (*pars paene major civitatis cujusque*),[1] or, nearer perhaps to the literal truth, that Carthage would be ' decimated ' by a thoroughgoing persecution of Christians (*quid ipsa Carthago passura est, decimanda a te?*).[2]

If the geographical and numerical expansion of the Church had been so remarkable while persecution was always a menacing possibility, though it was seldom inflicted to a disabling point, it was only likely that when persecution virtually ceased during the first half of the third century the growth should be more rapid still, and there is evidence that this was actually the case. In 251 A.D. the Roman Church had a clerical body (including ' minor orders ') of 145 persons, and supported over 1500 poor members. A council of representatives of Italian churches the same year was attended by sixty bishops besides presbyters and deacons.[3] In Africa at the same time Cyprian speaks of ' thousands ' of certificates of Church membership being issued *daily* to Christians who having ' lapsed ' under persecution sought re-admission to the Church.[4] Ten years or more earlier a council at Lambæsis had been attended by ninety bishops of the African provinces.[5] We have no similar statistics for the eastern provinces, but we may safely assume that they were as a whole ahead of the western. Origen, concerned to prove that the prediction of the evangelization of

[1] Tertullian, *Ad Scapulam*, 2.
[2] *Ibid.*, 5.
[3] Eusebius, *H. E.*, VI, xliii, 11, 2.
[4] Cyprian, *Epp.*, xx, 2.
[5] *Id.*, *Epp.*, lix, 10.

all peoples before the End had not been fulfilled, has to have recourse to remote peoples like the Chinese, or to Britons, Germans, and other barbarians, "most of whom have not yet heard the word of the Gospel".[1] For the rest, he says, the whole 'Greek and Barbarian' world has 'myriads' of zealous Christians,[2] though no nation is yet wholly Christian,[3] perhaps no city.[4] There can be no doubt that a substantial proportion of the population was by this time Christian in all the principal provinces. The Decian persecution caused a temporary set-back, but on the other hand it was a wholesome purge. After the Peace of Gallienus expansion went on without a check, and in attempting at the opening of the fourth century to put an end to it Diocletian was playing the part of Canute or Mrs. Partington.

The Social Standing of Christian Converts.

It is of some interest to inquire into the distribution of Christianity in various social classes. Its expansion started in the towns, and usually proceeded along the great roads. In the West at least it continued to be a mainly urban religion. The statement which is often made that the Church was distinctively a 'proletarian' body rests on very little evidence. It is true that it made a strong appeal to the depressed classes, and was one of the means by which during these centuries they acquired self-respect and 'a place in the sun'. But there is no good reason to suppose that they were more numerously represented in the Church than in any normal cross-section of society at the time. The freedman class owed much to the Church, and the Church owed much to it; but the character of this class must not be misunderstood. Freedmen were more often than not persons of technical skill or business training, often highly educated. From their ranks not the Church alone but the civil service gained valuable recruits. Augustus had thought it worth while to give them a special

[1] Origen, *In Matth. Comm., Series* 39 (on *Matt.*, xxiv, 9).
[2] Origen, *De Princ.*, IV, i, 1. [3] *Id., Hom. in Psalm.* xxxvi; i, 1.
[4] So perhaps *Con. Cels.*, III, 30.

place, through the *Seviri Augustales*, in the religious system of the Empire. They were largely the type from which a valuable middle class is built, carrying on enterprises in trade and industry, occupying the smaller administrative posts, and sending a steady stream of their ablest descendants into the classes above them. The future of the Empire in fact rested largely with this class, and so far as we can judge from the evidence of inscriptions and the like, it was numerously represented in the membership of the early Church. But from a very early time the Christian community included also Roman citizens,[1] who down to the time of Caracalla were necessarily persons of position; and even members of the governing classes. There is some probability that Pomponia Græcina, the wife of the conqueror of Britain, was a Christian; [2] and it is almost certain that under Domitian not only the consul Acilius Glabrio, but the Emperor's own cousin Flavius Clemens and his wife Domitilla, suffered for the faith.[3] The statements of the historians are indeed not unequivocal, but this is the most natural interpretation of their language. Archæology supplies some confirmation, for the so-called Cemetery of Domitilla outside Rome is certainly of first-century origin, and it seems to centre about a crypt whose inscription SEPULCRUM FLAVIORUM is still extant; while the crypt of the Acilii seems to occupy the same position in relation to the Cemetery of Priscilla, which also goes back to the first century. In the second century we have complaints that rich Christians are failing in devotion. The Christians of Bithynia in 112 A.D. were 'of all classes' (*omnis ordinis*).[4] Under Commodus, a Christian senator was tried by his peers.[5] Tertullian, himself a member of the legal profession, claims that Christians are to be found in all departments of public life—the army, the municipalities, the senate, the courts, the imperial service.[6] In the view of

[1] *Acts* xvi. 37, xxii, 25–9; Pliny, *Epp.*, X, xcvi [xcvii], 4, &c.

[2] Tacitus, *Ann.*. XIII, 32.

[3] *Dio Cassius*, lxvii, 14; Suetonius, *Domit.*, 10, 15; Eusebius, *H. E.*, III, xvii–xviii.

[4] Pliny, *Epp.*, X, xcvi [xcvii], 9.

[5] Eusebius, *H. E.*, V, xxi. Conybeare, *Apology and Acts of Apollonius.*

[6] *Apol.*, 37.

Origen Christianity was so patronized by the wealthy and distinguished that it might be suspected that some Christian converts were moved by a desire for social prestige.[1] Origen himself, giving public lectures at Cæsarea, instructing such persons as Mammæa, the mother of the future Emperor Alexander Severus, or working at his great critical edition of the Greek Old Testament with the help of a large staff of shorthand writers and copyists,[2] is a striking representative of a body which now had wealth, social position, culture, and learning at its command. It was not all to the good. The worldly prelate at Court becomes a too familiar figure from the early years of Diocletian on, and it may not unjustly be held that the attitude of the Church to slaves now approximated too closely to the conventions of pagan society to be altogether worthy of its own principles. But between the view that the Church was a ' proletarian ' organization fomenting revolutionary sentiments and the charge that it had wholly forgotten its call to the ' humble and meek ', the truth may be thought to lie.

Reasons for the Spread of Christianity.

The reasons for the success of early Christianity have often been discussed. There was no doubt something in the conditions of the time which favoured it—something fortuitous or providential according to the point of view—a *praeparatio evangelica*. And on the other hand Tertullian's appeal to the *anima naturaliter Christiana* hints at something not peculiar to any time, but inherent in the human situation as such. But it is possible to call attention to certain specific qualities in the Christian propaganda which made for its success.[3] First, it proclaimed a ' salvation ' which, whatever may be thought of the various forms in which it was described, met the actual needs of men. The gospel justified itself in experience, as a way of communion with the unseen and of deliverance from

[1] *Con. Cels.*, III, 9. [2] Eusebius, *H. E.*, VI, xxi, 3, xxiii, 2.

[3] What follows is based on Harnack's elaborate analysis in *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, Book II.

the fears, depression, and sense of helplessness that beset men in that age of superstition and fatalism. The writings of men who were themselves converts from paganism sufficiently attest the reality of this experience. We may add the evidence of the inscriptions and paintings of the Roman catacombs, which vividly represent popular piety from the close of the first century onward. The serene and joyous spirit that informs them bears unmistakable witness. Secondly, it created enthusiasm for a lofty moral ideal, and somehow provided motives and powers adequate to enable men to attain it in a measure which seemed astonishing. This too is established both by the testimony of converts and by the confidence with which Christian apologists appeal to facts which could be tested by pagan observers of ethical discernment. It was not by offering an easy-going morality that the Church attracted converts. On the contrary, it made demands of them which often seem to err on the side of a too rigorous puritanism, and it subjected them to a strict discipline, enforced by the penalty of excommunication. It is sometimes suggested that by its doctrine of forgiveness of sins the Church encouraged a light view of moral lapse.[1] But the restoration to communion which was the Church's pledge of forgiveness was never granted except after very full guarantees of sincere repentance, and never more than once to any one person guilty of grave sin. If he sinned again, he might be forgiven by God, but the Church believed that it had no authority to readmit him. And for long it was held that for some sins, common enough in pagan society, no ecclesiastical absolution could be granted.[2] Thirdly, the Church offered its own fellowship, based on a 'charity' (*agape*, or religious love) which meant the fullest kind of mutual support and assistance, moral and material. No doubt there lurked here a certain danger, from which the missionary work of the Church in modern times too has suffered. But it

[1] So Otto Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, Vol. III, pp. 213 *sqq*.

[2] On the moral discipline of the early Church, see Brightman in *The Early History of the Church and the Ministry* (ed. Swete), Essay VIA on "Terms of Communion"

was not the desire to share in material ' charities ' that attracted solid tradesfolk or persons of wealth, of whom, as we have seen, the Church always held a fair proportion. There is such a thing as a disinterested enthusiasm for fellowship and for ' charity ' as such (*agape*), and unless early Christian literature wholly deceives us, such an enthusiasm drew both rich and poor into the ranks of the Church. In that age, when the old civic and tribal loyalties had failed, there was a rather pathetic craving for a corporate life more intimate and real than a soulless imperial system could provide. Countless voluntary associations arose to meet it. We cannot but conclude that the Christian Church did so more satisfactorily than most. Fourthly, the catholicity of the Church as a quasi-political society, with its appeal to history and tradition, embodied in the Old and New Testaments, as well as in its own institutions, stirred the imagination. Fifthly, Christian thinkers offered a philosophy, based (like other philosophies of the time) on reason and august authority, which seemed to take up into itself all that was vital in the most respected philosophies of the ancient world, and to interpret life more adequately than any other. Its only serious competitor, from the third century on, was Neo-Platonism, which Christianity practically absorbed.

II. Christian Doctrine and the Growth of Creeds

Religious Thought in the Græco-Roman World.

The world into which the earliest preachers of Christianity carried their message was a religiously minded world. The mood of scepticism was passing. Thinking people were prepared to suspect that there were more things in heaven and earth than were dreamt of in their philosophies. The Greeks had imposed their civilization on the Near East, but in return the Greek mind had been fascinated by the strange faiths of the East, with their mysterious rituals and their esoteric doctrines claiming immense antiquity. Here was something profound

enough to give pause to any facile scepticism. Yet were not the same sublime truths darkly symbolized in the ancestral 'mysteries' of old Greece? Indeed were not all religions aspects of one divine revelation, conveyed to the mind in the ineffable mystical experience which their varying rituals induced or promoted? And had not the masters of philosophy —Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato—learned their deepest doctrines from the Mysteries or from the Wisdom of the East? In the light of such ideas these philosophers received a new interpretation which would perhaps have surprised them, and their teachings were made to supply an apologetic for the revival of faith. The *intelligentsia* eagerly sought initiations, and rationalized the myths by way of allegory. Among the Eastern religions which entered into this syncretistic mode of thought, Judaism held an important place. The Greek translation of the Old Testament was widely read. Philo of Alexandria applied to it an elaborate system of allegorical exegesis, and by its aid offered these venerable writings as a revelation of profound doctrines, which he assimilated to those of Platonism, as Platonism was coming to be understood. His influence was far-reaching.

The Rise of Gnosticism.

Out of this ferment of religious speculation arose a kind of vague theosophy, highly characteristic of the age in which Christianity began. It aimed at being a universal religion, comprehending within its hospitable creed all partial faiths. Its God was a transcendent Absolute, communicating with the world through a hierarchy of intermediate intelligences, in which it was possible to recognize the gods of popular cults, though for the enlightened they might bear very different names and characters. Man was held to be implicated in a world of matter irremediably evil, under the dominion of very inferior intelligences; but he was capable of redemption through communion with the divine, and might rise through the ranks of being to ultimate union with the Absolute. By communion with the divine was chiefly understood the com-

munication of *gnosis*, or supernatural knowledge, whether through initiation into esoteric doctrines originally revealed by a divine being, or through sacramental rites, or through trance and ecstasy. Hence the term *Gnosticism*, which might fairly be used as a general name for the whole tendency, although its actual application is more restricted.[1]

So far as it is possible to define the indefinite, such or such-like were the general assumptions of this Hellenistic theosophy. But its forms were manifold and its outlines fluctuating. It was always ready to admit new myths and new methods of revelation or redemption within its general scheme. It is not surprising that Christianity had a ready attraction for those who thought in this way, especially since Judaism had already influenced them. It too aimed at being a universal religion of redemption, and offered a divine revelation through which men might rise to God. The Gnostics thought they understood Christianity better than its own missionaries, just as they understood pagan cults better than their simple devotees. Already in the Epistle to the Colossians we are in the presence of an attempt to 'adopt' Christianity into a theosophical scheme, and to find a place for Christ among the intermediate intelligences.[2] In the next age there was a real possibility that the new religion might become simply the most elaborate and impressive form of the current theosophy. It is to those types of theosophic belief which in one way or another make use of Christian ideas, that the term Gnosticism is usually applied; but it must be clearly understood that Gnosticism is not an illegitimate offshoot of Christianity, but only a more or less Christianized aspect of a widespread religious movement older than Christianity.

Up to a point many of the fundamental positions of Gnosticism were genuinely sympathetic to Christianity, and fully accredited Christian teachers who appealed to the Hellenistic

[1] A refined type of non-Christian "Gnosticism" is to be found in the Hermetic Corpus (see *Hermetica*, ed. by Walter Scott), which contains writings of various periods from about the middle of the second century onwards.

[2] *Col.* ii. 8–23.

public at large did not hesitate to make use of Gnostic categories. Already about 100 A.D. the Fourth Gospel presents salvation, or eternal life, in the guise of knowledge of God, attained through His self-revelation in the *Logos*;[1] and the affinities of its teachings with those of Philo and of pagan thinkers such as the Hermetic writers are unmistakable. Clement of Alexandria expressly claims the name of Gnostic for the enlightened Christian; and his own thought, with its eclecticism, its speculative bias, its allegorical reading of traditional 'revelations', and its assumption of an enlightenment beyond the reach of common men, is largely at one with the tendency we are considering. In the long run Gnosticism left a permanent mark on the development of Catholic Christianity far larger than the Church was disposed to admit. Its influence may be recognized, for instance, in the assumption that religious belief can and should be rationalized in the form of speculative dogma, in the emphasis on sacraments, together with much of the sacramental ritual of the Church, and in the ascetic bias which very early showed itself in Christian ethics.

The Church's Conflict with Gnosticism.

If the Christian religion was to be at home in the world of the time, all this was natural. But it was one thing to borrow from Gnosticism forms in which to clothe the essential beliefs and experiences of Christianity; it was another thing to dissolve the essence of Christianity in a fluid theosophy which confounded all distinctions. The common mind of the Church instinctively recognized a danger in teachings within or without its borders which obscured determinative elements in its Gospel. It could not abide the toleration of polytheism in however sublimated a disguise. It could not allow the concrete and historical personality of its Saviour to be confounded with 'myths and genealogies'.[2] It was too certain that in Him it found true communion with the Supreme Himself to permit a hierarchy of intermediate beings to fence the way to His throne. It was profoundly suspicious of an esotericism which

[1] *John* xvii. 3, i. 1–18, &c. [2] *1 Tim.* i. 4.

meant the spiritual disfranchisement of the ordinary man. Thus the second century saw a desperate struggle to define the limits to which the ' reinterpretation ' of the Gospel might go without sacrificing that which made it a Gospel. During this period the most powerful minds of Christianity were to be found in the Gnostic camp, and the systems they produced had the charm which imagination and speculative freedom will always exert. One of the greatest of them was Valentinus, who taught at Rome during the middle decades of the second century. A bald outline of his theology[1] may serve to illustrate the trend of Gnostic teaching. In the beginning were Depth and Silence. From them came forth Mind and Truth; from these Word and Life, and from these in turn Man[2] and Church. These are the eight original essences. Further emanations, in groups of ten and twelve respectively, resulted in a Totality (*Pleroma*—the word had already been used by the Colossian ' gnostics ', and adopted from them by Paul [3]) of thirty ' æons ', forming a hierarchy of spiritual beings, a divine universe uncorrupted by material existence of any kind. But the youngest of the ' æons ', Wisdom (*Achamoth*, *Sophia*), fell a prey to passion and desire; she desired to know the Unknowable Depth, and the desire was her undoing. Her Fall " brought death into the world and all our woe ", for out of her terror and fear and grief and tears sprang the material universe, with the principles of evil and mortality inherent in it. But Depth, the First Father, being all love, had mercy upon fallen Wisdom, and devised a plan of salvation, through the ' æons ' named Christ, Holy Spirit, and Cross, and finally through Jesus the Saviour, whom all the ' æons ' joined to produce, so that in Him was all the beauty of the Pleroma. Wisdom, now redeemed, brought into existence the heavens and the angels, one of whom created

[1] The following brief summary is based upon the synthesis of various and not wholly consistent ancient accounts of Valentinianism given by Gwatkin, *Early Church History*, Vol. II, pp. 36 *sqq*.

[2] By this of course is not meant empirical humanity, but that spiritual archetype of humanity which various thinkers had found symbolized in the Old Testament or in pagan mythology.

[3] *Col.* i. 19, ii. 9; cf. *Eph.* i. 23, iii. 19; *John* i. 16.

man, giving him body and soul. Wisdom herself, unbeknown to the Creator, gave spirit to certain elect members of the race, in addition to body and soul which are common to all. For the sake of these elect the 'æon' Christ came down from heaven, in a heavenly body free from all contamination of matter. To other men a partial salvation is offered, if they make the good choice. The spiritual alone are assured of full salvation, and after death will be admitted to the Pleroma.

It is all very fantastic. But beneath the bizarre mythology lies a real attempt to grapple with the deepest problems of existence, and to bring the Christian gospel into the context of a comprehensive metaphysic. It must be remembered that this elaborate philosophy of religion in mythical form was given only to the few. Valentinus had no quarrel with 'simple Bible teaching' for the average Christian. Much of what he taught in public was scarcely distinguishable from the utterances of orthodox preachers; nor was this, as the orthodox were inclined to think, deep-laid guile. Valentinus believed in Christianity; he was a diligent student of the Gospels, valuing especially the Gospel according to John; and his followers Ptolemæus and Heracleon wrote biblical commentaries of outstanding merit, which even orthodox Fathers do not disdain to quote. Another of his followers, the learned Bardaisan of Edessa, had immense influence in the Syriac-speaking Church. His *Hymn of the Soul*,[1] a kind of *Pilgrim's Progress* of antiquity, is one of the noblest examples of early Christian poetry. But the Church judged that the philosophy of the Valentinians took the heart out of their Christianity; and they had to leave the Church and become a sect—a rather aristocratic and cultured sect, which long survived. Basilides of Alexandria was another Gnostic teacher who genuinely intended to be Christian; but the pagan elements in his system were more prominent, especially as it was developed by his school after his death.

[1] It seems probable that the great Bardaisan was actually the author of this poem, though some critics prefer to attribute it to one of his school. It is handed down as part of the Syriac *Acts of Thomas* (see Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*).

Further still to the ' left ' were sects like the Carpocratians and the Ophites, whose teachings were a travesty of Christianity rather than in any sense an interpretation, and were in some cases a cloak for gross immorality.

To the ' right wing ' of Gnosticism is reckoned Marcion, a pious shipmaster of the Black Sea, who came to Rome as a Christian teacher towards the middle of the second century. It was perhaps there that he met Polycarp of Smyrna on a visit to the capital. " Pray recognize me," said Marcion. " I recognize the first-born of Satan," was the reply.[1] Yet Marcion was a devout Christian, whose sole intention was to vindicate the purity of Christian faith and morals in a Church which to his mind was not thorough-going enough. If he made use of some Gnostic conceptions to give form to his interpretation of the Faith, that was no more than orthodox teachers did. Marcion was distressed by the inconsistency between the ideas of the Old Testament and those of Christianity. The inconsistency is patent, and the problem it raises for Christian thought is perhaps insoluble apart from the modern concept of development as applied to the history of religion. Marcion proposed to solve it by a clean cut. The Gnostic doctrine that the world was created not by the Supreme Being but by a ' Demiurge ' inferior to Him in the scale of existence gave him a starting-point. The Jehovah of the Old Testament was, by His own confession, the Creator, the ' Demiurge '. He was righteous; but righteousness falls short of goodness in the full sense, and there is none good but One, that is the Supreme Being Himself. When the Demiurge held mankind thrall to His law of righteousness, the Good God sent His Son Jesus Christ to be ' the end of the Law to everyone that believeth '. That seemed good Paulinism; but the second century did not understand Paul. In the name of its greatest apostle Marcion called upon the Church to cast off its ' Hebrew old clothes '. He rejected the Canon of the Old Testament, to whose authority the orthodox made appeal, and constructed a new and limited Canon of Scripture out of the ten Pauline Epistles which

[1] Eusebius, *H. E.*, IV, xiv, 7 (quoting Irenæus).

he, in accord with modern criticism, held to be genuine,[1] and the Gospel according to Luke, somewhat expurgated. Thus he set out to be a radical reformer of Christianity. But to cut the new religion away from its roots in the Old Testament was unhistorical, and in that age it certainly meant handing Christianity over defenceless to Gnosticism, for the Church's safeguard against the disintegrating invasions of a pagan theosophy lay in loyalty to the Hebraic tradition of ethical monotheism within which its Founder had arisen. Moreover, having thrown over the Creator of the world, Marcion must needs believe matter to be evil, the Incarnation to be an illusion, and morality to involve an inhuman asceticism.[2] The general mind of the Church could not accompany him on this road, and to his surprise and consternation he found himself driven out, and compelled to be the founder of a sect instead of a reformer of the Church. The Marcionite Church lived on alongside the Great Church and kept its ultra-Pauline theology and its austerely Puritan morality. In time of persecution it had an honourable record, unlike the Gnostic sects properly so-called. Although it forbade marriage to its communicants, it kept up its membership for centuries, and its influence extended into the Middle Ages.

The Definition of Christian Belief.

These examples will serve to illustrate the problem the Church had to face in the second century. It was not in a position to meet it by a boldly constructive theology. If Paul and 'John' had any successors on their own intellectual plane, they were not found at this time among orthodox teachers of the Church. The Logos-doctrine which had emerged in outline from the labours of the first Christian

[1] Excluding the epistles to Timothy and Titus (the so-called Pastoral Epistles).

[2] Our most detailed knowledge of Marcion's system comes from Tertullian's *Adversus Marcionem*. The earliest extant "New Testament Introduction", in the form of a series of prologues to the Pauline epistles, is attributed to him, or to one of his school. For the text of these prologues see Souter, *Text and Canon of the N.T.*, pp. 205–8.

theologians formed the basis of a working philosophy of religion, which was set forth by the Apologists[1] and others. But it was rather vaguely held, with no very clear appreciation of the problems it raised. The first line of defence against Gnostic 'heresy' was found in a more or less rigid definition of the articles of belief which formed the central Christian tradition. Already at the close of the first century Clement of Rome speaks of 'the canon (or norm) of the tradition', and a little later the Pastoral Epistles [2] recommend, in the name of Paul, 'a form of sound words' as a bulwark against heresy. There arose in each Church a 'Rule of Faith' which was made the basis of the instruction of catechumens and of controversy with heretics. The Rule of Faith as formulated in the Church of Rome is thus summarized by Tertullian at the close of the second century:

> "She recognizes one God, Creator of the universe; and Jesus Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, the Son of the Creator God; and the resurrection of the flesh; she mingles the Law and the Prophets with the evangelical and apostolic writings, and thence she imbibes the faith." [3]

This implies two things; a fixed Canon of Scripture, and a Creed. It was probably largely in answer to Marcion that the Church defined Holy Scripture, as consisting of the Old Testament, which Marcion rejected, and a New Testament based like Marcion's on 'the Gospel' and 'the Apostle', but constructed on wider lines than his. A New Testament Canon, composed of four Gospels, thirteen or fourteen 'Pauline' epistles, the Acts of the Apostles, and two or three other writings, is attested for most parts of the Church before the end of the second century.[4] This Canon stood alongside the Old Testament, presupposed its main positions, supplemented, interpreted, and corrected it according to "the teaching of the

[1] See pp. 472–4, *infra*.

[2] The Pastoral Epistles (*1* and *2 Tim.* and *Titus*) in their present form are probably to be dated in the early second century. See Harrison, *The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles*.

[3] Tert., *De Præscr.*, 36.

[4] See Harnack, *Entstehung des Neuen Testaments*.

Lord through the Twelve Apostles", as the phrase went. The Creed was developed out of the primitive Baptismal Confession, corresponding to the trinitarian formula under which Baptism was administered at any rate from the period represented by *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* and the extant text of *Matt.* xxviii. 19[1] — say ± 100 A.D. The embryo creed of this period would have run: "I believe in God, in Jesus Christ,[2] and in the Holy Spirit." But the Baptismal Confession, while retaining its trinitarian scheme, was early expanded by the addition of material contained in the Rule of Faith. The precise stages by which this expansion took place are obscure. They certainly varied in different churches. The form current at Rome or Ephesus in the first half of the second century may be reconstructed from the writings of Justin somewhat as follows: [3]

"I believe in God the Father and Ruler (δεσπότην) of the universe;
And in our Lord Jesus Christ, the firstborn Son of God,
Who was born through a Virgin and became passible Man;
Was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and died;
Rose again from the dead, and ascended into heaven,
And will come again with glory;
And in the Holy Prophetic Spirit.

Before the end of the third century the creed of the Roman Church had probably taken substantially the form which is implied for it about 340 A.D.[4]

"I believe in God Almighty;

And in Christ Jesus His only Son, our Lord,
Who was born of Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary,
Crucified under Pontius Pilate and buried;
And the third day rose again from the dead;

[1] There is evidence of the existence of a shorter text which did not include the trinitarian formula.

[2] The rejected reading in *Acts* viii. 37 points to the addition "the Son of God" in certain places early in the second century (probably).

[3] After Harnack, in Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln* (3rd edition), p. 389. A slightly different reconstruction in Bartlet and Carlyle, *Christianity in History*, pp. 211–2.

[4] Translated from the Greek text quoted by Marcellus of Ancyra as his own creed in a letter to Julius of Rome (*c.* A.D. 340), Hahn, *op. cit.*, § 17.

Ascended into the heavens, and is seated on the right hand of the Father,
Whence He is coming to judge living and dead.

And in the Holy Spirit,
Holy Church,
forgiveness of sins,
resurrection of the flesh,
life everlasting."

This is the immediate ancestor of the so-called 'Apostles' Creed' of the early fifth century. In our period it was regarded as 'apostolic' in the sense that it gave an authorized summary of that "Teaching of the Lord through the Twelve Apostles" which was held to be contained in the New Testament Canon, and not in the sense of the later legend that it was composed by the Apostles in collaboration. The Rule of Faith from which its clauses were drawn does doubtless go back to a very early date. It has been observed that they can all be documented out of the late first-century work which we know in its two parts as the Gospel according to Luke and the Acts of the Apostles.[1]

This creed can hardly be said to contain any theology in the strict sense. We can see that the selection of points of belief for emphasis has been partly dictated by the needs of the Gnostic controversy. Thus in answer to the doctrine that the humanity of Christ was mere appearance, emphasis is placed on the historic facts of His birth, sufferings, and death, and these are so to speak anchored in history by being dated to the term of office of a particular Roman governor. But the facts or articles of belief are obviously susceptible of varied interpretation according to the philosophical context in which they are considered. Experiments in interpretation were constantly being made: many of them figure in the lists of 'heresies'—Monarchianism, Sabellianism, Adoptianism, and so forth, with which histories of the period are filled. It cannot be said that the theology of the second century, either on the heretical or on the orthodox side, represents first-rate thinking. But it served to explore the

[1] Jackson and Lake, *Beginnings of Christianity*, Part I, Vol. II, pp. 202–4.

ground and to define the lines along which theology must advance.

Neo-Platonism.

The third century saw some important developments in religious thought, both Christian and non-Christian. Gnosticism had by this time crystallized out into sects, and largely ceased to have the attraction of a broad and vague movement within which all manner of speculations might be at home. Meanwhile the more rational side of that movement reasserted itself in a serious revival of Platonism. It was not the Platonism of Plato, but a Platonism profoundly influenced by the religious syncretism of the Hellenistic age, that now came to the front. Philo stood behind it, and the Neo-Pythagoreanism of the second century, and the curious blend of Platonic and Stoic ideas with an Oriental or Egyptian type of mysticism which meets us in extant Hermetic writings of the second and third centuries. The credit of founding the Neo-Platonic school is given to Ammonius Saccas of Alexandria, who is said to have been the son of Christian parents.[1] But Ammonius is scarcely more than a name. In the thirties of the third century there came to Alexandria a young Egyptian named Plotinus, thirsting for knowledge of the truth. He heard the most famous philosophers of the city, but came away " downcast and full of grief ". A friend recommended Ammonius Saccas. Plotinus went and heard him, and exclaimed to his friend, " This is the man I was looking for!" From that day Plotinus adhered to his new-found teacher, and eagerly absorbed his doctrine. Later he studied Persian and Indian philosophy, and in A.D. 244 came to Rome and began to teach Neo-Platonism. Such is the account given by Porphyry, the most famous of his disciples.[2] The various elements which went to the making of his philosophy are here suggested. It was a system religious through and through. " His end and aim was to be united with the God who is over all; and four times," adds Porphyry, " while I was with him, he attained this aim." [3] Neo-Platonism

[1] Eusebius, *H. E.*, VI, xix, 7. [2] *Vit. Plot.*, 3. [3] *Op. cit.*, 23.

is a profound and elaborate system of mystical idealism,[1] pantheistic on the one hand, since it sees the whole universe as animated by a divine ' soul ', yet on the other hand pointing to the transcendent One beyond the universe, definable only by negations, and known only in mystical ecstasy. As a thoroughgoing spiritual interpretation of the universe it has had an immense influence on the thought of the West from that day to this. The affinity with Indian thought which is hinted at by Porphyry is evident. Like Indian philosophy to-day it easily found a place for all manner of pagan beliefs and practices, and in fact it supplied, in the hands of Porphyry and his successors, the most powerful weapons with which a declining paganism resisted the advance of Christianity. In spite of many points of contact, a philosophy of this type cannot reconcile itself to the Christian insistence on the reality and importance of the finite and the historical, or with the Christian postulate that the Supreme Being is truly good in a sense not fundamentally different from that which goodness bears among men. For Plotinus, the Absolute is beyond good and evil, and to speak of It as good (as his master Plato had freely done), he could only regard as an accommodation.[2]

The Development of Christian Theology.

The great advance in Christian theology which accompanied the rise of Neo-Platonism is associated with the name of Origen. Like Plotinus he was a pupil of Ammonius Saccas. His learning in Platonism, as in other schools of Greek philosophy, is admitted by Porphyry,[3] who can only regret that he should have turned it to such poor account as the defence of a ' barbarian ' religion. On the other hand he was a great biblical scholar, a pioneer in textual criticism of both Old and New Testaments, and a master of exegesis, though his exegesis is always governed by the principle that the natural meaning

[1] See Ritter and Preller, *Historia Philosophiae Graecae*, §§ 629–44.

[2] Plotinus, *Enneads*, VI, ix, 6, and other passages cited by R. P., *op. cit.*, § 634.

[3] Cited by Eusebius, *H. E.*, VI, xix, 5–8.

of the text is only a stepping-stone to the ' spiritual ' or allegorical meaning. The revelation of Holy Scripture, summarized, as regards its essentials, in the Rule of Faith, he accepts as a sufficient definition of Christianity for the ordinary believer, and insists that this and nothing beyond this is necessary for true belief. But over and above Christian belief is the scientific theology by which the faith is brought into the unity of a comprehensive philosophy of the universe, and so understood in its deepest and fullest meaning. Here Origen found his own task. He was dependent on the work of predecessors, both orthodox and Gnostic, but he combined in an exceptional degree philosophical breadth, speculative freedom, and a firm grasp of the Christian Gospel as faith and experience, which made him " the father of theological science and the founder of ecclesiastical dogma ".[1] His half-century of teaching and writing, which was brought to a close by his death in A.D. 254 as a result of the Decian persecution, made an epoch in the intellectual life of the Church. His thought was too free and bold to command universal acceptance, and he was never considered fully orthodox; yet he exerted an extraordinary influence upon the best minds of Greek Christianity. He made possible the vigorous advance of theology in the century ending with the Council of Nicæa, and the controversies which ensued followed lines determined by his work.

These controversies became acute largely because the distinction preserved by Origen between faith and theology was obscured. Christian teachers who had been captivated by his theological method could not resist the temptation to introduce speculative dogma into creeds, which were supposed to formulate that which must be believed as necessary to salvation. When that was so, precisely accurate definition became a matter of life and death, and the freedom and calm of philosophical discussion could not be maintained. Naturally enough, it was the attempt to include in the creed a dogmatic definition of the Person of Christ and His relation to God the Father that first aroused acute controversy. The philosophical

[1] Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, p. 112.

conception of the Logos, Word, or uttered Reason of the Eternal, had long been used by theologians, not without a good deal of suspicion on the part of the more conservative that it was dangerously Gnostic in its implications. After Origen it had a secure position in the theology of the Church. Yet its acceptance did not settle the theological problem. Outside Christianity it was used in various types of philosophy. Thus for those who followed the Stoics in their doctrine of immanence, the Logos was the divine principle itself; there was no other God than the Reason immanent in the universe. For those who accepted the Platonic doctrine of a transcendent God, the Logos must be in some way a subordinate being distinct from The One, the " God over all " with whom Plotinus sought communion. Within Christianity the ambiguity might become perilous. Granted that the Saviour and Revealer is the Logos, is the believer's communion with Him communion with God, in the full sense, or with a subordinate being, intermediate between God and man—a ' second God '? Is Christ, in other words, identical in essence with God (' consubstantial ', *homoousios*—the word is used by Origen; it had been used by Gnostics and Hermetists perhaps a century earlier); or is He only very like God (*homoiousios*)? If the latter view was taken, then it was very easy to assimilate Christ to the gods whom an enlightened paganism accepted as the subordinate agents of The One; if the former, then the simplicity and undifferentiated unity of the divine Being must be given up, though this seemed to be implied in the monotheism which Christianity had inherited from Judaism, and in the Platonism to which it inclined. This was the form in which the problem presented itself to Christian theologians at the moment when the new policy of the Emperor Constantine made it imperative to identify, by a commonly accepted definition of Christian faith, the Catholic Church to which the State was now prepared to grant recognition.[1] The urgency of obtaining a settlement, for political reasons, perhaps precipitated a decision which might otherwise have waited upon more leisurely discussion.

[1] See pp. 480–4, *infra*.

The Creed of Nicæa.

It was by order of the Emperor himself that the first general council of the Church was held at Nicæa in 325 A.D. In theory it was world-wide, but naturally it did not include churches outside the Roman Empire. Moreover, the Western provinces were but feebly represented, and the whole atmosphere of the council's deliberations was that of Greek Christianity, with its metaphysical bent. Eusebius of Cæsarea, himself a follower of Origen, proposed for general acceptance a formula which was in use as the baptismal creed of his own church.[1] It followed the traditional trinitarian scheme, and its supporters might fairly claim that it was scriptural in its contents. It was far from being an elaborate theological document, but it went farther in the direction of theological definition of the Person of Christ than such formulæ as the old Roman creed, based more directly on the traditional Rule of Faith. It employed such technical terms as ' Logos ' and ' incarnate ', and described Christ as " God of God, Light of Light ". It probably represented very fairly the average agreed position of the Eastern Churches. But there were certain persons at the Council who were determined that the Council should go farther. The controversy summed up in the terms *homoousios* and *homoiousios* had raged for some years in the Church of Alexandria, where it had led to scandalous scenes. Arius, who denied the ' consubstantiality ' of the Son, had been banished, and in consequence the controversy had spread to other provinces, and had become the burning question of the moment. The question having been thus forced into prominence, the majority of the Council felt that they could do no other than rule out once for all the doctrine of Arius, which, it seemed, made of Christ something like a pagan demigod. Many of the Council disliked the term *homoousios*, which had in fact been pronounced heretical by a provincial council at Antioch some years before. In the end, however, it was accepted as a safeguard against Arianism. The creed which was ultimately pro-

[1] Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, §§ 123, 188.

mulgated is not our familiar 'Nicene Creed', which is the result of a much later revision. It ran as follows:[1]

"We believe in one God, the Father almighty,
Maker of all things, both visible and invisible;
And in one Lord, Jesus Christ the Son of God,
Sole begotten of the Father (that is, of the substance of the Father),
God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten not made, consubstantial with the Father,
Through whom all things were made, both in heaven and on earth,
Who for us men and for our salvation came down and was incarnate,
Became man, suffered, and rose again the third day,
Ascended into heaven,
And is coming to judge living and dead;
And in the Holy Spirit."

The Council clinched its work of defining the basis of the Church's unity by attaching comprehensive anathemas.

The hope that the Council of Nicæa would bring unity to the Church was delusive. The new creed, which had behind it neither tradition nor real agreement, long failed to find general acceptance. It was not that Arianism had any strong hold, but that very many Christian leaders, including theologians of zeal and learning, were not convinced of the wisdom of introducing further theological definition into a creed of general obligation for the Church's teachers, or were doubtful whether the disputed term really conveyed the right meaning. Throughout the reign of Constantine, and for long afterwards, the Church was distracted by ever-widening disputes, and its theological development was accompanied by heated passions.

III. The Church and the Ministry

NOTE.—The subject of this section has been fully dealt with in *The Early History of the Church and the Ministry*, essays edited by H. B. Swete, and in *Christianity in History*, by J. V. Bartlet and A. J. Carlyle (Part II).

The Idea of the One Church.

Christianity inherited from Judaism the conception of a

[1] Hahn, *op. cit.*, § 142.

People of God, unique in the world, and, like the Jerusalem of the Psalms, " at unity in itself ". The term Church, *Ecclesia*, itself taken over from Hellenistic Judaism, primarily expressed just this idea, and only secondarily meant a local congregation.[1] The whole Church was not thought of as an aggregate of such local congregations; on the contrary each local congregation was a particular embodiment of the one Church, a ' self-governing colony ' (πολίτευμα)[2] of the celestial Metropolis. It was a pressing task for the Church to work out forms of corporate life which should do justice to this idea. For whereas in Judaism the ' Dispersion ' was held together by the Law and by relation to the national capital, the development of a Gentile Christianity independent of the Law and of Jewish nationality raised a new problem. At the death of Paul any vague recognition there may have been of the claim of the Church at Jerusalem to primacy was scarcely effective any more, and the fall of the city in A.D. 70 in any case ended it. The Emperor Titus was behind the times in thinking that the loss of Jerusalem would weaken the Church.[3] If we may judge from early Christian literature it was scarcely felt, except as a striking confirmation of the divine judgment upon an unbelieving nation. The unity of the Church was now plainly an ideal unity. How was it to be secured in practice as numbers grew?

The Early Organization of Local Churches.

Of any general organization of the Church in the apostolic period we can scarcely speak. There was a lively consciousness of fellowship pervading the whole People of God, based on ' charity ' or religious love (*agape*); but the actual links that bound the separate communities into a comprehensive ' visible ' society were mostly supplied by the personal influence or authority of the travelling apostles and evangelists who founded and guided them. The concrete fellowship of the local church

[1] See K. L. Schmidt, *Die Kirche des Urchristentums* in *Festgabe für Adolf Deissmann*.

[2] Cf. *Phil.* iii. 20; *Gal.* iv. 26.

[3] Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.*, II, xxx, 7.

was felt to mediate the unity of the whole, so far as it was informed by the ' one Spirit '. Thus the earliest efforts after a settled form of church government were within the local church. Even here there was no uniformity of constitution in the earliest period. Groups of Christians often met informally ' in the house of ' such an one, and the host was their natural leader.[1] Such household churches must have survived for some time, since they played a part in the ultimate development of the ' parochial ' system, at least in the Church of Rome, where the ancient *tituli* or parishes were often traditionally connected with the names of individual members of the Church in its first days.[2] But all the same the unit was the whole congregation in a city or municipal area, and it was this congregation which elected church officers. The models on which the constitutions of the local churches were built up were found on the one hand in the Jewish synagogue and on the other hand in the religious and semi-religious ' friendly societies ' (*θίασοι*, *collegia*, &c.) which abounded in the Græco-Roman world. By the end of the first century the tendency to uniformity of constitution was strong. The Acts of the Apostles, published probably in the last decade of the century, contemplates a normal leadership of individual churches by ' elders ' or ' presbyters ', supposed to have been originally appointed under the authority of the apostles,[3] perhaps after the precedent of the primitive Church at Jerusalem.[4] As one of their main functions was that of the oversight of the life of the community, they are also styled ' overseers ' or ' bishops '.[5] The position of a single head of the community, standing above the presbyters, is mentioned only in the case of James of Jerusalem (who is not called ' bishop '), and seems otherwise unknown to the author of Acts. His contemporary, Clement of Rome, writes to the Church at Corinth to urge more respect for authority. The authority for which he is concerned is

[1] *Rom.* xvi. 5; *1 Cor.* xvi. 19; *Col.* iv. 15; *Phm.* 2; cf. *1 Cor.* xvi. 15-6.

[2] Similarly the earliest cemeteries (or " catacombs ") of the Roman Church seem to have been the family vaults of prominent members.

[3] *Acts* xiv. 23, xx. 17. [4] *Acts* xi. 30, xv. 2, &c., xxi. 18. [5] *Acts* xx. 28.

that of the presbyters,[1] who have been deprived of their 'episcopal' functions by the congregation. The presbyters are alternatively described as 'bishops', and nothing is said of the primacy of any single 'bishop',[2] though the note of personal authority with which Clement himself writes may suggest that he held some kind of acknowledged primacy in the presbyterate of his own church. Even later, however, in the Pastoral Epistles (which in their present form are probably a work of the early second century[3]) the officers of the Church are still presbyters in rank, bishops or overseers in function.[4] They are assisted, as the 'bishops' of Philippi had been assisted in the lifetime of Paul, by 'attendants' or 'deacons'[5] Thus we may conceive the churches of the first century as governed normally by a board of presbyters, having subordinate officers to assist them, with perhaps one of their number as permanent president and representative of the individual church in dealings with other churches.

Missionary and Prophetic Orders superseded by the Local Ministry.

The functions of the presbyters included teaching and the management of the worship and sacraments of the local congregation. They were not, however, alone in performing these functions. Originally their ministry had in the nature of things been subordinate to that of the missionaries—apostles, evangelists, and teachers[6]—who were attached to no particular church; and though apostles were dying out, the other missionary orders still played an important part, and are not to be confused with the settled local ministry of presbyter-bishops and deacons.[7] Moreover the primitive ministry of 'inspiration'

[1] *1 Clem.* xliv.

[2] The distinction which some have thought to discover between the "presbyters" and the "bishops" in Clement (see Brightman in *The Early History of the Church and Ministry*, p. 394) does not seem to be made in the epistle itself (see C. H. Turner in the same work, p. 113).

[3] See P. N. Harrison, *The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles.*

[4] *Tit.* i. 5–9.

[5] *Phil.* i. 1; *1 Tim.* iii. 8–13.

[6] *1 Cor.* xii. 28; *Eph.* iv. 11.

[7] *Didache*, xv, 1–2.

survived in the ' prophets ', who might be unofficial members of a local church, but wandered from church to church with a generally recognized authority resting upon their personal endowments. In *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, representing conditions probably not far from A.D. 100, perhaps in some rather conservative region, it is laid down that if a prophet should be present at the Eucharist, he shall say the Eucharistic prayers as he will;[1] if not (it is implied) the local minister shall use certain prescribed forms which are given in the context. As the Church passed out of the missionary stage and the ' enthusiastic ' type of ministry declined, the local official ministry grew in importance. Its permanence, its regularity, its close relation to local conditions, helped to establish its authority in the churches, and it soon acquired the prestige of an ancient institution, embodying the tradition which connected the Church with its apostolic beginnings. Its members were normally elected by the congregation, but ordained by their peers.[2] A curious exception was the practice whereby ' confessors ', who had suffered in persecution for the faith, were without election or ordination regarded as presbyters.[3] This practice may be regarded as in some sort a survival of the old idea of a ministry resting on personal gift or calling rather than official succession; but its effects were not salutary.

The Beginnings of Episcopacy.

As the churches in the larger towns grew in numbers, the natural effect was to increase the importance of the presiding presbyter, the overseer or bishop *par excellence*. The practical advantages of such a primacy were obvious. As there were yet no regular church buildings, a large church could rarely meet as a whole. Under such conditions it was not easy to preserve an effective sense of unity, or to exclude eccentricities of belief or practice. It was evidently considerations of this

[1] *Did.*, x, 6. [2] *1 Tim.* iv. 14; *1 Clem.* xliv. 3.

[3] See Frere, " Early Forms of Ordination ", in *The Early History of the Church and the Ministry* (ed. Swete), Essay V, pp. 288 *sqq.*

sort that were in the mind of Ignatius of Antioch in his insistence on the supreme authority of the bishop in the church.[1] Ignatius presided over one of the oldest and greatest churches in Christendom, and he had the prestige of a ' prophet ' as well. His letters, written probably about A.D. 115 to Rome and to various churches in the province of Asia, reflect his own experience at Antioch, and clearly carried great weight in furthering the existing tendency to concentrate authority in the hands of a single minister. In the course of the second century the ' monarchical episcopate ' became the rule all over the Empire. The ' monarchy ' was not an absolute one, for the presbyterate retained some real power, and the episcopate was not yet considered as a separate ' order '. Even Cyprian addressed his elders as *compresbyteri*. In early forms of ordination, surviving in places into the third century, the prayer over a bishop does not differ from that over a presbyter; and at Alexandria presbyters still ordained the bishop in the third century.[2] But in an age which thoroughly believed in the efficiency of one-man rule the tendency to make the bishop the real governor of the church increasingly prevailed. If it be true, as it probably is, that towards the close of the second century the churches obtained some sort of licence or recognition as property-owning corporations under the new legislation regulating *collegia*,[3] the bishop must have become the legal representative of the church in temporal affairs before the law, and this again would increase his power. Thus in each local church the bishop came to be the administrative head, with the presbyters as his advisers, and the deacons as his personal subordinates. The extent to which in practice he was able to assert his authority in independence of the presbyters depended on the personal strength of the bishop himself,[4] as well as on the size and importance of his church; for the position of the bishop of a great city with many congre-

[1] Ignatius, *ad Eph.*, iii–iv, vi; *ad Magn.*, vii; *ad Phil.*, iv, &c.

[2] See Bartlet and Carlyle, *Christianity in History*, pp. 306, 311.

[3] See *infra*, pp. 471–2.

[4] Cyprian's letters often reflect a trial of strength between bishop and presbyters.

gations was very different from that of the bishop of a little country town. In general the unit of church government corresponded to the unit of civil government, and in regions like North Africa and Italy, where small municipalities abounded, the ' diocese ' of a bishop was often scarcely more populous than a good-sized village.

The Catholic Episcopate.

The ' monarchical episcopate ', as advocated by Ignatius, had arisen mainly as an effort of the local church to safeguard its internal unity. But the bishop as personal representative of the church could do much to cement the unity of the whole Christian body. The second-century bishop Avircius (Abercius) Marcellus of Hieropolis has left a quaintly fanciful ' poem ' on his travels through the Empire, laying stress on his experience of sacramental and doctrinal unity wherever he found fellow-Christians.[1] Besides such informal intercourse there were provincial councils, in which the bishops played a leading part, determined by their leading position in their own churches; and the bishops of great sees like those of Rome, Carthage, and Antioch through their personal correspondence kept the Christian communities in various parts of the Empire in constant touch, which would hardly have been possible through any other channel. Thus for Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage in the middle of the third century, the episcopate is not merely the organ of unity in the local church, but pre-eminently the organ of the unity of the Church at large in face of extensive heresies and schisms, as well as of persecution directed against the whole Church throughout the Empire.[2] For him the episcopate as a body, rather than the individual bishop, is the seat of authority and the true nucleus of the Church. An individual bishop participates in the authority of the order,

[1] A large fragment of the " poem " was discovered by Sir W. M. Ramsay inscribed on a cippus which is now in the Lateran Museum. See Marucchi, *Christian Epigraphy*, pp. 126 *sqq.*

[2] See J. H. Bernard, " The Cyprianic Doctrine of the Ministry ", in *The Early History of the Church and the Ministry* (ed. Swete), Essay IV; Bartlet and Carlyle, *Christianity in History*, pp. 314 *sqq.*

and his church through him participates in the life of the great Church which inheres in the universal episcopate. There is no grace or salvation outside the Church, and no Church without the episcopate. In matters of discipline and administration the local bishop is autonomous, but has behind him the prestige of the whole order in dealing with possibly refractory members of his clergy or congregation. In matters of faith the whole episcopal body is authoritative. No superior authority exists, even in the Bishop of Rome. Cyprian's view found wide assent, and became the foundation of the later theory of the episcopate; though it was inevitable that the bishops of great metropolitan sees should in practice, and later in theory, acquire authority over other bishops, while the Bishop of Rome already enjoyed for obvious reasons an effective though informal primacy in which lay the germ of the later papacy.

Thus considerations of practical efficiency and of corporate unity in a political sense had much to do with the exaltation of the episcopate. It was so far a reflection of the general tendency of the age, which led to the gradual substitution of the bureaucratic despotism of Diocletian for the limited principate of Augustus. But it would be misleading to suggest that such considerations were the only or even the main factor. In two respects the position of the bishop was bound up with important elements in the spiritual life of the Church. He stood for the continuity of tradition and for the catholicity of the sacraments.

Apostolical Succession.

The idea of 'apostolical succession'[1] is in some sort implicit in the Acts of the Apostles, and is stated explicitly in the contemporary epistle of Clement to the Corinthians.[2]

"Christ," he says, "was sent from God and the apostles from Christ. . . . Place by place and city by city where they preached

[1] See C. H. Turner, 'Apostolical Succession', in *The Early History of the Church and the Ministry* (ed. Swete), Essay III.

[2] *1 Clem.* xlii. 2, 4, xliv. 1–2.

they set up their first converts, after testing them by the Spirit, as bishops and deacons of those who should believe. . . . And the apostles knew through our Lord Jesus Christ that there would be strife over the name of the episcopate. For this reason, having received perfect foreknowledge, they set up the aforesaid persons, and therewith gave injunction that if they fell asleep, other tested men should succeed to their ministry."

Thus the first presbyter-bishops were held to carry the authority of apostolic appointment, and those who were afterwards regularly appointed, with the consent of the local church (*συνευδοκησάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάσης*), succeeded to their authority.[1] Ignatius, with all his insistence on the authority of the bishop, lays no stress upon his succession. But when once the position of the presiding bishop was secure, it was natural to carry the tradition back through the individual holders of this supreme office, and lists of bishops were preserved in the oldest and greatest sees as a sort of pedigree of the society. The continuity of the succession came to be important when the tradition of the Church was challenged by the alleged esoteric tradition of the Christian Gnostics. When, for instance, the Basilidians claimed that their doctrines had been handed down from Peter through Glaucias (whoever he may have been), the Church of Rome had a ready answer, in the form: "We know nothing of this Glaucias, but our bishop stands in direct, open, and acknowledged succession step by step from the first bishop, who was appointed under the authority of the apostles Peter and Paul; and the tradition of the apostolic teaching handed down in this line of succession agrees with that handed down in similar lines in other apostolic churches like those of Antioch and Ephesus." This is in substance the doctrine of apostolic succession as it is formulated by Irenæus of Lyon at the end of the second century. Irenæus himself had peculiarly close personal links with the earlier stages of the tradition, for he had been a hearer of Polycarp, who, dying in 155 A.D. at the age of 86, had known the last survivors of the apostolic age in the province of Asia. There is no reason to question the substantial historicity of his view, though, as we have seen,

[1] *1 Clem.* xliv. 3.

it is the presbyter-bishop, and not the monarchical bishop of the second century, whose office goes back to apostolic times. Moreover the attempt made to derive the successions in the smaller sees uniformly from those of known apostolic origin involves some large and probably unjustified assumptions. In its essential points, however, the claim is just, that the episcopate of the second century did embody a continuous tradition going back to the first preachers of Christianity, and this tradition was rightly invoked to counteract the unwholesome influence of esoteric pretensions. It is to be noted that no writer of this period treats the bishops as themselves the successors of the apostles, thus identifying the episcopate as an order with the apostolate. Irenæus stood near enough to the beginnings of things to know that Peter had never been ' bishop ' of Rome or of Antioch. When, however, the ' high ' Cyprianic doctrine of the ministry became established, it was held that the episcopate was itself the continuation of the apostolate, and so an order distinct from, and inherently superior to, the presbyterate, out of which it had actually evolved.

The Eucharist and the Episcopate.

The second spiritual interest of the Church served by the growth of the episcopate was the catholicity of the Sacraments, and especially of the Eucharist. The rite was fundamentally a social meal, in which the breaking of the one loaf and the sharing of the one cup aptly symbolized the unity of the Christian family. To safeguard its meaning it was necessary to secure a real sense of congregational solidarity in all celebrations. This was something of a problem, for the domestic communions mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles survived in small group-celebrations, and regular corporate communions of the whole congregation must soon have become a practical impossibility in large churches like those of Rome and Antioch. It was no doubt the importance attached to congregational solidarity that first led to the vesting of the right to celebrate in the duly authorized ministry of the local church, to the exclusion of persons whose spiritual gifts had in more primitive times

seemed sufficient authorization. Thus already in Ignatius's view there is no true sacrament without a bishop, that is, without the ministration of the bishop himself or his delegate.[1] This maxim, however, was not universally accepted in an absolute sense. Even at the beginning of the third century Tertullian can say that in the absence of clergy a layman may both baptize and celebrate communion, in a context which implies that this was custom and not merely a personal opinion (*De Exhort. Cast.*, 7).[2] The regularization of the Sacrament through a bishop was a matter of good discipline rather than an essential of ' validity '. But through the strain and turmoil of the second and third centuries the need felt for absolute assurance of the unity of the Church, through the unity of each local congregation in which it was represented, threw more and more emphasis upon the regularity of the Sacrament; and as the bishop served both as the focus of unity in the congregation, and as its link with the unity of the whole, so his presence, or his authorization, at every celebration was felt to guarantee to every member that he was truly partaking in a sacrament of the One Church. The concrete fellowship of the congregation, conveying the mystical fellowship of the whole Church, was always an essential part of sacramental experience, whatever else might be included in it.

The Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Sacerdotal Ministry.

The development of a more rigorous practice and theory was the result of the growth of a sacrificial doctrine of the Eucharist.[3] From the outset, of course, it was a good deal more than a meal of fellowship, though this aspect of it was

[1] Ignatius, *ad Eph.*, xx, 2; *ad Magn.*, vii; *ad Phil.*, iv; and especially *ad Smyr.*, viii, 1–2, *ἐκείνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω, ἡ ὑπὸ ἐπίσκοπον οὖσα ἢ ᾧ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ . . . οὐκ ἐξὸν ἐστὶν χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὔτε βαπτίζειν οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν.*

[2] See J. H. Bernard in *The Early History of the Church and the Ministry* (ed. Swete), pp. 221–2; consequently for Tertullian " where three are together, though they be laymen, there is the Church " (*ubi tres, ecclesia est, licet laici*).

[3] On this subject see Bartlet and Carlyle, *Christianity in History*, Part II, chaps. III and IV; Bartlet, *The Eucharist in the Early Church* (in *Mansfield College Essays*).

fundamental. It was the Church's principal service of worship, and as such is described as a ' spiritual sacrifice '. Originally this meant that the whole body of the congregation, exercising the priestly office belonging to it as the People of God, offered to Him that ' living sacrifice ' of themselves for which Paul had called,[1] together with their prayers and praises. Very early, however, the sacrifice of thanksgiving was accompanied by material ' offerings ' or ' gifts '[2]. In the earliest celebrations, when the Eucharist was part of an actual meal (*agape*), the members of the congregation brought food and drink to the common table. " When the Eucharist proper was separated (for practical reasons) from the *agape*, portions of the people's offerings in kind (bread and wine), were brought as first fruits in thanksgiving to God, and offered in solemn Eucharistic prayer as the Church's ' gifts ' to God. This was done, not as atonement for sin, but because as pure ' in Christ ' from sin Christians were qualified for this high act of Divine fellowship. ' Sacrifices do not sanctify a man, for God is in no need of a sacrifice; but the conscience, being already pure, sanctifies the sacrifice and causes God to accept it as from a friend.' [3] In this prayer of ' oblation ' (*prosphora*) the Church associated its own sacrifice with that of Christ, ' man's nothing perfect with God's all-complete ', by explicit reference to its Lord's words anticipatory of His Passion, in remembrance of which they made their own self-oblation by gifts acceptable to God. In return, and in token of God's acceptance, the divine gift of fresh spiritual Grace is received. There is no offering of a divine gift or sacrifice by the Church on earth: it is a human gift, conceived to ascend spiritually to God's ' heavenly altar ' of praise, as the thanksgiving (Eucharist) of Christ's Holy People or Body ".[4] This is clearly Irenæus's conception; and it can still be traced in the Liturgy of Serapion,[5] which, although it is dated about A.D. 350, represents in many respects

[1] *Rom.* xii. 1. [2] *1 Clem.* xliv. 4. [3] Iren., *Adv. Haer.*, IV, xviii, 3.

[4] So Dr. J. V. Bartlet in an unpublished note which he kindly permits me to quote. I am indebted to him for several suggestions in this section, and for his criticisms of the whole chapter.

[5] Quoted by Bartlet and Carlyle, *op. cit.*, pp. 175–6.

more primitive practice. Here the ascription of praise—in a form closely parallel to the familiar words preserved in the Anglican Rite, from " Lift up your hearts " to " Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory "—leads up to the prayer:

> " Fill also this sacrifice with thy power and participation. For to Thee we have made offering of this living sacrifice, this bloodless oblation: to Thee we have made offering of this bread, the likeness of the body of the Only-begotten. This bread is the likeness of the holy Body; because the Lord Jesus Christ in the night in which He was betrayed . . ."

introducing the Words of Institution. The order of thought here is just that of Irenæus in the second century, and the conception of sacrifice is also in harmony with the main doctrine of Cyprian in the third century. " It was the association of the supreme sacrifice of Christ's Passion with the worshippers' own sacrifice of homage, expressed in gifts from God's own bounties of bread and wine offered in Eucharistic prayer, which gave the latter their full sacrificial value." [1] Cyprian, however, helped the transition to a more advanced view.

From a very early period the identification of the elements with the Body and Blood of Christ (wherein lay the deeper significance of the Communion) had been understood by many Christian thinkers in a realistic sense, though there was no uniform and universally accepted doctrine on the point. The influence of pagan mysteries reinforced the tendency to interpret it in the sense that through the recital of the Words of Institution, or through an Invocation of the Holy Spirit, the elements became something which they were not before. In this new character, viz. as the Body and Blood of the incarnate Logos (as Justin already conceives the effect of Consecration), they were offered to God; and this offering, conceived as a propitiatory sacrifice, overshadowed the Church's spiritual sacrifice as earlier understood. The liturgies reflect the change. In the Roman Mass, for instance, the offering is made only after Transubstantiation has taken place, not before the reference to Christ's self-oblation, as in Irenæus and Serapion.

[1] Bartlet and Carlyle, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

When the eucharistic sacrifice was thus regarded, the bishop who pronounced the words of the prayer whereby the change in the elements took place was thought of as in the strict sense a sacrificing priest. Down to late in the second century the term ' priest ' is never applied to a Christian minister; priesthood belongs to the whole people of God, and Christ is the only High Priest. The first to call the minister (presbyter) *sacerdos* is Tertullian; but Tertullian also speaks of the layman as *sacerdos*. Cyprian, in the next generation, restricts the term to the bishop. He is the priest of the Christian sacrifice. Presbyters (as mere ' Levites ') offer the sacrifice as authorized by him, not by virtue of a fully sacerdotal character of their own. The priesthood of the laity is potential only. It is exercised for them by their bishop. Ultimately the presbyterate secured more definite recognition of its priestly character, but the bishop remained the high priest, and the fountain of priesthood. It was along this line that the ministry of the primitive Church developed into the priesthood of Catholicism.

Limitations of Catholicity.

We have observed in this brief survey how Church Order emerged and developed in response to real religious needs. Above all it met the need for expressing in actual practice the ideal unity of the Church in all its aspects. Whether the way in which that need was met was the best possible in the circumstances this is not the place to ask. But we cannot but observe that as a matter of history the growth of Church Order was accompanied by some loss, and that in the end its success in expressing the unity of the Church was limited by the fact that the ' Catholic ' Church was very far from including all Christians. The stress upon regular order made it necessary to quench some movements, like Montanism, which appealed to that prophetic spontaneity which had been the condition of the Church's first rise. Similarly, the stress on tradition of necessity severely limited the range of independent thought within the Church. That the Church would have stultified

itself by becoming identified with the *schwärmerei* of some Gnostics who used the Christian name may be freely admitted, and it may be difficult to say where the line should have been drawn. But it at least ' gives to think ' that some of the greatest names in early Christianity are tainted with heresy or schism. Origen himself suffered excommunication from the Church of Alexandria; his orthodoxy was always suspect, until, long after his death, he was anathematized as a heretic. Three of the finest minds of Western Christendom in the first three centuries were in one way or another ' dissenters '—Hippolytus, the most learned writer of the Roman Church, Tertullian, whose genius dominated African Christianity, and Novatian, the author of the first ' orthodox ' treatise on the Trinity. Whether any blame attaches to them or to the Church from which they dissented is not the question. We merely observe that the growth of Church Order, inevitable as it seems, did actually involve the exclusion of men like these. And it may be questioned whether the Church was really the stronger for dispensing with the Quaker-like enthusiasm of the Montanists, the Puritan zeal of the Novatianists, or even the speculative breadth of some of the finer Gnostics. The ' Catholic ' Church which emerged from the period of persecution was after all only the strongest of a number of Christian societies.[1] It quickly turned the energies which had been absorbed in martyrdom to the suppression of Christian bodies outside its communion.

[1] The Theodosian Code includes measures against Montanists, Valentinians, Novatians, Donatists, Arians, Eunomians, Macedonians, Priscillianists, Apollinarians, Encratites, and several other sects. Most of these, however, were due to the increasing rigidity of credal definition in the period after Nicæa. But the first four at least were in existence as organized sects under Constantine.

IV. The Christian Church and the Roman Empire

NOTE.—On this subject see Neumann, *Der römische Staat und die allgemeine Kirche*; Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire;* Hardy, *Christianity and the Roman Government*; Allard, *Le Christianisme et l'Empire Romain.*

The Outlawry of Christianity.

The Christian Church started as an offshoot of Judaism, which was a tolerated religion (*religio licita*) under Roman Law. Only gradually did it come to be recognized as a separate religious society. The persecution under Nero in A.D. 64–66 marks the point at which the Government took account of it as such.[1] The Emperor was concerned to find a scapegoat to bear the odium of the burning of Rome, for which public opinion blamed him. He found what he sought in " those whom the vulgar called Christians, and detested because of their scandalous practices ". What these practices were we are not told, but probably as early as this the charges of cannibalism, incest, and the like, which were brought against Christians at a later date, were already current. They have in many ages provided a stick to beat religious bodies of an unconventional tendency and with something of mystery about them. In the trials which followed the denunciation of the Christians the charge of incendiarism seems to have fallen into the background: they were found guilty of " hatred of the human race " (*odium generis humani*). This vague crime might be held to include the vulgar scandals, and there is some reason to think that the practice of magic and sorcery, against which the emperors legislated severely, was brought into the case. At any rate the condemned suffered the punishments prescribed for magicians—exposure to beasts, crucifixion, and burning alive. But the significance of the transition from a particular charge to " hatred of the human race " is that it placed the Christians in the position of pirates, brigands, and other " enemies of mankind " (*hostes communes humani generis*).

[1] Tacitus, *Ann.*, XV, 44; Suet., *Nero*, 16.

They were in fact outlaws, and could be dealt with summarily, without any necessity for formulating a special charge. In future all that was necessary was to prove that a person was a Christian, and he was then *ipso facto* liable to punishment. There has been much discussion of the date at which persecution " for the Name ", as it is called, began; that is, at what date it became a criminal offence to be a Christian, apart from any particular illegality of which a Christian might be accused. On the basis of a rescript of Trajan to which reference must presently be made, it has been held that he was responsible for establishing the principle. This is, however, almost certainly a misreading of the document. Nor is there any reason to suppose that the Flavian emperors originated such persecution, though their attitude to Christianity was unfriendly. We need look no farther than the convictions of the years 64–66, which left the Christians branded as *hostes communes*. When Nero's *acta* were rescinded after his death, there was no reason why this finding of the courts should lose its validity.[1] It was of the nature of matter of fact, rather than of policy: the Christians, as Christians, were proven criminals.

What was the evidence produced by the Roman police to justify this verdict we cannot say. But the Church was a more or less secret society, attracting to its membership many of the lower orders, and showing remarkable cohesion. What its objects were it was hard to understand. Its religious character the authorities could hardly be expected to appreciate. The Christians were evidently ' atheists ' like the Jews; but they were not Jews, and therefore not covered by the statutes which protected that peculiar people. It was certain that they kept themselves apart from the life of the general community in many ways, and they were apt to use language which had a dangerously misanthropic or anarchical sound. Their rites were unintelligible, and most conveniently classed as magical. There was here probably material sufficient to make up a case

[1] Cf. Tertullian, *Ad. Nat.*, I, 7, *Permansit, erasis omnibus, hoc solum institutum neronianum.*

of *odium generis humani*, which in effect meant disaffection towards the established order.[1]

We may gain some light on the question from Christian literature belonging to the period inaugurated by the Neronian persecution. The writer of 1 Peter, for example, is prepared to suffer " for the Name " with pride, but is greatly concerned that his brethren shall not give the smallest pretext for charges of murder, theft, sorcery, or the like, but show themselves conspicuously loyal to the throne and respectful of dignities.[2] Again the writer of that history of the Beginnings of Christianity which we possess in the form of the third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles, sets out to prove to the Roman official to whom his work is dedicated the general harmlessness and beneficence of Christianity, and in particular to set right certain misconceptions of its relation to Judaism and to the Empire. Christianity, he shows, is the legitimate development of Judaism, and therefore entitled to all privileges granted to that religion. He cites such competent Jewish authorities as Rabbi Gamaliel, the Tetrarch Antipas, and Agrippa II as having failed to find any radical fault in the new sect, and points out that in a notorious test-case the Jerusalem Sanhedrin itself had been unable to reach a unanimous judgment adverse to a leading Christian missionary. On the other hand, any occasional collisions with Roman authorities had invariably been due either to simple misunderstanding or ignorance, or else to the machinations of factious Jews. Two procurators of Judæa, a proconsul of Achaia, and the municipal authorities of Ephesus and Philippi had definitely exonerated Christianity of any suspicion of sedition or disloyalty. It is not difficult to read in such defences the general character of the charges they were intended to meet.

The whole Christian body then from the time of Nero onward was outlawed. This did not mean that there was anything like continuous or universal persecution. It is not even

[1] *Principieller Widerstand gegen die römische Staatsomnipotenz* (Arnold, *apud* Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. 70).

[2] *1 Peter*, iv. 15–6, ii. 13–7.

clear how far the persecution in Rome under Nero spread to the provinces. At that time or later, proceedings might anywhere be taken after the precedent of 64–66, but the public tranquillity might often be better served by ignoring the sectaries. Local disturbances of the peace, or the zeal of an individual governor, would lead to the arrest and condemnation of individuals in one place or another. Titus is said to have hoped that the destruction of Jerusalem would check both Judaism and Christianity,[1] but he made no attempt to exterminate either religion. Domitian's attack was upon individual members of the aristocracy who were connected more or less closely with the Christian Church.[2] These distinguished persons were not made the subject of summary police proceedings, like the comparatively humble folk who formed the bulk of the outlawed sect. They had a regular trial, apparently on the charges of sacrilege (*ἀθεότης*) and treason (*majestas*). This special treatment corresponded rather to their exalted station than to any new departure in the legal status of Christianity; and there may well have been reasons why the Emperor did not wish members of his own family and of the Senate to suffer " for the Name ". Again, we do not know how far the persecution extended. The New Testament Apocalypse is evidence for persecution probably under Domitian in the province of Asia. No doubt the example of Rome inflamed anti-Christian feeling elsewhere. Moreover, Domitian's insistence on the worship of the Emperor must have provided a fresh motive of attack upon persons whose religion forbade them to give this pledge of loyalty. Indeed from this time there was a very ready test for Christianity to the hand of magistrates called upon to deal with charges. The accused had only to be requested to perform some act of worship to the image of the Emperor. If he refused, he was a Christian, and perished as an outlaw. It was probably the eminence of his victims and resentment of his demand for worship that caused the Church to remember Domitian as an arch-persecutor, rather than any widespread attack or any innovation in policy.

[1] Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.*, I, xxx, 7. [2] See above, p. 430.

The Policy of Trajan.

The legal position at the beginning of the second century is cleared up for us by the fortunate preservation of the correspondence of Pliny, as governor of Bithynia, with the Emperor Trajan.[1] Pliny had been faced with an enormous number of denunciations of alleged Christians, and wrote for direction on some points where he was not sure of the correct procedure. Trajan's rescript puts the matter plainly. To be a Christian is a criminal offence: it is " the name itself " (*nomen ipsum*) that constitutes the offence, not any criminal acts implied in the name (*flagitia cohaerentia nomini*). Any person therefore convicted on confession or on evidence of belonging to the sect and refusing to recant when formally ordered to do so must be punished. On the other hand there must be no official search for offenders (*conquirendi non sunt*). Only if information is formally laid are proceedings to be taken, and in no case can anonymous information be accepted. Any accused person who denies Christianity, and gives satisfactory proof that he abjures its errors, by adoring the gods and the image of the Emperor and cursing Christ, must immediately be acquitted.

It is noteworthy that Pliny records that after extremely careful inquiry he has been unable to discover anything in the religious rites or the general conduct of the Christians contrary to law or morals; the worst that can be laid to their charge is a degraded and extravagant superstition (*superstitio prava immodica*). Their obstinacy (*pertinacia et inflexibilis obstinatio*) in refusing to recant when ordered to do so by the Emperor's representative is itself worthy of death. Otherwise, their crime against the Empire is so to speak a wholly abstract one. To be a Christian is itself a crime, though it manifests itself in non-criminal acts alone. The Emperor, by forbidding his representatives to take the initiative against Christians, acknowledges that although technically they are on the same footing with brigands, yet actually they are not a serious danger to the State.

[1] Pliny, *Epp.*, X, xcvi–xcvii [xcvii–xcviii].

The principles thus defined by Trajan on the basis of long established policy remained in force throughout the second century. The rescripts of Hadrian, Pius, and Marcus made no substantial alteration in the position. All three were humane and enlightened monarchs, with no disposition to persecute unnecessarily. They enforced the maxim *conquirendi non sunt*, and sought to ensure that no proceedings against Christian suspects should be initiated except upon the most strictly formal and regular application of third parties. But they were all ardently devoted to their primary task of maintaining the public order of the Empire in face of all factors internal and external that threatened its solidarity; and the 'downright contumacy' (ψιλὴ παράταξις) which Marcus noted in the Christians[1] seemed to them, as it had seemed to Pliny, sufficient reason for letting the law take its course. Thus neither the sceptical tolerance of Hadrian nor the kindliness of his successor nor the humanitarianism of the imperial Stoic could bring any relief to the proscribed sect. It was only the least worthy of the Antonine sovereigns, the weak and dissolute Commodus, who allowed any personal indulgence to mitigate the rigour of the law. His concubine Marcia obtained from her friend the Bishop of Rome a list of Christians condemned to the mines in Sardinia, and secured their pardon.[2]

Records of Martyrdom.

It is during this period that authentic 'Acts' of martyrs begin to be available as evidence. The martyrdoms of Polycarp and Ptolemæus under Pius, of Justin and the Christians of Lyon and Vienne under Marcus, and of the Scillitans and the senator Apollonius under Commodus enable us to observe the actual administration of the law. The procedure is in the main exactly what the rescripts lead us to expect. Information is laid. The accused is asked "Are you a Christian?" He confesses, and the magistrate usually makes every possible attempt to induce him to consent to some form of abjuration, in order that he may benefit by the provision that recantation

[1] M. Aurelius, Εἰς Ἑαυτόν, XI, 3. [2] Hippolytus, *Adv. Haer.*, IX, 12.

shall bring a free pardon. Thus in the Martyrdom of Polycarp we read: [1]

> " When he was brought forward the proconsul asked if he were Polycarp. When he assented, he tried to persuade him to deny, saying ' Respect your years,' and the like, as is their custom: ' Swear by the Fortune of Cæsar.' . . . And as the proconsul insisted, and said ' Swear and I will release you; revile Christ!' Polycarp said, ' Eighty years I have served Him, and He never did me wrong: and how can I blaspheme my King who saved me?' "

When all such attempts failed, the accused was condemned for contumacious disobedience. A typical form of condemnation is that of the Scillitan martyrs: [2]

> " Whereas Speratus, Nazarius, Cythius, Donata, Secunda, and all have confessed that they live by the Christian rule (*Christiano ritu*), and upon being offered opportunity to return to the worship of the gods, have obstinately refused, the sentence is that they be punished by the sword."

It is evident that the actual cause of persecution is to be found in the popular prejudice against Christians, which led to the lodging of information against them and consequent legal proceedings. It also appears that it was not always possible for governors to restrain the adversaries of Christianity within the bounds of the law's intention. Thus the arrest of Polycarp was effected in a popular tumult supervening on the regular trial of a group of Christians who had been formally denounced. Again, there were informalities in the trials at Lyon, where an attempt was made to fix upon Christians charges of various crimes (the old *flagitia cohaerentia nomini*) on the evidence of their slaves.[3] Sometimes the Christians themselves forced the authorities to take measures against them. Thus when Ptolemæus was sentenced, a certain Lucius who was present in court protested against the injustice. Said the Prefect, " You seem to be one of the same sort." " Certainly," replied Lucius, and he was forthwith sent to execution.[4]

[1] *Mart. Polyc.*, ix, 2–3.
[2] *Acta Martyrum Scillitanorum* in Ruinart, *Acta Martyrum*, p. 133
[3] Euseb., *H. E.*, V, i, 14. [4] Justin, *Apol.*, II, ii, 15–8.

All the evidence goes to show that the Christian problem was a real embarrassment to the Government. It maintained the principle that the religion was illegal, and punished its adherents for obstinacy in not abandoning it at command. Yet the Emperors and their representatives often seem genuinely anxious to protect Christians from the consequences of their folly and their neighbours' malice. How many actually saved their lives during this period by recantation under judicial pressure we do not know. The number of those who suffered was certainly not large. Origen early in the third century could still say: "There have been but a few now and again, easily counted, who have died for the Christian religion."[1]

The Church as a Licensed Corporation.

It is surprising to find that in spite of legal proscription the Church was by the end of the second century in undisturbed possession of corporate property. The earliest places of worship and the earliest burial-places were the property of individuals put at the disposal of the community. But in the episcopate of Zephyrinus in the first years of the third century the Church of Rome possessed a cemetery of its own.[2] The legal terms on which it held its property are not certain; but those are probably right who seek them under the legislation of Severus on corporations (*collegia*). This excepted from the general prohibition of corporations those which were of the nature of benevolent societies for the poor (*collegia tenuiorum*). Such societies might obtain a licence from the authorities, if their objects and constitutions were approved. Societies of one particular class, namely burial clubs, were expressly authorized by a general provision of the law. As the first kind of Church property of which we hear is a cemetery, it is a plausible conjecture that the Church received authorization as a burial club. If not, it must surely have been licensed in

[1] *Con. Cels.*, III, 8: Ὀλίγοι κατὰ καιροὺς καὶ σφόδρα εὐαρίθμητοι ὑπὲρ τῆς χριστιανῶν θεοσεβειάς τεθνήκασιν.

[2] Hippolytus, *Adv. Haer.*, IX, 12.

some way or other under the Severian legislation.[1] Early in the third century we find an emperor (Alexander Severus) adjudging to the Church a piece of land formerly belonging to the public domain, and now in dispute between the Church and the Victuallers' Association (*popinarii*)[2]. This implies that it was already assumed that the Church was legally a property-owning corporation—and this at a period when Christians as such were outlaws.

The Apologists.

The position was clearly illogical and unstable. It might well seem that the occasion was favourable for attempting to gain some improvement in the legal status of Christianity by explanation, argument, and appeal addressed to the Emperors or to public opinion at large. The attempt was made by the Apologists of the second century. They took the reasonable view that the proscription of Christianity rested on misunderstanding of its character and aims, and that Emperors who so evidently wished to limit the effect of that proscription needed only to be better informed in order to remove it altogether. Among the groups of Apologists who undertook the task may be mentioned Aristides and Justin who appealed to Pius, and Melito and Apollinarius who appealed to Marcus, with the definite aim of securing some amelioration of the law. The Apologists make the most of the obvious inconsistency of the law and its administration, and protest against the injustice of condemning a man " for the Name " of his religion, without seeking evidence of any real misdemeanour, whereas in other cases it is evidence of evil acts, not the profession of a name, that carries weight at law. They claim that Christians are completely loyal to the Empire, respecting the Emperor and praying for him although they refuse him the worship which is proper only to God. They explain the moral and

[1] Hardy, however, thinks that the recognition of the Church of Rome as a property-owning corporation may well be earlier than this, since the licences which Severus gave to clubs in the Empire at large had been in force in the City from the time of Hadrian.

[2] Lampridius, *Alex. Sev.*, xlix, 6.

social ideals of Christianity, claiming that these are such as to win the approbation of the wisest moralists, while they are realized in practice to an extent unknown among pagans. They give an account of the principles and rites of Christian worship, to show how entirely innocuous they are. Thus they seek to cut the ground from under the slanders against Christian morals, which were widely believed, and partly accounted for that popular hostility which alone made the legal proscription operative.

"Christians (says the anonymous Epistle to Diognetus) are not differentiated from other men by country, language, or manners. They neither inhabit cities of their own nor speak some special dialect, nor practise a bizarre way of life. . . . They obey the established laws, and by their own lives surpass the laws. They love all men and are persecuted by all. . . . When they do good they are punished as malefactors; when they are punished they rejoice as being given new life. They are attacked by the Jews as aliens, and persecuted by the Greeks; and those who hate them can give no reason for their enmity." (v. 1–2, 10–11, 16–17.)

Further, the Apologists are concerned to present Christianity as a reasonable philosophy, entitled to the toleration and consideration accorded to other schools of philosophy. Justin, a philosopher before his conversion, continued as a Christian teacher to wear the gown, and claimed that in teaching the doctrine of Christ he stood in the authentic succession of Greek philosophy.

"We have been taught and have proclaimed that Christ is the Firstborn of God, as being the Logos (Reason), whereof every race of men partakes. And those who have lived by reason are Christians, even if they were regarded as atheists, as for instance among the Greeks Socrates and Heraclitus and their like.[1] . . . Not that the doctrines of Plato are alien from Christ, but that they are not altogether similar, any more than those of other teachers—Stoics, poets, and historians. For each saw in part that which is congruous with the divine seminal Reason, and uttered it well. . . . Whatever therefore has been well spoken among them all belongs to us Christians; for we worship and love next to God the Logos (Reason) which comes from the ingenerate and ineffable God, since He became man for us, in order that by sharing our sufferings He might bring healing." [2]

[1] *Apol.*, I, xlvi, 2–3. [2] *Apol.*, II, xiii, 2–4.

Thus the practical needs of the situation stimulated Christian thought to work out a rational philosophy of religion in touch with the best general thought of the time, and helped to save it from the narrowness of a pietistic sect.

Easy Times for the Church.

The Apologists did not attain their object directly; but their work no doubt greatly helped Christian propaganda, especially among educated people, and the Church reaped the advantage in time. The first sign of the success of that propaganda was the issue by Septimius Severus in the first years of the third century of an edict making it a penal offence to admit converts to the Church.[1] In the main, however, the first half of this century was a prosperous time for the Church. The emperors of Eastern origin who succeeded the sons of Severus stood outside the ancient tradition, and perhaps were not disinclined to favour an Oriental religion. Alexander Severus, whose mother Mammæa had received instruction from Origen,[2] placed the image of Christ among those of other religious personages in his private chapel.[3] Philip the Arab was rumoured to be a secret Christian himself, and was certainly on intimate terms with Christian leaders.[4] The Church had now as much to hope from the partiality of such emperors as it had to fear from the antipathy of others, like Maximin the Thracian, who singled out the clergy for a savage attack, rightly estimating their importance as leaders of the Christian community.[5] The long reign of inflexible principle was over, with the decline of the old Roman discipline, and whether the Church stood to gain or lose by it depended on the caprice of individuals and the changing fortunes of dynastic revolutions.

[1] Spartian, *Severus*, xvii, 1: *Judaeos fieri sub gravi poena vetuit: idem etiam de Christianis sanxit.* The law apparently had little effect. Measures forbidding conversion to Judaism had been enacted by earlier emperors.

[2] Euseb., *H. E.*, VI, xxi, 3. [3] Lampridius, *Alex. Sev.*, xxix, 2.

[4] Euseb., *H. E.*, VI, xxxiv; cf. VII, x, 3.

[5] Euseb., *H. E.*, VI, xxviii. Eusebius treats his hostility to Christianity as reaction against the favour they enjoyed at the court of his predecessor.

The Empire declares War on the Church: Decius and Valerian.

In A.D. 248 the 1000th anniversary of the founding of Rome was celebrated with great solemnity. The occasion stirred the feelings of the populace, the more so since the situation of the Eternal City at the moment was one of the utmost peril. The Goths had broken the frontier and the Empire was disunited. Of the various pretenders to the throne Trajan Decius made good his claim. Like his namesake in the second century he was an upright soldier, with a high standard of duty. His double task was the restoration of public order at home and the repulse of the barbarians. The latter demanded at the moment his whole attention. For the former he provided by reviving the ancient republican office of Censor. It was entrusted to Valerian, who when Decius was at the front remained in Rome virtually as a second emperor for civil affairs. The censor set himself to bring back the public virtue of old Rome, and as part of it the ancestral religion.[1] The chief menace to it seemed to be the Christian Church, which during half a century of almost complete freedom from persecution had grown powerful in numbers, influence, and confidence.[2] Its mood had passed from defence to defiance. In place of the conciliatory pleading of a Justin we have the sarcasms and denunciations of a Tertullian. A numerous and closely-knit community challenged the authority of the pagan empire. Valerian, acting no doubt fully in the sense of the Emperor's policy, accepted the challenge. In declaring war on the Church he was supported by public opinion, which, shaken by the accumulated calamities that had befallen the State, was prepared to blame the 'atheists' for the wrath of the gods.

[1] Eusebius (*H. E.*, VI, xxxix, 1) treats the persecution under Decius as simple reaction against the pro-Christian attitude of Philip the Arab: but its roots are deeper.

[2] Decius, says Cyprian (*Epp.*, lv, 9), was more disturbed by the election of a new Bishop of Rome than by the proclamation of a pretender to the throne. This is, of course, a Christian view.

The measures required and taken in order to set persecution effectually afoot were of the simplest. The Christians were already proscribed by a law which had never been repealed though it was almost a dead letter. The clause *conquirendi non sunt* alone protected them from the full rigour of official repression. Valerian acting under Decius's authority in effect withdrew that protection. He ordered that within a certain period every householder in the empire should apply for a certificate of his devotion to the religion of the State.[1] Several of these certificates have been discovered. Their form is as follows: [2]

> " I have always sacrificed to the gods, and now in your presence I have in accordance with the regulations sacrificed, poured libation, and tasted of the victims; and I request that you shall certify the same."

The certificate is headed with the name, style, and description of the person concerned, and signed by the imperial commissioners or by one of their number. A house-to-house inspection of certificates by the police readily informed the government of recusants, and the law could then take its course. The decree was carried out with vigour and dispatch. It came into force on 1st January, A.D. 250; on 20th January, Fabian, Bishop of Rome, was put to death, the most illustrious and one of the earliest victims. The number actually killed, however was probably not very large. Indeed the aim of the persecution was not to make martyrs but to weaken and discredit the Church. Many escaped by going into exile, like Cyprian of Carthage. Many obtained certificates either by formal compliance or by purchase or other corrupt practices. The spirit of martyrdom had run low during the easy times. Multitudes were Christians simply by heredity or even for less worthy motives. The persecution came as a wholesome purge.

[1] The text of the edict is not preserved, but we have exceptionally full information about the course of the persecution in the contemporary correspondence of Cyprian.

[2] *Berliner Griechische Urkunden*, 287 (printed in Milligan, *Select Greek Papyri*, No. 48), &c.

It no doubt diminished the effective roll of the Church, and it left behind it a host of problems connected with the treatment of the lapsed. For what the Government had never reckoned with was the intense anxiety of most of those who had reluctantly conformed to be restored to the fellowship of the Church with the least possible delay. The policy advocated by Cyprian and adopted by the Church in general was to make their return easy. The more rigorous party was in fact driven into schism. The persecution was over before the end of A.D. 251. The first engagement in the war of religions, though it had hit the Christians hard, was certainly no decisive victory for their opponents.

Decius was killed fighting the Goths, and his successors had more urgent matters to deal with than the Christian problem. When, however, Valerian himself became Emperor he set his hand afresh to his incompleted task. His procedure marks an entirely new departure in anti-Christian legislation. His aim was no longer primarily to secure apostasy of individuals, but to extirpate the Church as an institution. The edicts of A.D. 257 and 258 constituted the Church an illicit corporation. Its property, including even the burial-places, was confiscated, its meetings forbidden; and its clergy, as promoters of an illegal association, became guilty of conspiracy, a crime falling under the head of high treason (*majestas*). They were in fact the prime objects of the persecution. Xystus, Bishop of Rome, was beheaded, seated on his episcopal throne in the cemetery of Prætextatus, on the 8th of August, A.D. 258. Cyprian of Carthage suffered in the same year. The terms used by the proconsul in sentencing him indicate the nature of his crime:[1]

> "You have long lived in sacrilege, you have gathered about you very many accomplices of your nefarious conspiracy, you have made yourself the enemy of the gods of Rome and of the sacred laws, and our pious and most sacred emperors . . . have been unable to recall you to the practice of their worship."

For the lay 'accomplices of the conspiracy' there was a

[1] *Acta Proconsularia S. Cypriani* in Ruinart, *Acta Martyrum*, p. 263.

carefully graded scale of penalties, varying according to their civil status. Only those of highest rank were put to death, and the poverty-stricken treasury of the State profited by the confiscation of their goods.

The Peace of Gallienus.

The persecution did not last long. Valerian was engulfed in the appalling disaster which the Persians inflicted on the imperial armies, and for a time the Empire itself went to pieces. Gallienus, who succeeded his father in the government of such portions of it as were not seized by one or other of the 'Thirty Tyrants', was perhaps not without sympathy with Christianity, which his wife Salonina may even have professed.[1] In any case, the new Emperor disavowed his father's policy. Nor was this a mere repetition of what had happened at the end of previous persecutions, when proceedings had been tacitly dropped without any formal legislation. Gallienus by edict and rescript formally gave to the clergy full liberty to perform their ministry, and restored to them the possession of the cemeteries, churches, and other properties which had been confiscated.[2] Thus the Church emerged from the persecution in a stronger position than ever before. The edict of Gallienus remained as a sort of charter for the rest of the third century, and such sporadic persecution as occurred was local and unimportant. The Christians might well think they had won the victory.

The Last Persecution.

But there was yet to be a final trial of strength. The all but ruined Empire slowly struggled to its feet, and the military and administrative genius of Diocletian restored its prestige abroad and its unity at home. The new political system he founded rested on a rigorous centralization of government, in the hands of two senior emperors (Augusti) and two sub-

[1] A coin issued after her death has the inscription "AUGUSTA IN PACE" (Cohen, *Monnaies frappées sous l'Empire romain*, V., p. 498, Nos. 17 *sqq.*).

[2] Euseb., VII, xiii, citing a proclamation of the emperor to the bishops.

ordinate colleagues with the title of Cæsar; and the elimination of any power in the State which could limit or check their absolute authority. In such a scheme the existence of the Christian Church was a dangerous anomaly. It was an institution as wide as the Empire itself, as elaborately organized, as fully centralized, and exercising in practice an independence which meant for thousands of Roman subjects a seriously divided loyalty. Its members were prominent in all departments of public life, in the army, in the courts, in the civil service, in the imperial palace itself. Its clergy openly exerted influence far beyond the limits of purely ecclesiastical affairs. Diocletian resolved to make an end of it.[1] He did not act until peace with Persia had set him free from all anxieties abroad, and several years of quiet had consolidated the working of his new constitution. He then began gradually, first with Christians in the Palace and the army, who were required to sacrifice on pain of dismissal. On 23rd February, A.D. 303, he ordered the destruction of the cathedral at Nicomedia, where he resided. The next day he promulgated an edict which recalls that of Valerian. It ordered the suppression of Christian assemblies, the destruction of churches and of all copies of the Scriptures, and the abjuration of Christianity by all officials and members of the civil service, on pain of degradation. The edict was received with defiance. Someone tore down the placard from the wall of the Forum in Nicomedia. Two fires in the Palace within a fortnight and riots in various places were attributed to the resentment of the Christians. Led to believe that such acts were instigated by the leaders of the Church, the Emperor issued a second edict, ordering the imprisonment of all the clergy. This was followed by a third, ordering the liberation of the imprisoned clergy if they would sacrifice, with torture as an inducement to the recalcitrant. Finally, an edict issued by Diocletian's colleague Maximian re-enacted the law of Decius in a more universal form. It

[1] For the last persecution Eusebius becomes a contemporary authority: *H. E.*, VIII, *Vit. Const.* and *De Mart. Pal.* See also Lactantius, *De Mort. Persecutorum*. See Schiller, *Gesch. d. röm. Kaiserzeit*, B. III, Chap. II, § 13.

ordered that all subjects of the Empire should publicly offer sacrifice to the gods, under extreme penalties.

This meant general persecution. Its execution depended partly on the personal attitude of the officials responsible, and it was not everywhere pushed to the extreme. Over a large part of the Empire, however, it became a Reign of Terror. No previous persecution had so let loose sheer blood-lust. Almost incredible refinements of torture were employed to enforce recantation or to punish the obdurate. Nothing more clearly indicates the process of barbarization that had overtaken the Empire. But the extravagance of cruelty defeated its own end. The populace sickened of it all, and there was a revulsion of feeling which took the heart out of the persecution. Before long Maxentius, who after the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian had made himself emperor in Italy, found he could win the favour of the mob by mitigating its rigour. Galerius himself, who as a subordinate colleague of Diocletian had been most urgent in instigating the persecution, and as Emperor of the East most implacable in carrying it out, on his deathbed granted toleration to the Christians. It still dragged on in some provinces, but with no hope of success. Although multitudes of Christians had left the Church during the Terror, a vast body had grimly resisted, suffering imprisonment, torture, slavery, or death, until the attempt to coerce the Church collapsed. The last persecution had failed.

The Constantinian Settlement.

Meanwhile the Church had found a powerful champion in Constantine, the son of Constantius Chlorus. Constantius, having governed Britain and Gaul as ' Cæsar ' under Diocletian's scheme, had been raised to the rank of Augustus on the abdication of the older emperors, but his son was pointedly passed over in the arrangements for the succession. Nevertheless when Constantius died at York in A.D. 306 the army hailed Constantine as Emperor. He accepted the nomination, and proceeded to make it good both by diplomacy and by force of arms. He was not at this time a Christian, though he inherited

from his father a policy friendly to the Church. In the provinces of Constantius indeed the persecution had scarcely gone farther than the destruction of a few churches. Thus his son could count on Christian support. When after wresting Rome from Maxentius, in a campaign in which his standards had borne a Christian emblem, he became the effective ruler of the Western Empire, he promulgated an edict establishing complete religious freedom for all his subjects. The Edict of Milan,[1] issued in the winter of A.D. 312–3, is a document of the first importance in the history of religion. Whoever was responsible for its actual terms, it stands as a noble statement of the principle of religious toleration. It lays down:

" that liberty of worship shall not be denied to any, but that the mind and will of every individual shall be free to manage divine affairs according to his own choice."

Accordingly all restrictive statutes are formally abrogated, and it is enacted:

" that every person who cherishes the desire to observe the Christian religion shall freely and unconditionally proceed to observe the same without let or hindrance."

The same toleration is expressly extended to other cults:

" The same free and open power to follow their own religion or worship is granted also to others, in accordance with the tranquillity of our times, in order that every person may have free opportunity to worship the Object of his choice."

The policy thus enunciated was carried into effect by a series of particular edicts and rescripts. Christian exiles were recalled, convicts at the mines were released, Christian soldiers who had been dismissed were offered the alternatives of reinstatement or honourable discharge, persons sold into slavery were emancipated, and confiscated property was restored.[2]

[1] The Edict of Milan is handed down in two forms: (i) the Latin text of the rescript issued to the *praeses* of Bithynia immediately after the battle of Nicomedia, given by Lactantius, *De Mort. Pers.*, 48; and (ii) a slightly fuller, but not wholly accurate, Greek translation in Eusebius, *H. E.*, X, v, 1–4.

[2] Proclamation to the Eastern Provinces, quoted by Eusebius, *Vit. Const.*, II, 30-6.

Where such property had belonged to the Church, it was legally vested in the Church as a corporation (*corpori et conventiculis eorum*), which was also made competent to inherit property in future.[1] Further, the Christian clergy was given a definite civil status by the grant of exemption from municipal burdens [2]—a privilege previously enjoyed by pagan priesthoods as well as by members of the liberal professions. More important still, the ecclesiastical courts were legally recognized, and appeals to them were permitted from the civil courts.[3]

These are the principal measures by which Constantine created a legal status for the Christian Church. Except perhaps the last, there is none of them that can be said to favour the Christian religion at the expense of others. In practice, however, the growing influence of the clergy over the Emperor himself gradually brought the Church into a position of privilege. His personal religion, which had begun as a somewhat vague monotheism, approximated more and more to Christianity, until on his deathbed he received baptism. But there is no good evidence that he ever allowed the intolerance of his ecclesiastical advisers to lead him into persecution of other religions. Eusebius indeed alleges that he prohibited all pagan rites.[4] If so, he acted in violation of his own great edict of toleration, and contrary to his express declarations in a manifesto to the Eastern provinces.[5] In this remarkable document the Emperor repudiates statements which were being made that it was his intention to destroy " the customs of the Temples and the Power of Darkness ". He would gladly have counselled all men to abandon idolatry, but he is aware that the violent destruction of this ' pestilential error ' would not be in the public interest. The legislation of his reign preserved in the Theodosian Code is in harmony with this.[6] It shows the Emperor, who as *Pontifex Maximus* was the head of the State

[1] *Codex Theodosianus*, XVI, ii, 4; Euseb., *H. E.*, X, v, 11, 15–7; Lact., *De Mort. Pers.*, 48.

[2] *Cod. Theod.*, XVI, ii, 2, &c.

[3] *Cod. Theod.*, I, xxvii, 1; *Constitutiones Sirmondianae*, 1.

[4] *Vit. Const.*, IV, xxiii. [5] *Ibid.*, II, xlvii–lx.

[6] *Cod. Theod.*, XII, i, 21, v, 2; IX, xvi, 3, &c.

religion, regulating pagan cults, defining the privileges of priesthoods, and so forth, just as his predecessors had done. Even the particular acts attributed to him by Eusebius do not necessarily go beyond a somewhat strict censorship of rites inconsistent with public morals or good order, except perhaps for the destruction of a few shrines especially obnoxious to Christian feeling. The old religion in fact remained the religion of the Empire. At most one might speak of a sort of 'concurrent establishment and endowment' of Christianity.

It is not so clear that heretics and schismatics were allowed to enjoy the full benefits of the Edict of Milan. But here the Emperor was in a real difficulty. His idea was to confer upon a single definite body, the *corpus Christianorum*, those powers, liberties, and privileges which were to give to Christianity its status within the Empire. Unfortunately there was no single body including within it all persons professing Christianity. After vain attempts to secure unity by agreement, Constantine standardized Christianity for legal purposes by recognizing as the only Christian body before the law that Church which, though in some provinces it might be overshadowed by other bodies, yet represented throughout the Empire the majority of Christians. In the year after the Council of Nicæa had failed to realize the Emperor's hopes of Christian unity, an edict was issued expressly confining all clerical privileges to "observers of the catholic law", and excepting all "heretics and schismatics".[1] Whether Constantine went beyond the denial of privileges to actual proscription of heresy is not wholly clear. Eusebius says he did. No Constantinian laws in that sense appear in the Theodosian Code, but that may possibly be because comparatively mild anti-heretical measures of this reign were eclipsed by the ferocious legislation of later emperors. The heretics were certainly harassed, but what the precise legal position may have been we are not able to say with confidence. If there was any persecution, it was not because the Emperor wished it, but because Christians found it impossible to extend to one another the tolerance he had intended for

[1] *Cod. Theod.*, XVI, v, 1.

them all. His whole policy was an honest attempt to put into practical operation the enlightened principles of the Edict of Milan, and to find a place within the religious system of the Empire for the free expression of all types of faith and worship. He was too far ahead of his time to succeed. The attempt broke down under his successors, and not for centuries was it renewed.

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PART IV

FROM THE FOURTH CENTURY TO THE END OF THE REFORMATION

CHAPTER I

History of the Church, 312–800 A.D.

Introductory.—From the last and the worst of the attempts made by the pagan Empire to destroy it by violence, Christianity emerged to become, first, a tolerated religion, then, speedily, the State religion. The next five hundred years form a momentous period. Pagan opposition has still to be encountered, but less as a political force than as a philosophical leaven, seeking, not to crush the Church, but to rationalize and emasculate its doctrines, and compelling successive and progressive definitions of its central mysteries. The results of the State recognition of Christianity and of its numerical extension, producing within the Church new standards and ideals of Christian life and transforming it, through imperial interference and the demands and opportunities of the time, from a body possessed of purely spiritual sanctions into a compact and organized officialdom, are all to be worked out and made permanent. The united Empire is split into two portions, each increasingly developing its own temperament, outlook, and claims, while the barbarians break through the frontiers and settle in the various provinces, and only the Church is left to impose upon them discipline and order and to transmit the meagre spiritual heritage of the civilization they found moribund and so easily overwhelmed. When the period closes, the Church has arrested the process of disintegration and begun the task of centralization, and, for its own good and the good of Christendom, it hands on the imperial idea to a Frankish king, creating thus that new Empire, Holy and Roman, whose problems compose the history of the Middle

Ages, and passing on the leading rôle in European politics to the Germanic peoples.

These five hundred years fall naturally into three stages. In the first, to the death of Theodosius the Great in 395, the Church is working out the consequences of its new position, settling the problems left by the persecutions, and overcoming open paganism. In the second, the divergences between the churches of the East and the West become more and more marked as the doctrinal problems become more and more metaphysical, until just after the collapse of the Western Empire before the invading barbarians in 476, they culminate in the first schism between Rome and Constantinople in 484. Finally, when that schism is ended in 519, and Justin I (518–527) comes to the throne, there begin the changes induced by the division of the Empire among the barbarians, as the Church adapts its organization and its methods to their conversion and education. When this period ends, the Church of the Middle Ages is already in existence.

I. Constantine to Theodosius, 313–395 A.D.

To these eighty years the reign of Constantine as Emperor of the West (312–324) forms the introduction, during which the chief developments that are to follow outline themselves. Two questions, both rooted in the persecutions, demand solution: one in the East, a question of doctrine, leading to the definition of the Church's belief about the person of Christ, the other in the West, a question of discipline and organization, leading to the definition of the Church and the Sacraments. In both, the interference of the Emperor raised the problem of the relations between the Church and the civil authority. The remaining seventy years are divided by the reign of Julian (361–363), under whom a serious but ineffectual effort was made to revive paganism. Between his death and Theodosius, Christianity triumphs over heathenism and heresy and secures their legal prohibition; the growth of the Church organization

THE ROMAN EMPIRE
c. A.D. 312
Territory nominally Christian
D. OF BRITAIN
DIOCESE OF GAUL
DIOCESE OF VIENNA
DIOCESE OF SPAIN
DIOCESE OF ITALY
D. OF PANNONIA
DIOCESE OF MOESIA
D. OF THRACE
DIOCESE OF PONTUS
DIOCESE OF ASIA
DIOCESE OF AFRICA
DIOCESE OF THE EAST
Milan
Arles
Ravenna
Rome
Carthage
Byzantium
Chalcedon
Adrianople
Nicaea
Ephesus
Athens
Antioch
Damascus
Jerusalem
Alexandria

is accompanied by a brilliant intellectual development, lasting from about the middle of the fourth century to the middle of the fifth.

Constantine Sole Emperor.

By the Edict of Milan (313) the co-emperors, Constantine and Licinius, granted the Christians toleration, but while Constantine gradually and cautiously inclined towards Christianity, his rival became the champion of paganism. In the West, the more debasing pagan practices were repressed, and the privileges and immunities enjoyed by the priesthood were transferred to the clergy; more humane legislation showed the purifying influence of the Christian moral code; the Church was made capable of receiving legacies and its holy day, Sunday, was recognized as a day of enforced public rest. In the East, Licinius was responsible for a short but severe persecution, but by the battle of Adrianople on 3rd July, 323, Constantine defeated him and became sole emperor, extending to the Eastern Church the privileges already enjoyed by the Western.

Constantine and the Donatists.

But the peace and unity he desired for the Empire were soon challenged. In the preceding century the African Church had been divided over the question of the readmission of those who had yielded under persecution, and when the see of Carthage fell vacant in 311, a puritan party, in which personal ambition and offended pride were no less conspicuous than zeal for the integrity of the Church, objected to Cæcilian, the new bishop, that his consecrator, Felix of Aptunga, had been guilty of betraying the Christian Scriptures to the persecutors, and was therefore unable to confer any valid sacrament. A schism thus arose, which spread through all North Africa. It became essential to decide which of the two rival Churches could rightly be called ' Catholic ' and which, in consequence, could rightly claim the benefits bestowed by the Emperor. A preliminary inquiry at Rome failed to reconcile the disputants,

so Constantine summoned the Western bishops to meet at Arles (314), when Cæcilian and Felix were declared innocent. Steps were taken in 316 to punish the Donatists, but punishment proved ineffective, and in 321 Constantine withdrew this measure and granted them liberty of conscience.

Arianism and the Council of Nicæa.

This was the first imperial interference with the Church's internal concerns, and the first imperial employment of its conciliar machinery, but both were henceforward to become the rule. On becoming sole Emperor, Constantine adopted the same method in dealing with the Arians. Less violent than Donatism, Arianism was much more dangerous, for it was the continuation and the outcome of repeated attempts to subvert Christianity from within, by explaining away the central doctrine on which the Church was built, the divinity of Christ. Orthodox and heretic alike professed belief in His divinity, but differed about its extent and its mode: to the one, Christ was God who had become man, to the other Christ was man who had somehow become God. In the simple statement that Jesus was divine, there undoubtedly lay the danger of encouraging dualism. Anxious above all to conserve monotheism, each party offered an explanation of the God-man: the one held that it was God Himself that had appeared on earth and suffered on the Cross, while the other asserted that the Son was subordinate to the Father and thus different in substance. Arius started out from the current belief in the unity of God, which he sought to safeguard by declaring the Son to be begotten and therefore finite, different in essence from the Father and therefore not Very God of Very God, but a being intermediate between God and man. When in the summer of 325 the Ecumenical Council summoned by Constantine met at Nicæa in Bithynia, some forty-four miles across the Bosporus from Byzantium, two parties confronted each other, orthodox and Arian, while a middle party aimed at compromise. Into a vague and non-committal creed presented by Eusebius of Cæsarea, the leader of the middle party, the orthodox, led

by Athanasius of Alexandria, inserted words and phrases definitely directed against Arianism, and in its final form the Creed of Nicæa was accepted by all save Arius and some supporters. With the words " Very God of Very God, begotten not made, consubstantial with the Father ", the Church defined its doctrine of Christ's divinity, but in the triumph of orthodoxy the State showed its authority, and provided a fateful precedent by banishing those who had refused to sign.

The Creed of Nicæa was the Church's first written standard of faith and the first official definition of the Trinity and of the cardinal Christian doctrines. Altered to some extent by the later Council of Constantinople (381), it has since remained in universal acceptance: Greek, Roman, and Reformed Churches alike confess it. Besides this dogmatic formulation, the Council decided various questions of discipline and order. It standardized the method of calculating Easter; it stimulated the development of papal supremacy by recognizing Rome as the only Western patriarchate, while at the same time countenancing a theory of conciliar authority which was later to be used as a challenge to papal claims; it regulated clerical life and gave some support to the theory of clerical celibacy, and it acknowledged State control by having its decisions promulgated as imperial law. In its vague pronouncement on the sphere of jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, it gave occasion for differences of interpretation which became marked and important when the Roman see was developing into the mediæval papacy.

But the forcible imposition of the Nicene Creed was unlikely to secure conviction or end controversy. Now that Constantine was living in the East, he was more open to Arian influence and more desirous of the religious harmony necessary for political unity. He allowed Arius to return from exile and did not prevent attacks upon the Nicene leaders. Athanasius was banished for political and personal reasons in 336, and the Nicene Creed, though not repudiated, was quietly undermined during the ' Eusebian reaction ' which continued until the Emperor's death in 337.

Constantine's Sons.

Though Constantine had favoured Christianity, he held to his own principle of toleration and refrained from coercing paganism, but the three sons among whom the Empire was divided were more severe. Constantius in the East ordered the temples to be closed and forbade sacrifices, and though the edict was not universally enforced, paganism was exposed to constant challenge. In the West, Constantine II was a warm supporter of the Nicene faith, but the Arians found a champion in Constantius and now rejected the Nicene Creed, drafting during the next twenty years a series of definitions designed to supersede it. Deposed from his see in 338, Athanasius, with various others of his party, visited Rome, where a Council of Western bishops in 340 declared his innocence. The Eastern Church in turn met in 341 at Antioch, where his deposition was confirmed, and four creeds, alike in their avoidance of the Nicene word 'consubstantial', were proposed, one of which was openly Arian. At the suggestion of the Western emperor, Constans, Eastern and Western bishops met in 343 at Sardica, now Sofia in Bulgaria, but, objecting to the presence of Athanasius, the Eastern representatives soon withdrew to Philippopolis, where they denounced the Sardican assembly and drew up an Arian formula. At Sardica, Athanasius was again acquitted, and a canon was passed to legitimate his appeal to Rome. It was decreed that any bishop believing himself unfairly condemned might appeal, either directly or through his judges, for a scrutiny of the case by the Bishop of Rome, who could declare whether a new trial should be granted. Though this right was recognized neither by the East nor by Africa, it formed an important step in the evolution of papal supremacy and conferred upon the Pope powers formerly possessed by the Emperor alone. The immediate result of Sardica was a widening of the breach between the East and the West.

When Constantius was left sole Emperor in 351 and found respite from his political troubles, another series of councils

began, this time restrained by no timidity and with no purpose of conciliation, but with the determination to replace the Nicene Creed by one unmistakeably Arian. Several definitions framed with this intention were drawn up, notably the second creed of Sirmium, in which the term ' substance ' was discarded. On the general acceptance of this heretical formula, the victory of Arianism seemed secured, but the chief result was to bring together those who, in whatever terms it might be expressed, maintained the reality of Christ's divinity. When Constantius died in 361, Arianism was supreme, but its opponents were being reconciled and united.

Pagan Reaction under Julian.

The year of Julian's accession was also the year of his public avowal of paganism. Hellenic in education and in outlook, and superstitious by temperament, Julian had conformed to Christianity only from fear of Constantius. Now he withdrew official recognition of Christianity and showed his preference for paganism by discouraging the profession of Christian faith, restoring to the temples the property which had been transferred to the Church and to the priests the immunities which had been bestowed upon the clergy. While proclaiming his tolerance of Christianity, he recalled those who had been banished for heresy, including Athanasius, on the one hand, and the Donatists on the other; he attempted to favour the Jews by beginning the rebuilding of the temple, and withdrew from Christians the privilege of teaching grammar and rhetoric. Aiming thus at fomenting discord within the Church and at withdrawing the young from Christian influences, he sought besides to instil life and activity into the dead form of paganism by adopting the organization, the disciplinary standards, and the charitable practices of the Church. But the pagans themselves gave no enthusiastic welcome to a system which so curiously combined old and new, and which was the outcome of a zeal they could neither understand nor imitate. Beginning hopefully and with moderation, Julian became more resentful of Christianity as success

receded. In spite of some petty oppressions, his death in 363, on an expedition against Persia, saw the Church little the worse of his two years of disfavour.

But the menace had been real enough to still the din of party strife. Under Hilary of Poitiers the Western Church returned to the Nicene faith, and the compromisers in the East had gradually joined them. Much was done for reunion by Athanasius's frank explanation of the word 'substance', and the active support of the stricter Arian party by the Eastern Emperor, Valens, induced many of the persecuted semi-Arians to throw in their lot with the Nicene adherents. Under Gratian and Valentinian II Arianism was repressed by imperial authority and paganism proscribed. When, under Theodosius, the Council of Constantinople met in 381, the Nicene Creed was reaffirmed and Arianism was excluded from the Empire. But it retained its hold beyond the frontiers, whither missionary enterprise had penetrated when Arianism was in the ascendant. It was the Arian form of Christianity which Ulfilas, the apostle of the Goths, took back with him from his consecration in Constantinople. With the Vandals and other barbarians christianized through their influence, the Goths retained their Arianism, and on their descent into the Empire had to be educated back to orthodoxy. But though defeated, Arianism encouraged further speculation about the Persons of the Trinity, and the Council of Constantinople condemned two heresies which were its products: Macedonianism, which denied the divinity of the Holy Ghost, and Apollinarianism, which endeavoured to explain the union in Christ of complete God with complete man by saying that the rational element in Him was supplied by the Logos, thus diminishing His perfect Humanity.

Effects of Imperial Interference.

Though the final success of the Nicene Creed was probably due to conviction rather than compulsion, yet imperial interference was largely responsible for the many vicissitudes

and violences of the struggle. The Emperor had assumed dictatorial authority within the Church and tended to employ it as a political weapon. As a natural result, the Church developed increasingly on the lines of the civil system, and, by the death of Theodosius, the broad outlines of the mediæval Church were already drawn. From the bishop as unit, surrounded by the presbyters who assisted in the working of the district round the city which was his see, the hierarchy ascended to the patriarchs who ruled the great provinces of the Church, corresponding to the great divisions of the Empire. Three sees possessed a natural supremacy, Rome in the West, Antioch in the East, and Alexandria in Egypt; to these, when the seat of the Emperor was removed to the East, Constantinople, as the centre of court life, was added, and by the third canon of the Council held there in 381, it was granted pre-eminence second only to Rome. Rivalry between the two capitals was inevitable, and the story of the next few centuries is largely occupied by their mutual jealousies and increasing alienation.

It was inevitable too that, as the organization of the Church followed the model of the Empire, changes in its life, its worship, and its outlook should emerge. There is apparent a gradual transformation from apostolic simplicity to official grandeur, from purity to laxity, from persuasion as a missionary method to compulsion and repression. In 385 a Spanish Christian, Priscillian, was accused of reviving Manichæan and Gnostic doctrines, and was condemned. The protest of Martin of Tours failed to deliver him from the death sentence pronounced by the Gaulish usurper, Maximus. Later, Augustine lent his authority to the punishment of heretics by the sword, and in the following century, Leo the Great likewise accepted the legislation which declared heresy punishable with death. The spirit of the inquisition was already born. Claiming this authority over heretics, the Church was naturally not slow in opposing the emperors themselves. No scene is more prophetic, and no action more noble in its boldness, than the resolute refusal of Bishop Ambrose of Milan to allow Theo-

dosius to communicate until he had made amends for the massacre he had ordered at Thessalonica.

Monasticism.

The most conspicuous of the changes was the introduction of monasticism, which arose partly as a reaction from the compromise between the Church and the world, partly as a protest against the increasing professionalism of the clergy. Although Christianity undoubtedly brought pure religion, a noble moral code, a gospel of hope to the poor and debased, and a message of the worth of the individual in the eyes of God, yet, as undoubtedly, the level of Christian character within the Church fell below what it had been in the days of persecution, and the most significant fact about monasticism is that it grew up, not within the Church, but outside it, and saw its ideal of service, not in the round of ecclesiastical activities, but in quietness and isolation. In the deserts of Egypt it had its beginnings; it spread to the deserts of Syria and Palestine, and only with Pachomius, who died in 346, developed from the anchorite type of asceticism into the communal and monastic. In the East, St. Basil of Cæsarea helped to press it into the service of the Church, introduced monastic societies into the towns, and drew up the Rule which has remained the code of Greek and Slavic monasticism till now. In Gaul, St. Martin of Tours gave it a firm foundation, especially in the north. At Milan, St. Ambrose had a monastery under his care, and St. Augustine established monasteries in Africa as nurseries for the supply of clergy to the Church. St. Jerome in Palestine furthered the movement by precept and example, and before long it became fashionable among the wealthy and the well-born to abandon rank and riches in the meritorious quest for monastic holiness. But the exaggerated honour paid to its devotees was not unchallenged: Jovinian and Vigilantius both attacked it, only to be derided and condemned. When the barbarians came, crowds flocked to the monasteries, driven by destitution, fear, or the conviction that the end of the world was nigh, and monasticism, fulfilling thus a religious

and a social function, established itself as a permanent institution.

Pagan Survivals.

Upon the popular interpretation and practice of Christianity, the effect of its establishment as the State religion had been profound. If paganism had been destroyed, it was less through annihilation than through absorption. Almost all that was pagan was carried over to survive under a Christian name. Deprived of demigods and heroes, men easily and half-unconsciously invested a local martyr with their attributes and labelled the local statue with his name, transferring to him the cult and mythology associated with the pagan deity. Before this century was over, the martyr-cult was universal, and a beginning had been made of that interposition of a deified human being between God and man which, on the one hand, had been the consequence of Arianism, and was, on the other, the origin of so much that is typical of mediæval piety and practice. Pagan festivals were adopted and renamed: by 400, Christmas Day, the ancient festival of the sun, was transformed into the birthday of Jesus.

Yet, as if by way of compensation, the intellectual level of the Church rose to unparalleled heights during the latter half of this century and the first half of the next, a period rightly named the ' Golden age of Christian literature '. If paganism still retained the refinement of form and the brilliance of style which were the classical tradition, the Christian writers, though lacking in these qualities or despising them, spoke noble thoughts with an earnestness, vigour, and conviction that transformed their cruder pages into masterpieces of incalculable influence and power. In the East, Basil, the two Gregories, Chrysostom, defended and propagated the faith in sermon, treatise, and commentary. In both Latin and Greek, Christian hymns were written, which have been part of public praise from then till now. Nicene orthodoxy had a Western defender and exponent in Hilary of Poitiers, while Ambrose of Milan interpreted the mystical and ascetical thought of the East in

eloquent Latin. In the works of St. Jerome the whole character and activities of the time are epitomized: his *Letters* provide a vivacious picture of daily life and conduct; his commentaries on Scripture became storehouses of Christian thought for future generations, and his translation of the Bible was in his own lifetime awarded the rank of official and authorized version which it still retains. At Theodosius' death, Augustine was just entering upon his episcopate, and his life and work bridge this period and the next.

II. Theodosius to the First Schism, 395–484 A.D.

Introductory.—In the ninety years following Theodosius, the barbarian invasions, deflected from the East, broke in full force against the Western Empire and destroyed it. In the shipwreck of almost all the Roman civil system, the Roman Church, largely neglected by the Eastern emperors, acquired increasing importance as the representative and the partial conservator of the older order. The continuation of speculation on the Person of Christ caused further definition by the Councils of Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451). Led by Augustine, the Western Church gave a final verdict on Donatism, evolving in the process the doctrines of the Church and the Sacraments, while Augustine likewise, in opposition to the naturalistic theories of Pelagius, constructed the doctrines of Sin and Grace. Though East and West co-operated in the suppression of heresy and the definition of orthodoxy, the gradual domination of the Eastern Church by the Emperors, the firm defence of orthodoxy by Rome, and the absence of rivals to its claim for supremacy, contributed to the foundation of the papal system.

First Barbarian Invasions.

Between 400 and 410 the first wave of barbarian invasion swept over the Roman Empire. Pressure from the Huns

had earlier driven the Western Goths from the shores of the Black Sea across the Danube; in 378 they defeated and slew Valens at Adrianople, and settled within the Empire under the protection of Theodosius. On his death the irritation produced by the ambitious minister, Stilicho, drove them to revolt; force failed to hold them, and the legions were recalled from the provinces to defend the heart of the Empire. Illyria was granted to them, and there under Alaric they awaited for four years an opportunity of descending upon Rome. When in 408 Suevi, Alani, and Vandals overwhelmed Gaul and Spain, where an independent emperor had been chosen, Alaric marched against defenceless Rome, exacted an immense tribute, and, on the failure of the Emperor to ratify this capitulation, gave the city for three days over to pillage (410).

On the popular imagination the fall of Rome made even greater impression than the tales of the horrors the barbarians perpetrated. With that fall all that was most significant and most enduring seemed to be destroyed. Even in the desert the news produced a sense of doom, and reality was given to the tale by the crowds of refugees who fled to Palestine and Africa. The plausible explanation that the calamity was sent by the gods in anger against the Christians, and the puzzlement of the Christians themselves to account for the disaster, drove Augustine to write the greatest of all his works, the *City of God*. Here he developed his philosophy of history, interpreting it as a conflict between the two societies, the City of God and the City of the World, interdependent yet diverse in origin, history, and aim, almost identical with the Church and the State.

From Rome the Goths moved to South Gaul and Spain, where they founded the Visigothic kingdom (415–711). Spain, too, gave refuge to other tribes, the Vandals in the south, the Alani in the south-west, and the Suevi in the north-west, but the Vandals were soon driven across to North Africa, which they conquered and converted into a Vandal kingdom lasting for a century. On the upper Rhine the Burgundians settled (443), and at the same time the Alemanni occupied Alsace. The

second wave of invasions brought the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes to the east of England in 449. At the head of the Huns, Attila crossed the Rhine near Basle, pressed into Gaul to meet defeat at the important battle of Châlons (451), notable because it saved the remnant of ancient civilization that was left and, in the fact that the victorious army was composed of Goths, Franks, and Burgundians, allied with Roman and Gallic troops, foreshadowed the intermingling of the newer peoples with the old. Attila now turned upon Rome, but through Pope Leo I he was bought off in 452. Three years later, Leo was powerless to arrest a similar assault made by the Vandals under Genseric, and for a fortnight the city was subjected to a systematic pillage. Only when Odoacer, chief of the barbarian generals in Italy, ended the line of Western emperors by deposing Romulus Augustulus and assumed control himself, were the disorders abated. Though nominally still united to the East, the Western Empire was practically extinct.

Donatism

The restoration of the Donatists by Julian was followed by fifty years of strife. To the natural fanaticism of the African temperament they now added bitter resentment at the favour shown to the Catholic party and the sufferings inflicted on their own. Religious passion was fanned by racial and anti-Roman sentiment, and for half a century they maintained against the Catholics a state of barbarous warfare. Though many Donatists adhered to the more liberal opinions of Tychonius (370) and the rigorism of Maximinianus (394) produced a split in their ranks, yet the strength of the movement was unimpaired. As long as the usurper Gildo ruled (392–398), imperial edicts were unavailing. Augustine's conciliatory attitude and educative propaganda were fruitless. When a conference at Carthage in 411 found them persisting in error, the imperial vengeance descended in all severity, imposing penalties and compelling them to unity. By this pitiless oppression, mitigated occasionally by Augustine's intervention, the movement was crushed out; only a minority survived the

Vandal invasions to continue the Donatist tradition until the Arabs, in 697, extinguished orthodox and schismatic alike.

The Donatists, with true African fervour, had seized the thought that the Church must be holy, not merely outwardly and in ceremonial, but inwardly and in spirit. Regarding the sinful as incapable of transmitting grace, they held the baptism and ordination of the Catholics to be invalid, either because it was derived from men who had apostatized, or because they adhered to such and depended upon the secular arm. However laudable was the intention of conserving the Church's sanctity, these views imperilled salvation by making it contingent upon a factor quite uncertain and variable. Augustine's reply rightly emphasizes the intrinsic and objective nature of the Sacraments, valid not by man's ministration, but by Christ's institution, yet not efficacious unless the minister and the recipient be within the Catholic Church. Opposition compelled him still further to limit his meaning, by identifying the real Church with the invisible body known only to God. But however carefully drawn was his distinction between the visible, mixed body, and the holy company of the elect, Augustine failed to maintain it; the real is repeatedly confused with the ideal, and the predicates of the Invisible Church transferred to the Visible. On one side, therefore, his thought led to that insistence upon the formal and institutional Church which prevailed in the Middle Ages; on the other, his equal emphasis upon an election neither mediated through the Church nor recognizable within it, was forgotten until the Reformers revolted from the external view to adopt the theory of a society of the elect, called by God and judgeable by God alone.

Pelagianism.

Among those who sought refuge at Carthage from the invaders of Italy were two friends, Pelagius and Celestius, whose opinions soon called for examination. Pelagius, by birth a Briton, was a wandering monk who had with some success contended against the growing laxity and worldliness

of the Church. Men were content with lower standards, he believed, only because they considered themselves incapable of attaining the higher. Yet men could acquire virtue of themselves, since virtue attained otherwise than by personal effort could merit no reward. Adam's sin, he maintained, had not infected all mankind, for Jesus's death had not redeemed all; that sin was personal, and not transmitted. Even without Christianity a man could live sinlessly, for Heaven was reached through the Law no less than through the Gospel. By God's gift of free-will man was independent, possessing within himself all powers for the choice and performance of good.

Condemned for these views at Carthage in 411, Pelagius and Celestius made their way to Palestine. Denounced by Augustine, they were examined by a synod in Jerusalem and, six months later, by a council at Diospolis, but in both Pelagius explained away the accusations and was acquitted. This reversal of its judgment moved the African Church to protest: in 416 two African synods reviewed the case and confirmed the condemnation, sending to Rome an account of Pelagius' error and of their own proceedings, and a Roman synod endorsed their sentence. Both Pelagius and Celestius visited Rome and appealed. Another Roman synod, before which Celestius rejected the opinions condemned by the earlier assembly, declared them innocent, and Pope Zosimus wrote reproaching the African bishops with precipitation. But the pronouncement of two other synods at Carthage and the explanations of Augustine at last made plain to Zosimus the true nature of Pelagianism. Summoned again before a Roman synod, the two heresiarchs fled, but were condemned in their absence. The last phase of the struggle saw the deposition of its leading representatives, including Julian of Æclanum, its ablest theologian, the promulgation of an imperial edict against them, and the condemnation of Pelagius by the General Council of Ephesus in 431. But the heresy survived in the modified form of Semi-Pelagianism.

Augustine and Pelagianism.

Even before Pelagius had raised the problem of Grace and Liberty, Augustine had faced it in his own experience. His relations with the Manichees had made him examine the nature of free-will and of evil, and these in turn raised the various yet correlated questions of God's part in man's moral life, of revelation, and of the relation of man in his liberty to Adam in his fall. Donatism, too, had opened up the discussion of salvation and of certitude. His main principles were adopted by the Council of Carthage in 418, which asserted the transmission of Adam's sin to his descendants, the consequent necessity of baptism for remission of sin and the need of grace both for justification and for assistance. While Pelagius held liberty to be the parent of all virtue, Augustine asserted that apart from grace the natural man was incapable of a virtuous act; to Pelagius' theory of complete emancipation from God, Augustine opposed that of God's complete dominion over man. In the moral order as in the physical and the intellectual, God is first cause, the sole author of all good. From the ' mass of perdition ', doomed by reason of the imputation of Adam's sin, a fixed number had been chosen by God's inscrutable degree to faith and eternal life. This vocation was irresistible, but only because the motive which God applied to each man's free-will was exactly that which He knew the will would choose and cleave to.

The Augustinian system stopped short of a thoroughgoing predestinarianism, yet it was quickly challenged by those who, while opposing Pelagianism, saw in it a rejection of the merit of good works and a denial of man's free co-operation in salvation and of the universality of grace. The Semi-Pelagians tried to make grace and free-will partners in producing conversion: salvation was for all; it rested with the individual to choose or to refuse God's offered grace. In Gaul Semi-Pelagianism was strong during the fifth century, when its representatives included John Cassian, Vincent of Lerins, and Faustus of Reji. In 529 two synods, at Orange and

Valence, condemned it and with it an extreme Augustinianism, the predestination to sin, but avoided the questions of predestination in itself and of irresistible grace.

Doctrinal Controversies in the East.

While the West was thus engaged with anthropological controversies, the East, having laid down the dogma that Jesus Christ was consubstantial with the Father, was working out the consequences of this view for His human Person. In the insistence on His divinity, there was a danger of losing sight of His human nature. The theologians of Antioch, with the rational and ethical outlook characteristic of their school, opposed this tendency; since Adam, the first man, was the parent of sin, only through the Second Man, Jesus, could salvation be accomplished. Were He no true Man, His temptations, sufferings, and death would be valueless. This view was held by Theodore of Mopsuestia, Chrysostom of Antioch, and Theodoret of Cyrus, but its chief representative was Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople from 428, who undertook to correct the prevailing error. On the surface, the conflict raged round the phrase which described Mary as ' Mother of God ', implying, to Nestorius's mind, that the divine nature could be born of woman. Yet, in one sense, the phrase was true: He who was born of Mary was God, and Cyril of Alexandria had some justification in defending it against Nestorius's condemnation. Cyril sent copies of his sermons to the Bishop of Rome, who, without either understanding or defining the issue, commended Cyril as orthodox and denounced Nestorius as heretical. An Alexandrian Council under Cyril demanded a recantation from Nestorius and drew up twelve statements which he was asked to anathematize, but not only did he launch a counter-attack against Cyril, but the Bishop of Antioch, feeling the honour of his school to be involved, instigated Theodoret to reply. On Nestorius's suggestion, the Emperor summoned a Council. When it met at Ephesus in 431, Cyril and his party proceeded without awaiting the arrival of the Roman and the Antiochian deputations; in one day they

condemned Nestorius's writings and sentenced him to deposition. The sentence was clearly unjust: he was condemned unheard and was given no chance of self-defence, nor were his errors or the counter-truths defined. When the Antiochians came, they retaliated by deposing Cyril, but he was soon restored. Compromise followed a short interval of feud: the Antiochians abandoned Nestorius and joined with Cyril, who in 433 subscribed a creed they had prepared. The Council of Ephesus was thus tardily recognized by all. Nestorius was banished, first to Antioch, then to Arabia. Like Arianism, Nestorianism found acceptance outside the frontiers; for political reasons Persia adopted it as the official form of Christianity and in the East it still is represented.

The pact between Antioch and Alexandria lasted fifteen years amid increasing antipathy and suspicion. When in 448 Eutyches, head of the monastery of Studium at Constantinople, was condemned by a local synod for heresy, the causes were only partly religious; the Alexandrian patriarch, Dioscurus, was aiming at transferring the ecclesiastical supremacy of Constantinople to Alexandria. Both Flavian, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and Eutyches appealed to Rome, and Pope Leo I sent to Flavian his famous letter, the *Tome of Leo*, defining the point at issue. At a synod of Ephesus in 449, Eutyches, supported by the court party, was restored and Flavian deposed. Leo's *Tome* was refused a hearing; in return he denounced the Council as a 'Robber synod' and rallied the West to the side of Flavian. By the death of the Emperor Theodosius II, Eutyches lost a stout friend; the Empress turned to Flavian and Leo, and a Council met two years later at Chalcedon. Though disturbed by scenes of violence, it deposed Dioscurus, accepted the *Tome*, and condemned all Nestorian, Apollinarian, and Eutychian heresies, defining the Person of Christ to be in two natures, "without confusion, without conversion, without division, without separation". Though it made no attempt to show how these predicates were combined, this Creed, the first new formulation since Nicæa, marked a stage in the Christo-

logical controversies and became universally accepted. But the Eutychian views remained; the advocates of the theory of one nature, the Monophysites, revolted. Their chief strongholds were Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, and their main supporters were the monks. Schismatic bishops were set up in Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Antioch, and time only increased the sects and augmented their violence. Injudicious efforts at conciliation were made by the Emperor Zeno in 482, when a formula was devised which set aside the Chalcedonian definition and withdrew the condemnation of Nestorianism and Eutychianism, but it pleased neither side. By omitting all reference to Leo's *Tome* it offended Rome, and the result was an open breach between East and West which lasted for thirty-five years.

Leo the Great and Cyril of Alexandria.

The most commanding figure of the time was Leo the Great, Bishop of Rome from 440 to 461. Both political and ecclesiastical conditions were at their worst. The Church was torn by heresy within, and menaced by Arian barbarians without; Africa was a prey to the Vandals, Italy was overrun and Rome plundered. The Roman see alone possessed strength and solidarity. Capable, courageous, and unwearied, gifted with little speculative power yet eminently practical, and convinced of the claims of Rome to supremacy, Leo withstood the barbarians, influenced the weak-minded Emperor, Valentinian, imposed his authority upon Chalcedon, and exercised some control over the Church in Gaul. Harsh and overbearing at times, he was free from personal ambition and zealous for the advancement of his see. Strict and severe in his own piety, he urged others to the same discipline; and if he is not to be regarded as author of the Sacramentary which bears his name, he almost certainly bequeathed to the Church that concise and beautiful form of prayer, the collect. His letters reveal the business man, practical, versatile, and authoritative; his sermons show him grave, sonorous, and restrained. Roman both in the strength and loftiness of his character and in the

resolution with which he planned an ecclesiastical monarchy, he is the last of the imperial Roman popes and the first of the mediæval, the founder of the papacy, whose limits he first defined and whose prerogatives he first asserted.

The only other outstanding figure of the century was Cyril of Alexandria, defender of orthodoxy against Nestorius, but marred by impetuosity and impatience. Augustine had died in 430, but his legacy to the Church was of incalculable importance and his theories spread and dominated all theological thought. A few of his disciples continue his work against Pelagianism and some literary activity appears among the Semi-Pelagians in South Gaul. Elsewhere literature and learning are succumbing before the barbarians, and the ' Dark Ages ' begin.

III. The First Schism to the Rise of Islam, 484–632 A.D.

Between the ending of the First Schism (484–517) and the rise of Islam (632), two strong personalities, the Emperor Justinian (527–565) and Pope Gregory the Great (590–604), arise to impose discipline on the prevailing disorder and to arrest the forces of disruption. The partition of the Western Empire brings the churches under secular authority and impresses a national character upon them. Monasticism extends and receives its code; missionaries evangelize the heathen around the Empire, and civilization declines almost to its lowest ebb. In spite of some set-backs, the Papacy grows in importance, but the breach between East and West is widening.

Gaul and Italy.

The period of the First Schism saw the conversion of the Franks to Christianity. By the battle of Soissons (486), when Clovis defeated the Roman governor of Gaul, Frankish power became supreme in the north; by successive victories

they subdued the other barbarians and obtained control of about three-quarters of the country. When Clovis and his people embraced Catholic Christianity in 496, they gained Catholic support for their wars against their Arian rivals, and the success of this partnership between Church and Crown foreshadowed that alliance between the Franks and Rome from which the Holy Roman Empire was to spring. In Italy by 489 the short-lived kingdom of Odoacer was overthrown by Theodoric and his Eastern Goths, and a Gothic and Arian dominion established. Theodoric's thirty-three years of rule gave Italy such peace and prosperity as she had not known for a century and was not to know again for generations. Though Arian, he was impartial and even generous to the Catholic Church. In Rome the Church was rent by a struggle between two rival popes, Laurentius and Symmachus, of whom the former stood for a conciliatory and concessive attitude to the Eastern Church, while the latter maintained the rigid attitude of orthodoxy and refused concessions. Symmachus' success increased the tension between the two churches, but the Roman Church was not so independent of Theodoric. The popes were his tools; he used them in embassies to Constantinople, flung aside Pope John in 525 and subjected him to cruel imprisonment.

Boethius, Benedict, and Cassiodorus.

Contemporaneously lived three men destined to exercise a profound influence upon the thought and life of succeeding generations. Boethius was a patrician and a statesman, who fell under the suspicion of conspiring against Ostrogothic rule and was beheaded. Apart from the work written while he was in prison, the famous *Consolation of Philosophy*, which became a popular handbook for kings, monks, and clergy and did much to keep alive the remembrance of ancient philosophy, Boethius provided a storehouse of learning by his translations from Greek, which supplied much of what the Middle Ages knew of music, logic, astronomy, arithmetic, and geometry. In Benedict of Nursia monasticism found its legislator. With-

drawing from the evil of the world while still a boy, he lived for several years in a cave near Subiaco, forty miles from Rome, but before long many like-minded seekers after peace had grouped themselves round him, and twelve monasteries, each with twelve monks and an abbot, had been established. Driven by the intrigues of the local clergy to seek greater seclusion, he planted on the summit of Monte Cassino, midway between Rome and Naples, the monastery which was to become the parent of the Benedictine Order. There, in 529, he drew up his famous *Rule*, by which monasticism received a code and an organization. In Italy monasticism had been a later growth than elsewhere in the West; it was distinct from the Church, under lay supervision, and afforded a vocation and career distinct from the ecclesiastical. Under Benedict it became organized, and soon was allied with the Church, and in Gregory the Great a monk ascended the papal chair.

The success and extension of the movement was almost entirely due to the form it received at the hands of St. Benedict. His rule is a happy combination of noble austerity and wise moderation: it neither exacted too much nor demanded too little. Upon the unregulated monasticism of Italy it imposed discipline and order; with an admirable ideal of piety it legislated for the monk's daily life and conduct; it encouraged learning, and ennobled labour by insisting on a daily portion of manual work. By requiring the vow, new to monasticism, of constancy, it secured stability and permanence, and it subordinated all earthly interests to the worship of God.

The third of the trio was Cassiodorus, who held under Theodoric high office of state and enjoyed close intimacy with his royal master. Retiring from public life, he founded the monastery of Viviers, upon which he conferred his library, and he taught his monks to combine the quest for holiness with the love of learning. Of his own works the most important is his collection of State papers, an invaluable source for the history of the time. But his chief service to civilization was the preservation and multiplication by his monks of ancient manuscripts, and much of what we now possess of classical literature

has survived because of his school. At the same time, he gave to monasticism a new field of service, and, inspired by his example, the monasteries sheltered and cultivated learning when it had perished from the rest of the world.

The Emperor Justinian.

By the execution of Boethius and the transference of Christian churches to the Arians, Theodoric had shown his embitterment at the failure of his rule to concilate his Catholic subjects, but he strengthened Catholicism by decreeing that the practice of paganism should be visited with death. When he died in 526, the Eastern Emperor, Justinian I, undertook the task of restoring to the Empire the provinces which had fallen to the barbarians. The moment was opportune. Vandal power had greatly declined; Theodoric's heir was a minor; East and West Goths were separated. The imperial armies first attacked and regained the Vandal dominions in Africa and the Mediterranean islands, and extended the Western frontier to the ocean. Southern Spain was won from the West Goths in 554. In Italy two invasions by his general Belisarius were only partially successful, but Narses' complete success in 552–554 won all Italy for the Empire. A line of governors, exarchs, was established at Ravenna, which for exactly two centuries maintained the Byzantine rule in Italy.

Justinian's first task was to secure legislative unity throughout the Empire. Before his time the sources of Roman law had been various and scattered; Justinian collected the laws of his predecessors into the *Code*, the opinions and decisions of the jurisconsults into the *Digest*, and for the understanding of both directed the preparation of a manual of jurisprudence still studied in the law-schools, the *Institutes*. The resulting body of civil law he enforced in East and West alike. Its influence was incalculable, even upon the Church, for it was largely the source and inspiration of canon law, and it provided almost all the juristic conceptions which Latin theology applied to its doctrine of sin, absolution, penance, indulgence, and atonement.

In religion as in politics Justinian aimed at unity and consolidation. In the year which saw the compilation of the Benedictine Rule, he closed the philosophical school at Athens, and by this one stroke destroyed the University of Athens, cultured paganism, and Platonic philosophy. Against Jews and Samaritans he exercised severity, and though he extended important privileges to the clergy, giving bishops supervisory rights over civil officials and jurisdiction even in secular causes, when both parties demanded it, yet he regarded them solely as his tools, and had no hesitation in interfering in matters of purely ecclesiastical concern. Pursuing his principle of the supremacy of the emperor in Church as in State, he reserved the right of confirming the election of the popes, corrected the clergy, and promulgated his own theological opinions as imperial laws. Under him the power of the papacy dwindled to almost nothing. His influence first appeared in the deposition of Pope Silverius, and the appointment of a candidate put forward by the Empress, Vigilius. Later, when he attempted to conciliate the Monophysites by condemning certain Nestorian writings, Vigilius's opposition provoked the Emperor to remove him and keep him in virtual exile at Constantinople. There, in 553, a fifth Ecumenical Council met to consider the Monophysite heresy. In this, too, Justinian had interfered by his famous edict of 543 of the "Three Chapters", in which he denounced the person and writings of Theodore, the writings of Theodoret against Cyril and a letter of Ibas of Edessa, likewise attacking Cyril. The Council proceeded to obey Justinian and endorse his condemnation; Vigilius refused to attend, but consented to express his views in writing. Though opposing the views of Theodore, he refrained from condemning him, since he had died in communion with the Church, and only after the Council had removed his name from the diptychs was he compelled to submit. The previous Ecumenical Council had been a triumph for Rome; this was a signal defeat. In humiliation he accepted the imperial positions, and in the West his abandonment of the traditional views stirred a violent revolt against him, while an African synod excommuni-

cated him until he had done penance. His successor, Pelagius I (556–561), was not above suspicion of having murdered him, and his subserviency to the Court and his acceptance of the Eastern theology provoked antagonism in Italy and in Gaul, though against his opponents he was able to invoke the aid of the secular arm.

Justinian's merit and ability have won for him the title of 'the Great', and his reign was a period of important changes and vast activity. So well did he succeed that the Eastern Empire, though weakened, withstood Asiatic barbarism for a thousand years, preserving the treasures of ancient civilization until the Renaissance, and contributing to the Moslem conquerors a large part of their legislation, while to the Slavic races of eastern Europe it handed on religion and culture. Yet while he reigned, calamities and sufferings were widespread. Sedition at Constantinople was responsible for great loss of life; for fifty years the Empire was swept by plague. In spite of Justinian's attempts at economy and his supervision of the officials, his wars and his public works threw upon the people a crushing burden of debt, which weighed with especial heaviness upon depopulated Italy.

Three years after his death, the Lombards, with whom the first wave of barbarians ends, found Italy an easy prey, and parcelled out the conquered territories into duchies. Earlier invaders had all held the ideal of ruling a united Italy, but the Lombards were content with a partial success which made unity impossible. Till now, the Italians had been allowed to retain their own laws and government and there had been some pretence of imperial sanction for barbarian rule. Now the Lombards treated Italy as a conquered country, yet being strange to urban civilization they were much less severe towards the towns, and at a time when most of the important cities had been pillaged, Rome alone was spared barbarian occupation.

Pope Gregory the Great.

In 590 Gregory came to the papal chair. By birth a patrician, he had been prefect of the city, but had renounced

the world, and given his wealth for the furtherance of monasticism. Ordained deacon, he spent five years in Constantinople, and by popular demand, though against his will, he was proclaimed pope in September, 590. Into the multifarious duties of his position he threw himself with the piety of a monk, the acumen of a born administrator, and the outlook of a thorough Roman. The vast estates of the Church from which he drew his revenues sorely needed reorganization; he appointed clerical agents, directly responsible to himself, who made their influence felt in civil life as well as in religious. His predecessors had bequeathed to him the schism which had followed the mistakes of Vigilius and Pelagius I, and Gregory had some success in his efforts to reconcile the schismatics with Rome, though the opposition persisted for almost a century. Confronted by the Lombards, he twice bought off their king, Agilulf, and sought in vain to enlarge the truce he had made with them into a general peace between them and the Eastern Emperor. But other matters of contention divided Old and New Rome. Gregory's predecessors had refused recognition to the acts of a council of Constantinople, because the patriarch had in them described himself as 'universal bishop'. To a letter sent him in 595, in which the objectionable phrase was used, Gregory replied reproving this 'appetite for vainglory', and protested to the Emperor that the pride of the clergy was responsible for much of the misfortune of the time. But his motive was not so much resentment of a claim which challenged the supremacy of Rome; he pointed out that the Council of Chalcedon had offered the title to the Roman bishop, who had refused it from fear of derogating from the claims and dignity of the other patriarchates, and he confidently affirmed that "whosoever calls himself universal patriarch, or desires to be so called by others, is in his pride a forerunner of Antichrist". His protests were fruitless; the patriarchs continued the claim, and within a century Gregory's successors had followed their example.

Since the invasions, the Church in Gaul had been isolated from Italy and had acquired a national character. After the

conversion of Clovis, the kings asserted their control and freely interfered in episcopal elections, while the clergy accepted the subservience of Church to State. At Gregory's accession, Roman influence counted for little, but by attempting to reform the court that he might bring pressure to bear upon the Church, Gregory inaugurated that friendship between Rome and the Franks which was later to benefit both. In Spain the Visigothic king, Recared, abjured Arianism in 589 and entered on friendly relations with Gregory, who while willing to encourage and advise, yet refrained from claiming any right of interference.

Gregory's Writings.

Gregory's official correspondence, comprising about 850 letters, testifies to his manifold activities, his tireless pastoral care, his practical and administrative ability, and the wide range of his interests. His book on the pastoral office, translated into Greek by a patriarch of Antioch, and into Anglo-Saxon by King Alfred, set a noble standard for the clergy. In his *Dialogues* he shows the monastic ideal as exhibited in the lives of various Italian saints, notably St. Benedict, and this work gave an immense impetus to the monastic movement. His *Exposition of Job* came to be regarded as a storehouse of moral theology, which was largely drawn upon by mediæval preachers. In his influence upon the liturgy and the music of the Church Gregory is likewise important. Though the Sacramentary called by his name has been assigned by some critics to a later date, it is now accepted as his by most critics, and similarly the Antiphonary said to have been compiled by him for the use of his Roman song-school is probably to be regarded as genuine. His writings earned him a place in the literature of the Western Church beside Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine, as one of the four ' Doctors '. Important as they are for their contribution to the thought and piety of later times, they are perhaps most significant in their limitations. Though his profession of contempt for learning must not be taken too seriously, he certainly was not learned; though formerly ambassador to Constantinople, he had never learned Greek and he knew no

Hebrew. He is already mediæval in his conviction of the speedy approach of the end of the world, his gloomy outlook upon life, his preoccupation with purgatory, his ready and unbounded belief in the miraculous, his love of allegory, and his reverential fear of relics. His pontificate marks a definite turning-point in the Church's history: he found the Church of Rome debased and despised, he left it in almost supreme control in Italy and in the West.

Christianity in England.

The well-known story of Gregory's punning remark about the English slaves in the Roman market-place shows that his sympathy for that race was already aroused before he received a request from England for missionaries. Among the Britons Christianity had early made some progress, and representatives from England had attended the Councils of Arles (314) and Ariminum (359), but the invaders were long unaffected by the religion of the conquered. A few years after becoming Pope, Gregory sent out a missionary band which, after some trials, landed in Kent in 597, with Augustine as its abbot. The Kentish king received them graciously and gave them a home in Canterbury; he himself was soon won to Christianity and received baptism, followed by all his subjects. Efforts to achieve union with the British Christians were ruined by insular unwillingness to welcome a new type of Christianity from overseas and by the pride and the lack of sympathy with which Augustine met them. Between the two Churches there were various differences, all of them formal and none of them serious: the British reckoned Easter from a different vernal equinox and their cycle was the old one of eighty-four years; their mode of baptism differed, though in what points is unknown; they had the Celtic tonsure across the front of the head. These differences were exaggerated into heresies, and the only results of the conferences were bitterness and jealousy. The progress of the Augustinian mission was slight and slow; the conversion of England was to be wrought from another quarter.

Celtic Christianity.

In Ireland Christianity had made some small beginnings before St. Patrick went thither from Auxerre in 432. The previous year had seen an effort made by Palladius, sent by the Bishop of Rome, to convert the Irish, but this mission is obscure and doubtful. But between 432 and 461, the year of his death, Patrick obtained considerable success, organized the Irish Church and brought it into contact with the Christianity of the Continent. In 563, Columba, trained in the Irish monastic schools, landed in Iona, chosen probably because of its position on the borders of the two kingdoms of Pictland and Dalriada and opposite the waterway which bisects north Scotland. From that centre he evangelized both kingdoms and founded churches in the isles. The earlier mission of Ninian (*c.* 353–432), who had been trained at Rome and at Tours under St. Martin, had left little permanent mark, but the work of Kentigern in Strathclyde must have prepared the way for the success of the Iona mission. After Columba had defeated the druidism of Pictland, he obtained from Ireland recognition of the independence of Dalriada, and by the death of the new king, whom he himself had chosen and ordained, Dalriada was both independent and Christian. When, in 616, the young prince Oswald fled from Northumbria and sought refuge in Dalriada, a bond was established between the two kingdoms, by which a new and promising field of activity was opened up for Celtic Christianity. On being restored to the throne, Oswald asked for a missionary from Iona, and Aidan was sent, to win back from paganism what had been lost by the departure of the Roman missionary, Paulinus, in 633. With Lindisfarne as his centre, Aidan preached and planted churches throughout Northumbria, founded monasteries and prepared continuators of his labours by establishing a school. With the extension of Northumbrian rule, Christianity was also extended, but in 642 Oswald was defeated and killed by Penda, the heathen king of Mercia; yet when Aidan died in 651, Celtic Christianity had succeeded in

evangelizing almost all central England from Northumbria as far south as London. It remained to be settled whether the Roman or the Celtic form of Christianity should prevail. The crisis came in 664 at Whitby. Confronted by the presbyter Wilfred, trained first at Lindisfarne, then at Rome, the Celtic missionaries could advance no convincing argument against the universality and the splendour of Rome, and the king gave his judgment for the Roman Church. They left Lindisfarne and returned to Iona, and Northumbria reverted to the type of Christianity which had been the first to reach it. Some fifty years later the Northern Picts themselves followed their example (710), as did Iona in 716: the Roman usages were adopted, but the Celtic type of organization remained.

Celtic Missions on the Continent.

But the Scottish and English missions were only one direction in which Irish zeal found outlet. Born about the time when St. Benedict died and almost contemporary with Pope Gregory, Columbanus was trained in the monastery of Bangor, founded only a few years before by St. Congall, and after ordination he set out with a few companions for the continent. Crossing to Gaul, he obtained from King Sigibert of Austrasia the old Roman camp of Annegray as a monastic site, but within a short time his fame had attracted so many that he migrated to Luxeuil, where he established another monastery without asking the sanction of the local bishop. By this breach of the practice of the Gaulish Church and by reason of the divergencies between his Celtic usages and those practised in Gaul, difficulties arose with the secular clergy, but not before a daughter-house had been built to accommodate the increasing company, for the guidance of whom Columbanus drew upon his early training in Ireland and his experience since leaving it to compile a rule of monastic life. Strict and severe in its demands, assigning absolute control to the abbot, and prescribing a definite and graded penitential system, this rule lacked the moderation and the kindly humanity inspiring St. Benedict's; it was more liberal, in that it encour-

raged the study not only of the Bible, but also of the pagan classics, yet being based on Celtic custom and promulgated by a Celtic Christian, it was out of harmony with the time and proved no match for the Benedictine rule, supported by Rome, employed to advance centralization and uniformity and more indulgent of human frailty. Arraigned before a Frankish synod at Chalon in 602, Columbanus in vain endeavoured to justify his position in a letter to Pope Gregory. Assailed by the queen-mother, he was confined for a time at Besançon, then was exiled. But his ship went aground at the mouth of the Loire and he returned to France, making his way across country and following the Rhine to Constance. Then he turned his face towards Italy, reached Milan, received the offer of a site at Bobbio, and there built one of the most influential of all mediæval monasteries. Two years later he died, but not before his work had been accomplished.

Although the independence of the Columban missions was soon lost as they conformed to the Benedictine system, Columbanus did a great work of evangelizing and civilizing, and was the forerunner of a goodly succession of missionaries who went from Britain to labour on the continent. Of his own disciples, St. Gall settled among the Alemanni and the Suevi to the south of Lake Constance, founded an important monastery and gave his name, as apostle of Switzerland, to the district which was the scene of his labours; Kylian evangelized Franconia, Fridolin the district round Basle, and Trudbert the Black Forest. To European life these Celtic missions gave much more than the simple message of the Gospel; when the barbarians had well-nigh extinguished the light of learning in the provinces of the Empire, Ireland alone kept it burning bright, and through its missionaries gave it back, when the barbarians were settled in their new territories, as a vivifying and broadening influence. Each Celtic monastery became the parent of numerous smaller houses, and each was a centre in which the new peoples learned reading and writing, decoration and art, no less than religion.

IV. Islam

While the West was thus being evangelized by the monks, a new religion was springing up beyond the eastern frontier, which was to rob the Empire of some of its most valuable provinces and the Church of some of its most venerable conquests. Before the prophet of Islam appeared, the condition of Arabia was low; society was tribal, feuds were continuous, and the old polytheism was far decayed. Born in 570, Mahomet had reached the age of forty before his revelations began and he conceived himself to be the prophet of God. At first he won small attention and in four years he had made only some thirty converts. Persecution drove him to Abyssinia from 619 to 621; in 622 an attempt upon his life caused that flight from Mecca to Medina from which the Mohammedan world dates its era. From Medina Mahomet set out upon a crusade against his pagan persecutors, and by 631 he was able to enter Mecca in triumph. His death, on 8th June, 632, saw the greater part of Arabia submissive and raids begun against the Byzantine Empire. Within a few years, the success of his followers against Babylonia and Syria secured the conversion of the last desert tribes to the principles of Islam and a career of conquest and plunder.

The Koran.

Only after Mahomet's death were his revelations gathered and arranged in the book which is the Bible of Mohammedanism, the Koran. Drawing upon the oral traditions of the Christians and the Jews as well as upon the earlier religion of Arabia, Mahomet proclaims the two indissoluble principles of Islam, the unity of God and his own divine mission: "There is no God but Allah and Mahomet is his prophet." On the believer are laid the cardinal duties of prayer five times a day, fasting till sunset throughout the month of Rhamadan, almsgiving, and a pilgrimage, once at least, to Mecca. Belief in angels and demons is inculcated and immortality is taught;

the faithful rise to a paradise where every bodily desire will be abundantly satisfied, while unbelievers and evildoers are condemned to a hell filled with every kind of physical agony. Legislator no less than prophet, Mahomet also laid down rules for daily life and hygiene. Against unbelievers he enjoined his followers to undertake a holy warfare, but only when attacked. The earlier Moslem leaders did not try to impose their faith upon other nations; their wars were political. But later this teaching was differently interpreted, and within a hundred years after the Prophet's death, Islam had achieved a series of almost unbroken victories which carried it from the Indus to the middle of Gaul.

Doctrinal Controversies in the Eastern Empire

Against an enemy combining religious fanaticism with military skill, the Eastern Empire, divided in both religion and politics, made only a feeble defence. Since the death of Justinian, protection had been withdrawn from the Monophysites, who proceeded to found churches, hostile both to the Empire and to Catholic Christianity, among the Abyssinians, the Copts, the Armenians, and the Babylonians; the Christological controversies had persisted in bitterness, and the acceptance of two complete and indissoluble natures in Christ had raised the inevitable question whether one will or two controlled them. If there were two wills, the old Nestorianism seemed to be revived, and a distinct cleavage made between the divine Christ and the human Jesus; if there was but one, either His humanity was incomplete, or a virtual monophysitism was unavoidable. The pressure of a war with Persia and, later, the threat of the advancing Moslems drove the Emperor Heraclius (610–641) to attempt a reconciliation of the two parties by offering for their acceptance a formula declaring that Christ had but one will. On this basis Sergius of Contantinople achieved in 633 the reunion of the Egyptian monophysites with the orthodox Church. But immediate controversy resulted. The formula was supported by Honorius, Bishop of Rome, but opposed by the Patriarch of Jerusalem. The Em-

peror intervened again (638), issuing a document called the *Ecthesis*, laying down the doctrine of the unity of Christ's person and the moral unity of His will. This satisfied the Monothelites, but the new Roman pope, Theodore I, was resolutely against it. Ten years later, the Emperor Constans II issued the *Typus* or Mandate, forbidding all controversy on the subject. For condemning these two pronouncements and their imperial authors at the Roman synod of 649, Martin I, the Roman bishop, was banished to Constantinople and died in exile. To reach a settlement, the successor of Constans convened a general council, in preparation for which the Roman pope Agatho (678–681) held a Roman synod and drew up a letter which provided the basis for the Creed of this sixth Ecumenical, or first Trullan, Council. As will was a property of nature, and as the Council of Chalcedon had formulated its belief in two natures, there were two wills, but the human will ever conformed to the divine. This formulation was accepted; the Council sent its acts to the Emperor for his approval and with them an express condemnation of Pope Honorius, who had defended Monothelitism in 634—a condemnation which his successors until the eleventh century were required to subscribe, and the question of his heresy long remained a point of acute controversy. With this Council the great age of definition ended and the long succession of debates and discussions resulting from the Nicene Creed drew to a close. It was, too, the last great triumph of Roman orthodoxy over Eastern speculation, though not the last occasion when Rome interfered with the internal concerns of the Eastern Church. The condemnation of several of the leading Eastern ecclesiastics added new impetus to the jealousy long felt between Constantinople and Rome; the decision itself was contrary to the desire and the theology of many Eastern Churches. To confirm the results of this Council and to effect some check upon the growing authority of Rome, the Second Trullan Council met in 692; it endorsed the decision of 681, and added several canons asserting equality of rank between Constantinople and Rome. One detail reveals the

crippled condition of the Empire: this was the first council to create bishops *in partibus infidelium*; many important centres of Christianity had already fallen to the Moslem conquerors.

Expansion of Islam.

Syria had been the first of the provinces to succumb. A great victory on the shores of the Yarmouk in 636 opened the way, and Damascus, Emesa, and Aleppo fell, followed by Jerusalem in 638, when the Caliph Omar erected a mosque over the stone on which tradition said that Jacob had fallen asleep. The Moslem fleet speedily subdued Cyprus, Crete, and Rhodes; the submission of Armenia opened a way to the Caspian Sea and the lands beyond the Caucasus. The indolence of Heraclius, sated by war against the Persians, and the presence of countless Arabs in Syria and Mesopotamia, explain these easy victories. Babylonia was gained in 637, Mesopotamia overrun in 641, and by 651 the Persian Empire had ended its independent existence, and with it the ancient religion of Zoroaster was practically extinguished. From Syria it was an easy step to Egypt, which was conquered in two years; sea communication enabled Alexandria to hold out till 647, when it was finally taken, and the remains of the once incomparable library of the Cæsars were used to heat the baths of the conquerors. From Egypt they pushed on to Lybia and attacked the Berbers in Algeria, but internal division among the Arabs themselves delayed the conquest of North Africa for another sixty years. Once these feuds had abated and the centre of Mohammedan life had been transferred from Mecca to Damascus, the wars of conquest were resumed with fresh vigour. Carthage was taken and permanently destroyed (697); by 708 Moslem rule extended to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. Treachery gave them an entry into Spain; an unlooked for victory over the Visigothic king near Xeres in 711 converted a mere scouting expedition into a triumphal progress, which surprised Cordova, seized Granada, and occupied Toledo, the capital, without striking a blow. In 712 Saragossa and the

towns in the Ebro valley yielded and the remnants of Christianity were forced back into the mountains of Galicia. Spain was won.

The Battle of Poitiers.

Over the Pyrenees Gaul was torn by strife between Neustrians, Austrasians, and Aquitanians. Profiting by these quarrels, the Arabs took Narbonne in 720, and crossed the Rhône some years later to ravage Burgundy and enter the Vosges. In 732 they attacked Bordeaux and pressed onwards towards Tours. But outside Poitiers they were met by the Austrasian duke, Charles Martel, who inflicted so crushing a defeat upon them that under cover of night they fled from the battlefield where Christian had proved superior to Mohammedan, and European civilization had been victorious over Semitic. Though for some little time they continued their marauding, a Berber rebellion recalled the Arabs to Spain, which speedily became Arabic in language, dress, manners, and religion. Almost at the same time as they had been arrested in the West, they were repulsed from Constantinople. Though many of the provinces had been lost and though the Moslems threatened Italy and for a century even Rome itself, yet they had reached their limit, and for eight hundred years more the imperial centres remained intact. But the thriving churches of Persia, Palestine, Egypt, North Africa, and Spain had either been wiped out or had been rendered impotent; the patriarchates of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria had been reduced to feeble obscurity, and only Rome and Constantinople were left to dispute the primacy of the world. Egypt, Asia Minor, and Syria disappear from European history, only to emerge again in the Crusades, the inevitable contest awaiting Christianity and Islam, which, after their strenuous struggles, were meantime content to develop side by side in comparative peace.

Missionary Expansion in North Europe.

But, while thus seriously crippled in the south, the Church was at the same time gaining some compensation in the north among the Germanic peoples. Once the Council of Whitby had averted the danger of disunity and division, the Church in England had made rapid progress in organization and strength. The Greek Theodore, consecrated archbishop of Canterbury by the Roman pope in 668, spent his twenty-one years of office in giving form to the English Church; he increased the metropolitan authority of his see, created bishoprics and dioceses, and arranged for the regulation and discipline of the Church by the establishment of councils. Thus organized and compacted, the ecclesiastical system not only led towards national unity; it provided a model for the civil organization of the State. Not the least important of Theodore's labours was the creation of a school at Canterbury, which diffused knowledge through its many famous pupils, and was the prototype of the school of York. In the north, Wilfrid, already conspicuous for his part at the Synod of Whitby, similarly furthered episcopal and diocesan development and gave an impetus to monasticism by the introduction of the Benedictine rule into Mercia and Northumberland. Under the same rule Benedict Biscop founded the two great monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow. At Whitby Cædmon, the 'father of English sacred song', is said to have paraphrased the Bible in the vernacular and to have cast its stories in the mould of national poetry. Aldhelm the scholar earned fame as a poet, a musician, and a builder of churches, and his works attest the width of his reading in the classics. The venerable Bede, in the tranquil monastery of Jarrow, explored every known department of human thought, and continuing the popularizing work of Boethius and Isidore of Seville, epitomized for posterity the garnered wisdom of the ancient and the patristic world. Besides this vitality within, the English Church now fell heir to the missionary enthusiasm of the Irish. Winfrith, a native of Devon, better known by the name of Boniface, joined the

English mission in Frisia, then, in 719, received authorization from Pope Gregory II to evangelize the savage Germans to the east of the Rhine. Christianity was not, indeed, unknown there, for Cologne had sent its bishop to the Council of Arles in 314, and the disciples of Columbanus had established monastic centres in the Black Forest, but the invasions had largely destroyed the earlier settlements and the Irish missionaries were here, as elsewhere, isolated in both organization and spirit. After a preliminary exploration, Boniface made a second journey to Rome in 723, received consecration as bishop without a see, and bound himself by oath of fealty to the Roman Church. Armed with the support of Charles Martel, he attacked not only paganism but also the undisciplined local clergy and the unorganized Irish monasteries. By his bold destruction of the sacred oak of Thor at Geismar, he struck at the core of Druidism; his monastic schools, directed by followers who had come from England, consolidated his conversions and became centres of learning and culture. In 739, after his third and last visit to Rome, he visited Bavaria, confuting those ecclesiastics who opposed the Roman claims and organizing the province into the sees of Regensburg, Salzburg, Freising, and Passau. In 741 he continued this work, erecting sees at Würzburg, Erfurt, and Büraburg. Two years later he revived the Frankish synod, long in abeyance, and as papal legate presided over an assembly which, aiming at reformation, struck at the low standard of clerical morals, the ready inclination of the bishops to rebel against authority, and the independence they claimed of Rome. On the deposition of the Bishop of Mainz for homicide and neglect of duty, Boniface was appointed its first archbishop. The main part of his task of consolidation was completed. Setting out for the scene of his earlier labours in Frisia, he died there as a martyr in 755.

Eminent alike as missionary, scholar, and statesman, Boniface laid solid foundations and his work was permanent. His numerous monastic foundations, of which the most famous was Fulda, were centres of both learning and missionary enter-

prise. Upon the loose federation of Frankish and Celtic Christianity he imposed order and authority, sternly opposing laxity and reviving zeal, advocating strict celibacy and rigidly suppressing heresy. Above all he secured obedience and loyalty to Rome, superseding Celtic and Frankish clergy by those trained in his own schools and formed upon his own model.

The Church and the Barbarians.

Upon the undisciplined tribes who since the invasions had settled in and around the Empire the Church's imposition of order and conformity was undoubtedly a beneficial and a necessary task. The new peoples were certainly fresh, vigorous, and young; they possessed ideals of prowess and self-reliance and individualism which were to contribute valuable elements to European life. But their very virtues were based on weaknesses which could have no place in the system to which they had fallen heir. Their tribal system was insufficient to beget that unity which pagan Rome had realized in the Empire and which episcopal Rome was fashioning as Christendom, without the substitution, for the appeal to personal passion or ancestral custom, of the sanctions of a moral standard higher than individual whim, external, impartial, and inexorable; the argument of might had to be displaced by the recognition of rights; community law, with its code of crimes and punishments, had to oust tort and the blood-feud; society had to be constructed from units which acknowledged no duty save conquest and no restraint but force. In the process, the Church, the only visible representative of order, civil and ecclesiastical, was itself modified: it accepted the money-fine in lieu of penitence and the outcome of the ordeal as the judgment of God; its bishops, called to exercise functions more secular than religious, ended by being more lay than ecclesiastical. They grew to be identified with landed interests and feudal institutions, became vassals to kings, and, by joining in the occupations and dissipations of the worldly, they obscured the distinction between sacred and secular, and encouraged the observance of religion as ceremonial and external conformity by exhibiting none of

the graces of the spirit. While the higher clerical offices were thus sought by the ambitious aristocracy or awarded to the royal counsellor, the prohibition that no free man could enter the clerical or the monastic life without the consent of his superior tended to recruit the lower clerical posts from the ranks of emancipated serfs; if they were conspicuous for ignorance, their superiors were no less conspicuous for neglect of conciliar or metropolitan control. In vain did Boniface seek to exact greater regularity and loyalty and to restore the holding of annual provincial synods. The temporal power reserved the right of calling them, and the development of metropolitan authority was soon checked by the encroachments of the popes and their legates.

No less profound and far-reaching was the change produced by this contact with the barbarians upon the Church's inner life. Before the Empire had fallen, the influx of outwardly conforming pagans had through both insensible changes and conscious concessions produced a lowering of the tone of Christianity and so encouraged, as was seen, the formation of an inner circle vowed to a more rigid standard of piety than was common in the churches. The conversion of the barbarians had likewise to be achieved at the cost of compromise; many of their superstitions were given a Christian name and adopted as Christian observances, while others were prohibited by successive Church councils, yet retained their vitality, and the use of incantations and charms, of heathenish ceremonies connected with wells, trees, or stones, persisted long. The worship of the Church tended to become formal and external, partly because the pomp of a stately ritual was well fitted to impress the simple and superstitious barbarian mind. The belief in Purgatory spread and developed, and masses for the dead became common. The growing reverence for the Virgin Mary led to an increase in the festivals in her honour, while the cult of saints and relics was general and left its mark on literature by stimulating the writing of legendary lives of saints. Partly as a result of this cult, the practice grew of making pilgrimages to such holy

places as Compostella and Rome. Preaching seems to have been neglected, for its revival was promoted by the Emperor Charlemagne. The religious unity of Western Europe was gradually made more real by the extension of the Roman liturgical system, and this in turn helped to augment the prestige and the authority enjoyed by the Roman popes.

Final Breach between East and West.

Events in the East were contributing to the establishment of this Roman supremacy. Theoretically, East and West were still one: the Emperor still possessed nominal control, the Church nominal unity. But differences in the political situation and long diversities of ecclesiastical temper and outlook were to produce a break. Rome had been stricter in the enforcement of clerical celibacy; expression had already been given, at a council of Toledo in 589, to the view that the Holy Spirit proceeded from Father and Son, while the East held, and still holds, the Nicene definition of a procession from the Father alone; there were differences in the celebration of Easter, in the number of general councils and of conciliar canons that each accepted. Each had its own heretical problems: the East had been troubled from the middle of the seventh century by the dualistic system of the Paulicians, and the West, in the closing years of the eighth, was faced with the Adoptianist controversy, which asserted that the human Jesus was only the adopted Son of God. The work of Dionysius the Areopagite gave to Eastern theology a strong tincture of Neo-Platonic mysticism, while John of Damascus (died *c.* 754) was the last of the great ecclesiastical writers of the East and his compilations became the standard of orthodoxy. Though for a century after the death of Gregory the Great the Roman bishops had been humble dependents of the imperial court, and the see had been occupied by several Greeks and Syrians, the time had come when the independence of Rome could be asserted. A strong emperor in the East, Leo the Isaurian, after arresting Moslem progress and winning back Asia Minor, addressed himself to religious reform, and forbade in 726 the

use of images in worship. But the practice, though made a reproach to Christianity by Mahommedans and Jews, was too widespread to be easily suppressed. Pope Gregory II replied to the Emperor's command by refusing obedience and by denouncing his interference as impious, and the defenders of the iconoclastic policy in the West, Agobard of Lyons and Claudius of Turin, were silenced. In the East, John of Damascus opposed the suppression more reasonably but no less firmly, and Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, likewise refused to obey. The Emperor retaliated in 730 by ordering all churches to be cleared of images and replaced the recalcitrant Germanus by the compliant Anastasius. The insolence of Rome was repaid by the transference of Illyricum to the see of Constantinople and the confiscation of the papal revenues in Southern Italy. Leo's son, the hated Constantine Copronymus, pursued with even greater brutality the policy of his father, and obtained from a synod of Constantinople in 754 the judgment that image-worship tended to revive the Christological heresies by representing the Godhead mingled with humanity or else the Humanity alone, and was therefore to be visited with censure, deposition, and anathematization. While imperial agents relentlessly destroyed whatever images they could lay hands on, Rome continued to protest and to defend the image-worshippers, and was driven by opposition to the Emperor into alliance with the Lombards. But the policy of the iconoclasts appeared successful and was maintained by the next emperor, Leo IV. On his death, his widow, Irene, who had secretly favoured the oppressed cause, gradually succeeded in obtaining easier conditions for it, though the violence of the soldiery, devoted to the purpose of the emperors, suspended the meetings of a council in Constantinople in 786. The following year saw the gathering reassembled at Nicæa; it sanctioned the worship of images, but attempted to distinguish it from the adoration due to God alone. The East thus ended by accepting a policy which Rome had resolutely favoured, yet the action of Irene in depriving her son, Constantine IV, of his sight and his kingdom in 797, produced her own expulsion

from the throne, the resumption of the iconoclastic persecutions, and a final breach between East and West.

The Popes and the Frankish Kings.

In the discontent following the decree of Leo the Isaurian, the Lombard king, Luitprand, saw his opportunity. The imperial city of Ravenna was torn with feud over the iconoclastic controversy; the exarch was slain, and Luitprand, posing as the champion of images, found its capture easy. Rome was similarly assailed and all but taken. Pressed on the south by the heretical emperor and on the north by the Lombards, the Pope begged in vain for aid from Charles Martel, the victor of Tours. When Charles's son, Pepin, sought to add the royal name and dignity to the authority so long exercised by his family in the Frankish court, the Pope gave his sanction to the change of dynasty, and commissioned Boniface to crown him (752). Two years later, a more imposing ceremony was staged at Rheims, when Pope Stephen came from Italy to seek assistance against the Lombards and crowned the new king with his own hands. This concession Pepin rewarded by promising to bestow upon the Pope the exarchate of Ravenna and upon Rome its ancient rights and privileges. Descending at once upon Italy, he secured the submission of the Lombard king without a blow and the cession to Rome of the cities named in his donation. But on his departure the Lombards marched against Rome, pillaging as they went. Pepin returned post-haste and exacted by force what he had failed to obtain by diplomacy (755). Rome had at last acquired temporal dominion.

Creation of the Empire of the West.

The reign of Pepin's son, Charlemagne, saw these ties made closer. Champion of orthodox Christianity, he continued by arms and by legislation the work of Boniface among the German tribes, broke new ground for civilization and Christianity by attacking the Slavs beyond the Elbe, the Avars in modern Hungary, and the Scandinavians, who were now

EUROPE
c. A.D. 800
IRELAND
ANGLO-SAXONS
Canterbury
DANES
WENDS
SLAVS
Rhine
Aix
Rheims
Verdun
Regensburg
CZECHS
MAGYARS
Tours
Luxeuil
Salzburg
AVARS
Poitiers
Milan
Venice
Danube
BULGARS
Bobbio
Ravenna
ITALY
SERBS
Santiago de Compostella
VISIGOTHS
Rome
Constantinople
CALIPHATE
OF
CORDOVA
Toledo
LOMBARDS
Granada
Mediterranean Sea
Cyprus
Damascus
Crete
Jerusalem
ABBASID CALIPHATE
Eastern Roman Empire
Empire of Charlemagne
(The Holy Roman Empire)

beginning to descend upon the coasts of France, England, and Germany. His own kingdom he reorganized and consolidated; summoning Alcuin from the school of York, he set him to revive and reconstruct the schools of Gaul, with such success that his age marks a definite stage in the history of intellectual development. On the call of the Pope, Charlemagne crossed to Italy, overthrew the hostile Lombards, and confirmed and extended the grants of his father to the Holy See, though retaining more control of his Italian conquests than the popes desired. Thirty years of successful warfare and strong rule seemed to destine him to be the man in whom should be fulfilled and embodied that idea of Western Empire which had never been lost from the popular imagination. The papacy was now faced with the necessity of accepting Irene's rule or of breaking with the East; in Rome, the opponents of Pope Leo III used such violence towards his person that he fled to seek aid from Charlemagne. The case between the Pope and his accusers was tried and the verdict given in his favour. At the ceremonies on Christmas Day, 800, as Charles knelt before the altar to pray, Leo placed upon his head the imperial crown and hailed him as "Augustus, crowned of God, great and pacific emperor of the Romans". Rome had claimed back from the East the authority transferred by Constantine. Roman and Teuton had embarked upon a perilous partnership, the old mother-city with its memories and traditions and the young Frankish nation with its vigour and conquering energy, in creating a new Empire, Roman and Christian, which was to bring to both, and to all Europe besides, centuries of bitter rivalry and strife.

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CHAPTER II

From the Foundation of the Holy Roman Empire to the Dawn of the Reformation

The Mediæval Theocracy.

The history of the Christian Church in the seven centuries which immediately preceded the Reformation is the narrative of a series of efforts to fulfil its mission to humanity. In the four centuries which separate the Reformation from our own time, that mighty task has not been achieved, and if we read failure written across the mediæval effort, it is failure of a type which the modern world has equally to admit. In neither instance does the mere admission of failure carry us very far, and it should not be allowed to obscure the significance of efforts the nobility of which is as undeniable as their failure. The conception of the universal recognition of a spiritual and a temporal authority working in harmony for the peace and welfare of mankind, or of a spiritual authority bearing alone an awful responsibility for the lives and souls of men; the vision of a common effort for the recovery by Christendom of the ground trodden by Our Lord; the ideal of a life spent in prayer and meditation, or in a single-minded devotion to the physical and spiritual needs of the poor and helpless, are as much part of the story of Christian Europe as the conflict between Papacy and Empire, or the degeneration of the spirit that animated monks and friars and Crusaders. The influence of each successive ideal which inspired Christian Europe was

mighty in its own day and has enriched the memories, and more than the memories, of humanity. " God fulfils Himself in many ways ", even if it is true that we cannot trace the time when there was a danger that " one good custom should corrupt the world ", and not less true that corruption came, and came from something other than good customs. At all events, the Light that lightened the mediæval world came from the Church; the thinkers, the idealists, and the reformers alike drew their inspiration from its teaching, and most of them were Churchmen in the mediæval sense of the term, clerks of one description or another.

The Empire of Charles.

A universal Empire had been, from the beginning, a Christian conception, a Christian ideal of the ordered government of a world " where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ is all, and in all ". The successors of Constantine had proved themselves incapable of bringing about the realization of that ideal, but the ideal itself had survived the fall of the old Roman Empire and even its transference to Constantinople. As the Eastern Empire degenerated, the influence of the Papacy increased, and in the troubled years of the eighth century Popes may, perhaps, have dreamed of uniting the Temporal with the Spiritual Power and of creating a new theocratic Empire, ruled by the successor of St. Peter. A new Empire, partially theocratic, was indeed, to be created, but its Head was not to be the Pope. Political conditions necessitated the perpetuation of the distinction between the spiritual and the secular government of the world. The rise of the great Frankish monarchy, and the dependence of the Pope upon the King of the Franks for protection from his enemies in Italy and in Rome itself, were sufficient deterrents from any attempt to found a Papal Empire. Charles the Great was the actual ruler of Western Europe; if the Western Church was to adopt the policy of a permanent repudiation of the shadowy authority of the Empire of the

East, whose ruler, in the year 800, was a woman occupying an unstable throne, it could only be through the recognition of the fact that a new Empire of the West was already in existence.

The King of the Franks had taken to himself the title of King of the Lombards, and, as Patricius of Rome, he possessed control over the Papal city. He had promised to protect the Church and the possessions of the Church, but, in his own vast dominions, he was himself supreme in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as secular. The responsibility which he bore was such as good King Josiah had borne in the land of Judah, and questions of doctrine were decided in Synods over which the King of the Franks presided. He was King and Priest; as the Representative of God, he claimed to govern as well as to protect all Christian people, and he asked merely for the prayers of the Pope that the divine blessing might rest upon his labours. As King of Franks and Lombards, and Patricius of Rome, the conqueror of Western heathendom and the appointed instrument of its conversion, the protector of the Catholic Faith throughout his dominions, Charles acknowledged no spiritual superior upon earth; he wished to be friendly with the Papacy, but he expected the Pope to follow his lead. When the Eastern Emperor, Constantine VI, was deposed in 797 by his mother, the Empress Irene, the great Frankish king may have thought of displacing the usurper and bringing back the Empire to the West, but it is not clear that he wished to exchange the kingly title, to which he had given a new significance, for that of Emperor, or to submerge the national kingdom of the Franks in the dubious tradition of the Roman Empire. That Empire was identified by some Frankish theologians with the Fourth Kingdom, strong as iron, of which the prophet Daniel had foretold that it should be broken in pieces and should give place to a kingdom set up by the God of Heaven, never to be destroyed. Charles may not have accepted this interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, and we cannot credit him with any definite intention of replacing the Empire by a form of priestly kingship, but it is equally

true that the assumption of a universal title was not his own act. It was the Church that wished to re-create or revive the experiment of a rule which should unite the Western peoples under the government of a Christian Emperor, whose sacred office was to be closely associated with the spiritual jurisdiction of the prince of Christian Bishops.

It was, however, by something like a trick that Pope Leo III actually brought about the creation of the Western Empire. Charles asserted—and there is no reason to doubt his word—that, on the morning of the Feast of the Nativity in the year 800, he did not know of the design which was to render that Christmas Day for ever memorable, and that, if he had known of it, he would not have heard mass in the Basilica of St. Peter. When the Pope placed a crown upon his head and the assembled multitude hailed him as Emperor of the Romans, no course was open to him except acquiescence. " Crowned of God ", the people shouted, and in that solemn moment Charles may well have felt that the Pope who placed the imperial diadem upon the head of the great champion of Christendom was indeed the instrument of a higher power. The new Emperor acquiesced in the divine will, but, at first, he seems to have done little more than acquiesce. Some years elapsed before he openly recognized the importance of the imperial office, and he never regarded it as more than a dignity which belonged to the King of the Franks. The Pope, on his part, had shown his gratitude to a monarch who was the benefactor both of himself and of the august office which he held, but he had not gained, and he cannot have expected to gain, any immediate increase of prestige for the Papacy. If the King had claimed and exercised ecclesiastical authority, the Emperor had a still higher title to do so, and Leo, who depended upon his support and protection, cannot have dreamed of an acknowledgment of the power of a Pope to create an Emperor. The coronation of Charlemagne was, indeed, susceptible of such an interpretation, and, in later years, it was argued that the Empire had been transferred by the Pope from the East to the West, and that the authority of the Emperor and of his successors

depended upon Papal ratification. It is true that, but for Leo III, Charles would not—or, at all events, would not thus—have become Emperor, but nobody at the time could regard the imperial dignity as a gift which the Pope could confer or withhold. Charles seems to have realized, for he guarded against, the possibility of such an interpretation. In September, 813, a few months before his death, he resolved that his son Lewis should succeed him in the imperial dignity, and with solemn ceremony he bade him take up a crown which had been laid upon an altar and put it on his own head. The place was Aachen, not Rome, and the consent of the Pope was neither asked nor given. In the view of Charles, the Empire was an hereditary right of the Frankish monarchy.

That Leo III foresaw the advantage which might (and did) accrue to his successors from one interpretation of the Coronation of Charles the Great is uncertain, but he had reason to be satisfied with the triumph of the theory of government which the Church had not ceased to champion throughout the period when the Empire, as represented by the rulers of Constantinople, had lost all authority and enjoyed little respect in Western Europe. The West was ultimately to be a region of nation-states or (in Northern Italy) of city-states, but these divisions were either the cause or the consequence—at all events, the sign and symbol—of the failure of the Church to realize the ideal to which the action of Leo III gave a fresh opportunity of development. The introduction of a universal religion, with its doctrine of the brotherhood of mankind, had created a new outlook upon life, and the adoption of this religion by the universal Empire had associated the spiritual teachings of Christianity with the political fabric of the greatest system of government and administration that the world had ever known. The old centre of civil rule had become the centre of the new spiritual rule, and the universal Church had borrowed much of its machinery of organization and of its law, and some of its ritual, from the universal Empire. The Empire was no longer universal—in the West it had ceased to exist—but the doctrine of the universal Church remained, in

spite of the Eastern Schism. There was one Fold and one Shepherd. " The foundation of God standeth sure." The unity of the universal religious State, under the monarchical headship of the Papacy, could, it was believed, best influence the world through a universal civil State, under the monarchical headship of an Emperor. Christianity had been born into such a State, and, long before that State became Christian, the great Apostle of the Gentiles had written, " The powers that be are ordained of God." Resistance, even successful resistance, to the Christian Empire was still more under the apostolic curse: " Whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation." The more the Western World was divided by new races and new conquests, the greater the necessity for the support of spiritual unity by civil unity, and the Church, centred at Rome, using the Latin tongue, familiar with the traditions of the Imperial City, believed that the security and the peace of its members depended upon the restoration of the Empire. The crowd in St. Peter's hailed Charles as ' pacificus ', bringer of peace. The Church yearned for peace after so many years of strife. Only the Empire could restore the ' pax Romana '. The conception was in keeping with the attitude of a Church which had become Roman as well as universal, and sometimes used the word ' Roman ' as equivalent to ' Christian '.

The great experiment was, therefore, to be tried under new conditions. Charles owed the kingdoms under his rule to inheritance or conquest; but he was Emperor ' auctore Deo ', by the divine will, and his imperial claim to the obedience of peoples and of kings rested upon his position as Vicar of God in temporal matters. The Emperor's duty was to provide that the course of the world might be so peaceably governed that the Church might serve God in all godly quietness. He was to protect the flock of Christ from carnal enemies, to extend its bounds by the subjugation of the heathen, to root out those who were condemned as heretics by the spiritual authorities. His coronation was a consecration to sacred duties and to

responsibilities owed to the whole Christian world, without distinction of race or allegiance. He was to co-operate with the Vicar of God in spiritual matters, Pope and Emperor alike pursuing a single aim and agreeing upon the means by which that aim was to be attained. Each had his sphere of action, and neither would be tempted to encroach upon that of the other. Such was the ecclesiastical ideal. Charles would probably have declined to accept it in this form, but during the remaining years of his life he acted in harmony with Leo III. The experiment, was, so far, successful.

But disillusionment was not long in coming. The union of the Empire with the Frankish Kingdom depended upon a strong ruler, and the imperial principle of unity was incompatible with the Frankish tradition of the division of territories among co-heirs. Charles, even after he became Emperor, had accepted this tradition, and it was only the accident that two of his three legitimate sons predeceased him that prevented a partition when the great Emperor died. The son who survived him, the Emperor Louis the Pious, tried to combine the two inconsistent principles of providing for the continued unity of the Empire "lest confusion should be brought into the Church", and of allotting kingdoms to his younger sons. The brothers quarrelled, the younger ones declined to acknowledge the imperial authority of the elder, and the Treaty of Verdun in 843 divided the territorial Empire into three separate and independent kingdoms. The Western Franks, speaking a Romance tongue, were, in the still distant future, to form the nation-state which we call France; the Eastern Franks, Teutonic in speech, were to become the historical Germany; a middle kingdom was to include for a brief period Burgundy, Lorraine, and Italy. Of this middle kingdom the Emperor Lothar was the sovereign, he was Lord both of Aachen, the old Frankish capital, and of Rome, but his brothers were his equals in resources, and they recked little of his imperial title. When he died, the Middle Kingdom was itself subdivided and the son who became the Emperor Louis II had soon no dominion outside Italy, and, in the Italian

Peninsula, his authority was challenged by a whole series of rivals, Saracens, Lombards, and rebellious Frankish counts. The other branches of the Carolingians were always fighting, and after the death of Louis II in 875, it was the Papacy that conferred the Empire upon his uncle, Charles the Bald, the monarch of the West Franks. Within less than two years the Emperor Charles II was also dead, and, after an interval of warfare, the same Pope, John VIII, gave the imperial crown to Charles the Fat, the East Frankish ruler. His reign was unfortunate, and, after his death in 888, the Carolingian Empire came to an end.

The Church had not only retained its faith in the ideal of the Empire; it had also asserted its claim to determine the succession to the imperial throne. Although Louis the Pious had placed the crown on his own head in his father's lifetime, he underwent a solemn ceremony of coronation by Pope Stephen IV at Rheims in 816; his son, the Emperor Lothar, and his grandson Louis II were each crowned at Rome in the lifetime of their respective fathers. Whatever the significance of the crowning and anointing may have been, it cannot be argued that the Pope exercised any influence upon the succession to the Empire. He gave a recognition which no one else could have conferred and his recognition had, from the first, carried the acceptance by the Roman people of a 'barbarian' chief as Roman Emperor, but there was no question about the person to whom this dignity should appertain. The lack of an heir to Louis II and the internal struggles in the Carolingian House afforded a new opportunity. John VIII gave the imperial crown successively to his allies, Charles the Bald and Charles the Fat, neither of whom could be said to possess a better claim than others of their kinsmen. The deposition and death of Charles the Fat afforded, however, no fresh chance for the extension of Papal claims. The Papacy had unwillingly to admit the imperial title of a succession of Italian potentates who exercised no authority in Germany, yet each of these titular Emperors received, or extorted, the Papal sanction, and the Popes could argue that they were

keeping the ideal of the Empire alive until happier times should dawn, and another great Emperor should accept the heritage of Charles the Great.

Before that day arrived, the Papacy had come to share the fate of the Empire. While the fratricidal struggles of the Carolingians were in progress, a strong Pope, Nicholas I (858–67), had increased the monarchical authority of the Papacy over the clergy, and had lectured secular sovereigns upon the obedience which kings, and even emperors, owed to the See of Peter. But, after the fall of the Carolingian House, the Popes became the creatures of the rulers of Italy, and in the year 962 a dissolute Pope, John XII, appealed for help to Otto the Great, the Head of the Saxon House, which had restored an East Frankish or German Kingdom. On the Feast of the Purification (2nd February, 962), the Emperor Otto I was crowned by the Pope, and the Empire came again into being. It was no longer the Empire of the West, for Otto, unlike Charles the Great, had no claim to exercise authority outside Germany and part of Italy. Except for a few accidents of inheritance, the Holy Roman Empire of the future was to be little more than a union of Germany and Italy. The West Frankish Kingdom was never to be included in it; Spain only in one far distant reign. The conception of a universal temporal Power in the Western World had vanished, and, even in the realms which constituted the revived Empire, the advent of Feudalism, which by this time was firmly established, had produced a vast system of local rights and customs antagonistic not, perhaps, to the theory, but certainly to the practice, of obedience to a single central authority. Feudalism had rescued Germany from the anarchy into which the fall of the Roman Empire had plunged it, but its hierarchy of social classes was incompatible with that equality of the Christian people which the imperial ideal presupposed, and its whole structure inspired, and provided the means of securing, a local independence hostile to the existence of a unified state of any description. In Italy, Feudalism had, as yet, failed to repress anarchy. That task was, to some extent,

achieved by the assumption of the imperial authority by the great German king.

The Empire of Otto.

It remained for Pope and Emperor to realize, within a narrower area, the ideal of that co-operation between Church and State which had inspired the early Carolingian Empire. There were obvious possibilities of disagreement. The growth of Feudalism, in spite of the difficulties which it involved for any centralized rule, suggested to the Emperors a theory of their office as the apex of the feudal system, as the supreme authority over kings and princes; but it also suggested to the Popes a claim to be the over-lords even of Emperors. The new Empire did not possess the ecclesiastical powers which had been exercised by Charles the Great. The respective spheres of the temporal and the spiritual Heads of Christendom had become much more clearly defined in men's minds. If the Pope held the Italian territories of the Holy See as a vassal of the Emperor, it was also true that the Emperor was the spiritual subject of the Pope. The difficulty of the relationship between the two Potentates was, for a considerable period, obscured by the weakness of the Papacy. The Emperor Otto I had to take violent measures with John XII, and there were troubles about the succession to the Papal throne, but the imperial nominee, John XIII, established his position, and lived, for the brief period of their joint lives, in harmony with the Emperor. Harmony continued during the reigns of Otto II (973–83) and Otto III (983–1002), but it depended upon the protection of the Pope by the Emperor, and Otto III placed two Germans in succession upon the Papal throne; the second of these, the famous scholar who took the title of Sylvester II, had to accept emphatic assertions of the imperial power made by the visionary young Emperor. The next Emperor, Henry II, invaded the privileges of the Church in Germany, and secured the appointment of royal nominees to the German Sees; he relied upon ecclesiastics for the civil administration, and he chose bishops for this purpose, though

with due regard to their fitness for ecclesiastical office—he was a reformer in Church as well as in State. The Papacy, threatened by Roman factions and Italian potentates, was helpless, and, when Henry did intervene in Italian affairs, the Pope was dependent upon his support. Conrad II, who added Burgundy to the Empire, also found the Papacy weak and submissive.

The reign of Henry III (1039–56) was regarded by contemporaries as affording the best illustration of that co-operation between Pope and Emperor which was implied in the ideal of the Empire. But, again, the harmony is explained by the weakness of the one and the good intentions of the other. Henry, a law-giver and a lover of order, intervened to save the Papacy from the internecine struggles of Italian factions, and in 1046 he secured the election of a German, the bishop of the recently created diocese of Bamberg, the centre of the colonizing and Christianizing activities of the eleventh-century Emperors. It was this Pope, Clement II, who crowned him, and he obtained at the same time the Patriciate of Rome, an office which was interpreted to involve a decisive influence in papal elections. The reforming Pope of the end of the reign, Leo IX, was a relative of the Emperor, and, though he insisted upon a canonical election, it was Henry who chose both him and his successor, Victor II. But the very reforms which Henry III encouraged were bound to lead to a quarrel between Pope and Emperor, for a reformed Papacy would be too strong to be treated as merely the highest ecclesiastical office of the Empire, and within the Church itself a strong reforming movement, both monastic and episcopal, was already in progress. That quarrel came immediately after Henry's death, and never again could any man dream that he witnessed the realization of the noble conception of the Emperor as the fellow-worker of the Pope. The Church developed its ideal of an organized Christendom in a manner which relegated the Emperor to the position of a delegate, and, in the strife which followed, there grew up a new hostility between clerk and layman. A famous Bull of Boniface

VIII begins with the words " Clericis laicos infestos esse tradit historia ". It is significant that it was a thirteenth-century Pope (even though it was an irascible one) who asserted that the layman is necessarily the enemy of the clerk. Some two hundred and fifty years of constant strife separated the Emperor Henry III from Pope Boniface VIII, and the grandeur of the ancient theory had failed to modify the inferences made from cruel fact. Yet, though the Golden Age of Henry III and his immediate predecessors was short-lived, later generations were justified in looking back on it with lingering regret. The harmony of Pope and Emperor, whatever its basis, had increased the sum of human happiness.

The Hildebrandine Revival.

The struggle between Papacy and Empire, which destroyed the mediæval political ideal and plunged Germany and Italy into an era of strife, was a direct result of an ecclesiastical reformation which followed the revival of the Empire under Otto I. The reign of Charles the Great had witnessed a reform of the monastic system, and it seems again to have been in the monasteries that there originated an impulse towards systematic reform. Even in the darkest days of Christian Europe there had been pious priests, conscientious bishops, and devoted missionaries. The energy of Henry II had inspired a clerical reformation in Germany, Sylvester II had fought hard against the wide-spread evil of simony, and Henry III had supported Leo IX in a similar effort. But the monastic reformation which has traditionally been traced to the foundation of the Abbey of Cluny in 910, was wider in its scope and in its conceptions than the more or less incidental efforts of Popes and Emperors. That great religious House, from its modest beginnings, was independent of any control except that of the Papacy; it used its freedom to bring about a reform in the Benedictine Order to which it belonged, and to organize what was virtually a new Religious Order. Its dependence on the Papacy demanded that the Papacy should be strong, and Cluny laid stress upon the divine

authority of the Vicar of God, and the superiority of the spiritual to the temporal power. That superiority involved the absolute independence of the Church which, though it was in, was not of, the world, and could tolerate no interference from King or Emperor. This theory, held in an extreme though not illogical form, became the gospel of the reformers who were trying to banish from the Church spiritual and moral evils which had assumed formidable dimensions. The ascription, both of those ideals and of the efforts made to realize them, to the single influence of the Abbey of Cluny has been too strongly emphasized. There was also a vigorous reforming movement among the bishops, in Flanders, in Lorraine, and in Italy. It is possible that without the aid of such active reformers as Ratherius, Bishop of Verona from 931–39 and of Liège from 953–55, the monks of Cluny might have been unable to bring their conceptions to fruition. This reforming zeal had a necessary corollary. If a reformed Church was to check the disintegration which was threatening Europe, it must be purged from simony and profligacy, and, in order to accomplish this, it was essential to secure that freedom from lay control which could only be guaranteed by the monarchical authority of the Papacy. But, meanwhile, the Emperor selected the Pope and Kings appointed bishops. Henry III had encouraged the reforms of Leo IX, but his very encouragement involved the existence of an authority other than ecclesiastical.

Henry III left a child to succeed him, and in 1057 a Pope, Stephen IX, was elected without imperial intervention or sanction. He was short-lived, and a disputed succession modified the precedent set by a free election, but in 1059 an ecclesiastical council held at the Lateran restricted the right of the Emperor to a mere assent to the election of a Pope by Cardinals, Clergy, and the Roman people. Another disputed succession resulted in a victory for the principle enunciated in the Electoral Decree, and in 1073 Gregory VII, who, as the Cardinal Arch-deacon Hildebrand, had for some years exercised a powerful, though not a dominant, influence over

Papal policy, was elected by the Cardinals in response to a popular demand. Gregory VII, though he had no personal connexion with the Abbey of Cluny beyond a possible visit to it, was the representative of an ideal which, from his time, may be termed Hildebrandine rather than Cluniac; the great Abbey gave him little support in his effort to assert the awful responsibility of the Vicar of God upon earth. There is an often-quoted letter, written to William the Conqueror, in which Gregory, after comparing the apostolic Papacy to the sun and the royal dignity to the moon, impressed upon the English monarch the wisdom of obedience to one who would have to answer for him on the Judgment Day. The Pope was there, as the arbiter of right and wrong, to rebuke unrighteous men, and the greater the position and the power of a sinner, the greater the necessity for censure. There was no limit to the Pope's authority; it was his duty to pass upon an impenitent king a sentence of deposition. The power of binding and loosing was not a privilege but a responsibility of the successor of St. Peter, and he must answer for his use of an instrument which had been placed in his hands for the defence of God's heritage: if St. Peter was able to bind and to loose in heaven, much more so in earth; if he could judge in spiritual things, much more in temporal things.

At first, Gregory did not realize, or would not admit, the incompatibility of this doctrine with the old ideal of Papacy and Empire, and he tried to conciliate the young Emperor Henry IV,[1] who was hard pressed by German rebels. Henry was the enemy of ecclesiastical reform, and he could rely on the support of many German bishops, but he responded to the Pope's overtures and invited his absolution. Two years later, in 1075, Gregory issued his famous decree against lay investiture of bishops. From the standpoint of the Church, this prohibition was necessary for the freedom of the higher clergy and their due subordination to the Papacy, but the vast

[1] Henry was not, strictly speaking, Emperor, for he was not crowned until 1084, and then by an anti-Pope. By hereditary succession he was, however, king of the Romans.

landed property which attached to episcopal sees rendered the choice and the allegiance of their occupants a matter of first importance to temporal sovereigns, and the decree met with resistance all over Europe. Henry IV not only disobeyed it, but defied and challenged the Pope, who declined to crown him as Emperor and warned him to avoid the fate of Saul. This threat of deposition Henry met by summoning a Council of recalcitrant German bishops, in conjunction with whom he declared the Pope himself deposed, and denied the right of any power on earth to judge an anointed king. Gregory at once passed sentence of deposition upon the offending bishops, excommunicated Henry, and released his subjects from their allegiance. The war between Empire and Papacy had begun.

A revival of the revolt in Saxony was partly the result of the Papal Ban, and it soon placed Henry in a desperate position. Threatened by the election of a new king—Rudolf of Suabia—and deserted by the German bishops, he recognized that his best chance of safety lay in detaching the Pope from the German rebels. His humiliating submission in 1077 was regarded by contemporaries as a successful device for achieving this purpose. From the point of view which we are discussing, its importance lies in the Emperor's acceptance of the Papal claim to be the judge of kings. It was a (professedly) penitent sinner who stood for three January days outside the castle at Canossa, asking for nothing more than the Church promised to all penitent sinners. Gregory, a lover of justice, could not decline such an appeal. The high responsibility for the souls of men which he believed himself to bear left him no alternative to absolving a repentant man. The excommunication was recalled, and Henry, having made oaths and promises which he did not intend to keep, returned to Germany to face rebels who could no longer count upon Papal support. They persisted in their determination to elect a rival, but Gregory could do no more than claim to decide between Henry and Rudolf. The decision was postponed for three years, during which Henry's power in Germany was increasing. At last,

but not until Henry had shown his resolution to break the promises made at Canossa, Gregory, in 1080, gave his decision in favour of Rudolf, and passed upon Henry a sentence of excommunication and deposition. In that sentence the Pope claimed both supreme judicial authority over all temporal potentates and the sole right of giving validity to the German princes' choice of a ruler to succeed the monarch whom he had condemned. The supporters of Rudolf were, in fact, a minority of the German princes and representatives of the feudal ambitions which tended towards anarchy, but Gregory could not determine the character of allies whose support was essential or fight with the sword of the spirit alone.

With the support not only of German princes and bishops but also of enemies whom the Pope's ecclesiastical reforms had aroused in Lombardy, Henry held an ecclesiastical council which deposed Gregory VII and elected an anti-Pope who took the title of Clement III. Anticipating a march of Emperor and anti-Pope upon Rome, Gregory invited the help of the Normans who were founding a kingdom in the south of Italy. His appeal was disregarded, and Henry, after several unsuccessful attempts, entered Rome in 1084, and was crowned Emperor by Clement. Then Robert Guiscard, Duke of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, came to the rescue of Gregory, who had taken refuge in the castle of St. Angelo. Henry fled at the approach of the Normans, who sacked Rome and carried Gregory a prisoner to die at Salerno (1085). " I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile," he said bitterly. The anti-Pope was in possession of Rome. But, though the life of Gregory VII seemed to have ended in failure, his work remained. He had done much to purify the Church from gross evils, he had established the effective sovereignty of the Pope over the clergy in many lands, and he had formulated as the policy of the Papacy the new doctrine of the relations between Church and State, a new ideal for the government of the world.

Though the anti-Pope was reigning at Rome, he commanded no allegiance outside the imperialistic portions of Germany

and Northern Italy. It was, of course, impossible that the Church as a whole should accept the authority of an anti-Pope who was the creature of an excommunicated Emperor, and the struggle went on. Its details need not detain us. New Popes, Victor III, Urban II, and Paschal II (the two latter were monks of Cluny), maintained the Hildebrandine position. Henry, after some successful years, had to face revolts of two sons, Conrad and Henry, who successively occupied the position of heir-apparent. Each son allied himself with the Papacy, Conrad with Urban II and Henry with Paschal II, and each defended his rebellion on the ground of his father's excommunication, thus admitting the Papal claim to be the judge of kings. The anti-Pope, Clement, died in 1100, and Henry in 1106, and, with their deaths, the larger question of the relations between Papacy and Empire ceased, for the time, to be of paramount importance. The narrower question of Investitures remained. The problem was solved in England by a compromise in 1107, and about the same time in France by the gradual cessation of lay investiture. In Germany it continued to be a cause of conflict between Pope and Emperor, and Henry V was subjected to his father's penalty of excommunication. At last, in 1122, Pope Calixtus II, by the Concordat of Worms, accepted the surrender by Henry V of investiture by ring and staff, the symbols of spiritual jurisdiction, and permitted a bishop or abbot to receive the temporalities of his benefice by investment and to do homage to the king. All over Europe, the temporal power retained what was in normal circumstances a decisive voice in the appointment of bishops; the Papal election alone remained free. But the freedom of the election of the successor of St. Peter was a matter of profound importance, and the Church was to find itself much stronger when the struggle between Papal and imperial supremacy was renewed.

The Crusades.

While Emperor and anti-Pope were engaged in mortal conflict with Pope and anti-king, a great idealistic movement

had originated and developed. In a less violent contest, a diversion of energies and of interest to a Holy War might have provided an avenue to reconciliation, but the First Crusade was a European event in which the Empire had no share. Modern criticism has tended to depreciate the spiritual impulse traditionally associated with the Crusades, and the existence of other motives cannot be ignored. European Christianity had long been threatened by Asiatic Islam, and there had been times when Rome itself was not safe. By the end of the eleventh century, the Normans had removed the danger to Italy, and a Christian advance had begun in Spain, but simultaneously with these successes in the West, Mohammedan armies had extended their conquests in the East, and were placing in jeopardy the existence of the Eastern Empire, the outpost of Christianity. The Seljuk Turks had seized Asia Minor and were in possession of Jerusalem itself. The capture of Jerusalem and the defeat of the Eastern Empire at Manzikert in 1071 had inspired Gregory VII with an ambition to proceed in person to save the Eastern Empire and its lost province in Syria, and to reconcile the Orthodox Church to the Papacy; he meditated entrusting the care of the Western Church during his absence to Henry IV. But the two potentates were not destined thus to exchange their natural rôles, and the Eastern Empire continued to be in peril. The Emperor Alexius I appealed for help to Urban II, as his predecessor had appealed to Gregory VII, and it was the Pope who converted this mundane application for military assistance into a Crusade for the pious adventure of rescuing Our Lord's tomb from the Infidels.

Urban based his appeal upon the shame to Christendom which was involved in the triumphs of Islam and on the affections which all Christians must cherish for the tomb of the Saviour. He knew that his call must meet a response from restless young warriors whose love of fighting and greed of territorial acquisition might be directed into adventures which would not disturb the peace of Europe; the careers of Norman nobles in Sicily and Southern Italy illustrated the possibility

of using such energies and ambitions in the struggle against the Infidel. He recognized also that his proposed crusade would be a development of the practice of pilgrimages, long encouraged by the Church as penitential exercises or simply for the increase of piety. It is less probable that he realized that the movement would become dependent upon the commercial interests of great Italian merchant towns and upon Eastern trade, although he may have perceived that, in rejecting the project of an expedition for the mere purpose of succouring Alexius, he was creating Latin interests in the East which would be incompatible with the integrity of the Eastern Empire. But, whatever the antecedent influence of antagonism between Europe and Asia, and in spite of future complications introduced by commercial enterprise, the First Crusade, at the moment when it actually took shape, was an idealistic, not a materialistic, movement. Its first wide appeal was made in the famous sermon preached by Urban II at Clermont on 26th November, 1095. His eloquent words have come down to us, and a modern reader may try to revive for himself the fervour that moved the vast audience to emotions which produced effects similar to those associated, in a later age, with the oratory of George Whitefield. These emotions, inspired by preaching, continued to be extended by preaching, and the legend which ascribes the original potency of the appeal not to the Pope, but to a humble priest, Peter the Hermit, is itself an illustration of the idealism in which the Crusade was born. Peter was, in fact, the most famous of a band of preachers who conveyed Urban's message to new listeners.

Cynics described the movement as madness, and its first manifestation was so much a thing of the spirit that it ignored the elementary conditions of such an adventure. The prelude to the First Crusade was the advance of undisciplined bands under such leaders as Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless, which met with disaster before the serious military operations had begun. Their conduct on their ill-fated march was not always in keeping with the motives they professed, but their going forth was an act of faith. The motives of the leaders of

the Crusade proper were more mixed. Godfrey of Bouillon seems to have been actuated by a desire to obey a divine summons to leave all and follow Christ; others, like Raymund of Toulouse and Bohemond of Taranto, though neither of them was destitute of genuine crusading zeal, were bent upon the acquisition of Eastern principalities. It was not the first occasion upon which men tried to make the best of two worlds. The sanctity of the holiest of pilgrimages and of blows struck for the honour of the Lord's sepulchre, the assurance that those who fell in such a warfare would find open to them the Gates of Paradise, might well influence men to whom fighting and adventure were the breath of life. If the Holy Land was to be conquered by the sword, it could be retained only by the sword; if it was to be part of Christendom, it must be governed by Christian princes. To disentangle motives is no easy task, even for him who is actuated by them; and posterity, impressed by the Crusaders' failure to act in accordance with what even their own age deemed to be the demands and implications of their high calling, is sometimes apt to refuse any credit for idealism to men in whose recorded doings there is so much that is of the earth, earthy. The crusading armies shared with their leaders that mixture of motives which is inseparable from human adventure. Some of them fled from famine at home; others grasped at a second chance of material success, or, possibly, of moral redemption, in a new land in which their past would no longer pursue them; others were moved by the enthusiasm of a religious emotion, genuine even if fleeting. The character of such emotion, to which there are many parallels in history, is illustrated by the belief in the discovery of the Holy Lance, the weapon which had pierced the Saviour's side, and by the effect of that discovery upon military operations.

The expedition of 1097, alone among those greater and more ambitious efforts to recover the Holy Land which we reckon as Crusades, was carried to a successful conclusion. Jerusalem was taken in the summer of 1099, and none of those who worshipped at the sepulchre doubted that the awful slaughter which the Crusading host had inflicted and suffered

in the name of the Prince of Peace was justified alike by the object and by the result. A Western or Latin kingdom of Jerusalem was founded, and the Papacy, which had inspired the movement, was not allowed to realize an ambition to establish a spiritual or ecclesiastical rule in the Holy City. Whether such a State could have survived may be doubtful, but an attempt of this nature would have been more in keeping with the higher motives of crusading adventure than is the greedy and quarrelsome record of the kings and princes who kept a Western feudal kingdom in existence for nearly ninety years. But if idealism died out in the Latin Kingdom of the East, it was still so far capable of revival in the West that, in the middle of the twelfth century, when the Christian Kingdom in Syria was in jeopardy, the preaching of St. Bernard again brought men to the Standard of the Cross. The sequel was, however, not only melancholy, but unworthy, for the Second Crusade (1147) failed through the jealousies of its leaders and because of the competing material interests of its supporters. The first " fine careless rapture " of self-sacrifice which gave dignity to the original movement, the confidence in the ' Deus Vult ' with which their audiences had responded to the appeals of the earliest crusading preachers, could not recur, but Eugenius III, the Pope who originated the effort, rested his hopes upon the circumstance that, for the first time, European sovereigns, Louis VII of France and Conrad III of Germany, themselves took the Cross. The intervention of monarchs proved, however, only a fresh source of disunion, and the Crusade collapsed after a futile siege of Damascus.

The presence of the German monarch in the crusading host was a novelty, for the First Crusade had been a distinctively French adventure, and the Latin Kingdom was associated with France, which, almost continuously throughout the crusading era, was the State that showed most interest in the East. A half-hearted German effort in the Second Crusade did little to restore the balance, but it indicated a short-lived reconciliation between Empire and Papacy. Henry V had died three years after the Concordat of Worms, and the German princes,

rejecting, with Papal consent, the hereditary principle, transferred the throne to Lothar, Duke of Saxony. Conrad of Hohenstaufen, a nephew of the late Emperor, refused to accept the decision and was elected by a powerful body of supporters. Lothar relied upon the Church, and a disputed Papal election made Pope Innocent II equally desirous of the support of Lothar, whom he crowned as Emperor in 1133. The coronation took place in the Lateran, for the anti-Pope was in possession of St. Peter's, but Innocent felt himself strong enough to commemorate the occasion by a painting with an inscription which described the Emperor as the liegeman of the Pope. In spite of a schism, a fresh peril from the Normans, and a dangerous attempt to create a Roman Republic independent of the Papacy, Innocent II maintained the claim to supremacy, and his picture was to become famous with the revival of the controversy. That period was not long delayed. When Lothar died, Conrad succeeded him in 1138 as the ruler of Germany and bore the title of King of the Romans, but was never crowned as Emperor. Before his Crusade, he was occupied with affairs in Germany; after it, he still had German troubles to face, and he hesitated as to the part he should play in the Italian conflict between Pope, Romans, and Normans. When he died, in 1152, he was meditating an attempt to reconcile Eugenius III with the Roman people. The reign of his nephew and successor, Frederick of Hohenstaufen (Barbarossa), witnessed the recurrence of a strife destined to ruin both Empire and Papacy.

Papacy and Empire.

While the Popes were elaborating the themes which had been enunciated, at all events in germ, by Gregory VII, civil lawyers had been formulating a new, or reviving an old, doctrine of the Empire. The study of Roman Law inspired a fresh reverence for the Emperor as the representative of the Cæsars and the inheritor of their absolute authority. These inferences from legal theory were confirmed by their compatibility with the fabric of feudal organization; the Emperor was the Head

of the feudal system in Germany and in Italy. Frederick, holding strong views about the dignity of the Empire, came into conflict with a Pope who was rigid in his interpretation of the supreme authority of the Papacy. The career of Hadrian IV (Nicholas Breakspear), the only Englishman who ever sat in the Chair of St. Peter, is perhaps the best illustration in mediæval history of the manner in which the Church could provide a ladder by which a poor and friendless boy might surmount the accidents of birth. When Frederick was crowned Emperor, he was the ally of the Pope against the rebellious Romans, but, none the less, Hadrian insisted upon his doing an act of homage, which, after a long interval, had been revived by Lothar. Before his coronation, he led the Pope's horse for a few hundred yards, and held the stirrup for him to dismount. The significance of this ceremony was deepened when differences arose between Frederick and Hadrian. In 1157 two legates were sent to the Emperor with a letter in which the Empire was described as a 'beneficium' conferred by the Pope upon the Emperor. The technical meaning of the phrase was a claim that the Empire was a fief of the Papacy, and Hadrian, even if he did not intend deliberately to assert this claim in the language of feudal law, cannot have been ignorant of what his language would convey to an audience of German princes. That one of the legates retorted to the indignant protests with which the letter was received, "From whom does the Emperor hold the Empire if not from the Pope?" may not throw any definite light upon Hadrian's intention, for Papal legates were apt to outrun their commissions, and with whatever motive he wrote the letter, he did not then insist upon its legal implications. Frederick, who, two years earlier, had told the Roman people that the Empire originated in conquests by his predecessors, Charles and Otto, publicly proclaimed that he owed his imperial rights, not to the Pope, but to election by the German princes, and that he held himself responsible to God alone. Hadrian could not accept such a statement, but he contented himself with disowning the expressions in his letter which were susceptible of an offensive meaning. Friendly relations were not severed, but a new war

between Papacy and Empire had been declared, and the initial advantage lay with the Emperor, who, unlike Henry IV, was secure in his position in Germany.

Then Frederick committed a blunder which was to prove fatal. He insisted upon exercising over the free cities that had grown up in the North of Italy rights which lawyers told him were inherent in the Empire, or were familiar to a German feudal ruler. The most illustrious of these lawyers were teachers in the great School of Bologna, and the Emperor may have argued that he was only applying Italian law as interpreted by Italians. But the doctors of Bologna did not represent the feeling of the citizens, whose ancestors had emancipated themselves from the episcopal jurisdiction under which the Lombard cities had been placed in the days of the Carolingian Empire. A great system of municipal organization had been established, the roots of which, equally with the claims of the Emperor, were to be found in Roman institutions. These communes, or great commercial republics, valued their independence both for its own sake and for its influence upon their commerce. While the Lombard cities were resisting the assertions of imperial authority made by the Emperor at the Diet of Roncaglia (1158), Frederick and Hadrian were finding fresh subjects of quarrel; the Pope entered into negotiations with Milan, the leader of the Lombard revolt, and the Emperor with the disaffected Roman populace. The sudden death of Hadrian IV in 1159 was followed by an election of two rival popes who took the titles of Alexander III and Victor IV. It was in vain that Frederick put forward a proposal to arbitrate between the claimants, for Victor IV was his acknowledged supporter, and the situation developed in accordance with the precedent set in the last struggle; the Emperor supported a succession of anti-Popes, while Alexander III was recognized by the rest of Christendom. In 1162, Frederick destroyed Milan and reduced the rest of Lombardy to subjection, and Alexander was forced for a time to seek refuge in France. But the formation of the Lombard League and the revival of municipal resistance altered the situation: the Pope returned to Rome,

and the Emperor marched upon the city (1167). In the very hour of his triumph a pestilence destroyed his army, and it was with difficulty that he made his way home through rebellious Lombardy. The struggle lasted for some years. A new city, named Alessandria in honour of the Pope, was built for the defence of Lombardy; the Emperor besieged it in vain, and in 1176 he met a decisive defeat at Legnano. Frederick behaved as Henry IV had done in a similar emergency. His enemies were the Pope, the Lombards, and the Norman King of Sicily. He made friends with Alexander, and, at Venice, in 1177, a Treaty of Peace was concluded between the Papacy and the Empire. The terms included a truce of six years with the Lombard League and one of fifteen years with William II of Sicily. Frederick had averted a grave disaster to the Empire, he can even be said to have snatched something like victory out of defeat, but he had gone far to acknowledge the claims of the Papacy. Once again he had held the Pope's stirrup, and the ceremony, performed by an Emperor absolved after years of excommunication, acquired a fresh significance.

In the years that remained to him, the great Emperor won two notable successes. In 1183 he made an honourable peace with the Lombard cities, and they remained within the Empire. In 1184 he negotiated the marriage of his son, Henry VI, with Constance, sister and heiress-presumptive of William of Sicily. There are reasons for believing that the alliance of Sicily with the Empire was suggested, or even approved, by Lucius III, the peace-loving successor of Alexander III, but the marriage was destined to produce the most violent of all the conflicts between Empire and Papacy. There were other causes of quarrel, and Frederick's relations with the next Pope, Urban III, were very difficult, but Urban's reign covered only two years, and his successors, Gregory VIII and Clement III, were friendly to the Emperor, and they needed his help for another great Christian adventure in the East.

The Latin Kingdom had long been struggling for existence, and in October, 1187, Jerusalem fell to the great Saladin. The news was received in Europe as an indication of the divine

displeasure, and spiritual and material causes combined to inspire an effort for its recovery. The existence of peace between the spiritual and the temporal Head of Christendom must have seemed to offer a fortunate opportunity, but, though Europe was united—in professions—its union was not sufficiently real to enable the armies of the Third Crusade to meet a great Mohammedan revival. The Emperor Frederick, Philip II of France, and Richard I of England all went in person to the East, but this very circumstance made the crusading host a series of what we should to-day describe as national armies, financed by the States to which they belonged, owning their first allegiance to their sovereigns, and subject to all the disabilities of allies who are fighting against a single enemy. The comparatively small importance of the Papacy in the history of the Crusade is an indication that it was fought rather by soldiers of Germany, or of France, or of England than by soldiers of the Cross. The Papacy, as the protagonist of Christian Europe, had reaped increased prestige from the First Crusade; it was never to do so again. In the following century, Popes lowered the dignity of the crusading ideal by giving that title to expeditions against their European foes and by granting indulgences to men who contributed nothing more than money for the prosecution of papal policy. This process had not begun, but the monarchs, in taking upon themselves the entire organization and conduct of the Third Crusade, gave an impulse to the nascent force of nationality, and weakened the conception of the unity of Christian Europe under the leadership of the Vicar of Christ.

The new experiment was not successful. The Emperor started before the others, the flower of his army perished on the way, and he himself was drowned in an Armenian river. Philip and Richard delayed and quarrelled, and after Richard recovered the town of Acre, the French king returned home to plot against him. Richard was not strong enough to achieve the conquest of Jerusalem, and the Christian champion made a bargain with the Infidel leader (1192); the Third Crusade did no more than save a portion of the Latin State. The truce

was renewed from time to time by the Christians in Syria, but the possession of Jerusalem by the Infidel continued to rankle, and Innocent III, who entered in 1198 upon a memorable Pontificate, set his heart upon its recovery. The accession of that great Pope almost immediately followed the death of the Emperor Henry VI, who had conquered his wife's Sicilian inheritance and made it a part of the Empire, thus isolating the Papacy in Italy. Under Henry VI, the Empire was unquestionably the greatest power in Europe, and among the dreams of greatness which ended with his premature death was the extension of his authority to the Eastern Empire. A Crusade was to be the instrument by which this result was to be secured, but Pope Celestine III, distrusting Henry's schemes of universal empire, had not encouraged the project. The death of the Emperor, followed by a disputed election and a civil war, changed the whole situation, and the young and vigorous statesman who became Head of the Church saw an opportunity for a revival of the papal influence which had inspired the First Crusade. History so far repeated itself that numbers of French barons responded to Innocent's call, and it was proposed that the Crusade should, in the first place, be directed against Egypt, the capture of which would facilitate an advance upon Jerusalem at the expiration of the existing truce in the Holy Land. But Innocent was doomed to witness the diversion of the Crusade by political and commercial interests into an expedition which resulted in 1204 in the capture of Constantinople and the foundation of the Latin Empire of the East. He found some consolation in the (largely nominal) extension of the authority of the Papacy over the Greek Church, but the position of the Latin Empire, during the fifty-seven years of its existence, was always precarious, and its foundation was rather a hindrance than a help to the original object of the Crusades.

It is significant that, while the seizure of Constantinople by the Latins involved a recognition of one Universal Church, it maintained the schism in the Empire. The death of Henry VI was the gravest misfortune in the whole of its history. He

had left an infant son, Frederick, who had already been elected King of the Romans; the German princes ignored the election, and, avoiding the dangers of a minority, found themselves involved in a dynastic struggle which was still in progress when the leader of the Fourth Crusade made himself Eastern Emperor. It was not until after the murder of his rival, Philip of Suabia, brother of Henry VI, in 1208, that the candidate favoured by the Papacy was acknowledged by the whole of Germany. In the following year he was crowned as the Emperor Otto IV. The twelve years' interregnum in the Empire had given Innocent III a well-employed opportunity of restoring and extending Papal authority over the Church, over Italy, and over many of the European kingdoms. The Empress Constance, who died in 1198, made him the guardian of her son and the regent of Sicily, and he acquired authority in Christian Spain, in Scandinavia, in Bohemia, and elsewhere. In 1213 he became the feudal over-lord of England. Otto IV resisted him and was deposed by the young Frederick, who, under Papal protection, became the ruler of Germany, acknowledging the Pope's right to the territorial possessions of the Roman See, and promising that Sicily should remain under papal suzerainty. When Innocent died in 1216, he seemed to have established his doctrine that to the successor of St. Peter was entrusted the government not only of the Church but of the world. He had achieved by means of the Papacy what the Empire had signally failed to accomplish—a practical expression of the mediæval ideal of the unity of Christian Europe under a single Head.

Yet the reign of Frederick II was to be the final stage of the great conflict between Papacy and Empire. In its course, the old ideal of a universal Christian Empire was entirely to disappear, and the struggle was closely connected with another moribund ideal, that of the Crusades. In 1215 Innocent presided over a great Council in the Lateran, attended by representatives from all parts of Christendom. It gave a further definition of the Faith, including an assertion of the doctrine of Transubstantiation; it issued canons which affected almost

every region of ecclesiastical life and practice; and it decreed a new Crusade for the recovery of Jerusalem. The hold which the recovery of the Holy Places maintained over the minds of the faithful had just been illustrated by the pathetic incident of the Children's Crusade (1212), when bands of helpless boys imagined that the weak things of this world were literally to confound the strong, and looked for miracles which did not happen. Innocent did not live to guide the response to his appeal, but a Crusade duly began in 1217, and it was, to a considerable extent, under the control of the Papacy. The immediate object of the Fifth Crusade was Egypt, and in 1219 the Crusaders captured Damietta. This was their only success, and the responsibility for their failure was attributed to Frederick. He was crowned as Emperor by Honorius III, he had taken the Cross, and he had promised to join the crusading army in 1221. Beset with troubles in Sicily, he broke his promise, and the Crusade came to an end. The Pope insisted on the Emperor's redeeming his word, and, after many delays, he promised, under penalty of excommunication, to begin the Sixth Crusade not later than August, 1227. He duly started but fell ill and returned to Italy, and Gregory IX, who had just succeeded Honorius III, immediately issued the sentence of excommunication. Gregory had been on friendly terms with Frederick, but he represented the traditions, and may have been a relative, of Innocent III, and his stern action was probably intended as a fresh declaration of war upon the Empire. Frederick had made himself the actual ruler of Sicily and Southern Italy, and had ignored his early admission of Papal suzerainty. The real cause of quarrel was the union of Sicily with the Empire, though the Papacy had good reason to be irritated by Frederick's attitude towards the Crusade, and by his interference with the States of the Church.

Whatever his earlier breaches of faith, the Emperor had genuinely intended to go on Crusade in 1227, for he claimed, through his wife, the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Publicly protesting against the Papal pretensions to a universal authority, he started again in 1228 and was followed by a fresh excom-

munication, under the terms of which Gregory actually sent 'crusading' troops to attack Sicily. The bewilderment created by the spectacle of an anti-Crusade directed against an excommunicated Crusader was increased by the Emperor's success in Palestine. Forty-two years after its fall, Frederick recovered the Holy City by a treaty with the Sultan of Egypt, whose ally he became in a civil war among the representatives of Saladin. There was nothing heroic about the recovery of Jerusalem, and the success did not mitigate Gregory's wrath. He celebrated the long hoped for triumph by placing the city under an Interdict, and Frederick, having placed the Crown of Jerusalem upon his own head (1229), returned at once to Italy, took the Papal troops by surprise, and easily drove them from his territories. Peace was made with the Pope, who released Frederick from excommunication in return for a fresh acknowledgment of the independence of the Papal State in Italy. Some years later the quarrel broke out again, when the strength of the Empire once more menaced the Papacy. In 1239 Gregory excommunicated Frederick, released his subjects from their allegiance, and allied himself with the Lombard cities, which were again in rebellion against imperial claims that contravened their independence. Gregory died in 1241, and his successor followed him to the grave less than three weeks after his election. The next Pope, Innocent IV, belonged to a Genoese family of imperialist sympathies, and peace negotiations were in progress when the Pope, distrusting the Emperor, fled from Rome to Lyons. Thither, in 1245, he summoned a Council which deposed Frederick as a sacrilegious man, a perjurer, and a heretic. Innocent insisted that the supreme authority in temporal as well as in spiritual concerns had been conferred upon the Papacy by Our Lord Himself when he gave to St. Peter the power of more than a single key, and Frederick retorted that the cure for the evils of the time was to be found in the restoration of apostolic poverty among the clergy of all ranks.

The Emperor's enemies in Lombardy and in Germany allied themselves with the Pope, and Frederick died in 1250, as

King of Sicily. He had lost not only Germany and Northern Italy but also Jerusalem, which fell in 1244. The Council of Lyons had decreed the prosecution of two Crusades, one against the Emperor, and the other for the recovery of Jerusalem, but the interests of Innocent IV were concentrated upon the former, and it was St. Louis of France who, in 1248, began the first of his two unsuccessful efforts to restore the fortunes of the Christians in Syria. There were some other attempts, and the entire evacuation of the Frankish possessions was postponed until the last decade of the thirteenth century, but any remnant of the crusading ideal that had survived perished in the downfall of the Empire. Frederick II was the last successor of Otto I. Simple German folk, supporters of the Hohenstaufen, believed that the great Emperor, " the Wonder of the World ", whose strangely compounded character had puzzled his contemporaries, and whose recorded sayings had shocked them, would return and restore the Empire. The legend is indicative of the ruin of the hopes which had centred in the great conception of the peaceful government of the world by Pope and Emperor.

The Universities.

While the final struggles between Papacy and Empire were in progress, two great movements were affecting the intellectual, spiritual, and social life of Europe. The eleventh century witnessed the development of the great Schools or Studia which ultimately came to be known as Universities. This development was the result of a series of intellectual impulses. The study of medicine made great progress in Southern Italy, where the traditions of Greek and Roman medical knowledge were preserved and to which contact with Arabic medicine brought fresh ideas. The medical School of Salerno was famous long before the Emperor Frederick II gave it an official recognition in 1231. The study of Canon Law was stimulated by its codification in the *Decretum* of Gratian, a teacher at Bologna, in the middle of the twelfth century. The Roman Civil Law had been codified, long before, by Justinian, but there was a revival of

legal studies towards the end of the eleventh century, and in the twelfth, the great Law School of Bologna, inspired by Irnerius, gave a new and widespread impulse to Civil as well as to Canon Law. The intellectual life of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was also marked by successive revivals of philosophical speculation. It is impossible to attempt to enter here into the intricate questions connected with the interpretation of mediæval philosophical ideas or into the famous controversies between Lanfranc, the Lombard legalist who became a monk of the Abbey of Bec in Normandy and was made Archbishop of Canterbury by William the Conqueror, and Berengar of Tours upon the question of Transubstantiation; between St. Anselm, Lanfranc's successor in the See of Canterbury, under whom Bec had become a great seat of learning, and Roscellinus, a canon of Compiègne, whose views upon the characteristic mediæval problem of the nature of "Universals" led him into a heresy about the Trinity; or between Peter Abelard, popularly remembered by a tragic love story, and his many adversaries, of whom the greatest was St. Bernard. These controversies were more or less connected, either in essence or through the debating methods of the time, with the dispute about Universals. What is it that lies behind the actual things we see and feel? We speak of a chair, but there are many types of chairs; what is it that gives unity to the conception of a chair, that includes all the types and excludes all things that are not chairs? Is there an ideal chair which is the only real chair? Or is the universal chair a mere convenient description invented to describe the qualities which constitute actual chairs? Or is there in the universal chair more than a mere name—does it possess a real existence in the mind and thus constitute the unity of conception which individual chairs possess? In the twelfth century these three explanations, known respectively as Realism, Nominalism, and Conceptualism, aroused an intellectual interest which inspired the development of Universities all over Europe. The thirteenth century was the great age of what is known as Scholasticism. Mediæval thought and discussion were enriched by the reception, from Arab sources,

of a knowledge of the complete works of Aristotle, and the course of future discussion was determined by the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas (1227–74). The thinking and the teaching of the later Middle Ages was conducted by the Thomists, the followers of St. Thomas, and by his critics, the greatest of whom was Duns Scotus (d. 1308), who debated the eternal questions of the freedom of the will and of the limitations of human reason and its relation to theological doctrine. A new tendency was given to speculation by the Englishman, William of Occam, who in the middle of the fourteenth century accentuated the Scotist denial of the possibility of the establishment of theological doctrines by human reason. Scholastic discussion centred in the University of Paris, but it was the aim and the climax of almost all University teaching, outside the spheres of Law and Medicine, until the arrival of the new humanistic learning in the fifteenth century. The student was trained in the Seven Liberal Arts (grammar, including literature; dialectic, including logic; rhetoric; arithmetic; geometry; music; astronomy) in order that he might be prepared to enter upon the study of theology.

The Friars.

The intellectual impulse which produced the scholastic philosophy and the Universities came to be closely associated with the second of the two great movements that originated during the later stages of the struggle between Papacy and Empire. The Universities were the offspring of the secular clergy; the Friars, of whom we are now to speak, represented a new development of the ideal of the " religious life ", in the technical sense of the word, the life of an Order living under its own special Rule. The vitality of monasticism had been shown, in the first half of the twelfth century, by the foundation of the Cistercian Order and by the influence exercised by the great St. Bernard, whose hymns have enriched the Christian life of nine hundred years. An adaptation of the religious life to the necessities of the crusading era brought about the foundation of the Military Orders—in the beginning of the twelfth century

the Knights Hospitallers of St. John and the Knights Templars for the recovery of the Holy Land, and, in the end of the same century, the Teutonic Order, which afterwards diverted its energies to the conquest and conversion of North-Eastern Europe. But there are things which are mightier than the sword, and a much more important influence upon the life of Europe was exerted by the foundation of the Mendicant Orders.

The rise of populous commercial towns, especially in Italy, produced a new problem for the Church. The secular clergy, many of whom were employed in official positions, lay and ecclesiastical, found their numbers, and their diocesan and parochial organization, insufficient for the new task, and the monastic orders were based upon the ideal of a contemplative rather than a missionary life. Early in the thirteenth century the young Francis of Assisi dedicated himself to the divine call, "Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils. . . . Provide neither gold nor silver nor brass in your purses." With eleven companions, he obtained, in 1210, permission from Innocent III to found a Society devoted to the imitation of the life of Christ. They were to work for their daily bread, accepting also hospitality "for the workman is worthy of his meat", but were to possess nothing of their own. Their mission was to the lower classes of society—to live among outcasts, to preach to the poor, to tend the sick, to bring not only comfort but also joy to the desolate. A great religious revival rapidly increased the numbers of the infant Society which spread all over Europe. Its success rendered impracticable the Founder's conception of a band of brethren, united in following one single and simple aim and unrestricted by an elaborate Rule. Numbers necessitate government, the Franciscans became an Order in the full sense of the word, and after the death of St. Francis in 1226 they modified their Founder's ideal by abandoning the strict observance of poverty. A great church and a monastery were immediately built at Assisi to commemorate him, and the Order soon came to hold property as a matter of course. This, and other departures from the precepts of St. Francis, produced violent differences of

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Photo. Vernacci

ST. FRANCIS

From the statuette in the Cathedral of Toledo

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opinion in the Order, but its stormy internal history did not prevent the continuance of an increase in the numbers and the activities of the Grey Friars.

About the time of the conversion of St. Francis from a gay youth in a prosperous Italian city to a great Christian apostle, a young Spanish priest, Dominic, was sent on a mission to the Albigensian heretics in Languedoc, whose mysterious doctrines are known to us only from the accounts of their opponents. The mission was succeeded by a Crusade, and the sword and the Inquisition went far to destroy heresy and heretics, but Dominic remained convinced of the efficacy of preaching, and in 1218 Pope Honorius III sanctioned the foundation of the Order of Friars Preachers. Like the Grey Friars, the Dominicans or Black Friars were originally forbidden to possess corporate property, though churches and monasteries were permitted from the first. Their mission was directed not solely to the poor and to the conversion of the heathen, but also to the development of theological thought and speculation, and some of their first houses were established in University towns. One of the Franciscan departures from the original purpose of the Order was the cultivation of learning; they also came to the Universities, and the history of mediæval theology is closely connected with the rivalry of the two greatest of the Mendicant Orders. St. Thomas Aquinas was a Dominican and Duns Scotus was a Franciscan; the Blackfriars were therefore Thomists and the Greyfriars were Scotists. Many of the most illustrious names in mediæval philosophy are those of members of one or other of the two Orders—Albertus Magnus, Roger Bacon, St. Bonaventure, William of Occam. Differing on philosophical and theological topics, the Mendicant Friars were united in the support of the Papacy, under whose direct protection they were. The years of their first and noblest enthusiasm coincided with the Crusade against the Emperor Frederick II, and their great influence was exerted on behalf of Gregory IX, the friend of St. Dominic, and Innocent IV.

The "Babylonish Captivity".

After Frederick II was dead and his sons had been defeated and killed, the Great Interregnum was closed by the election of Rudolph of Habsburg, the founder of the Austrian House, as the head of a German Confederation. A proud conservatism retained the title of Emperor, but its bearer had no authority, and comparatively little prestige, outside Germany. There were to be some occasions upon which the dignitary who was still described as Holy Roman Emperor was to assert himself as the lay representative of Europe as a whole, but the restricted powers which the German princes allowed to the nominal ruler of Germany rendered it difficult to support such pretensions. The German duchies and electorates were independent states, and there was in actual fact no German king. The Papacy had completely crushed its rival. But that task was not achieved without grave injury to the consciousness of European and Christian unity upon which the Papal claims themselves depended. The development of national states created complications for Papal policy. Papal authority was acknowledged in varying degrees by different countries, and royal opposition to Papal demands was supported by national Parliaments. Further, the final defeat of the Hohenstaufen was not accomplished without an ally. Pope Urban IV had conferred Sicily and Naples upon Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX, and Charles had himself acquired authority in Lombardy and Tuscany. The Papal territory was, therefore, once more surrounded, and the ambition of Charles I of Naples and Sicily threatened Papal independence as seriously as the Empire had done. In 1281 Charles secured the election of a subservient French Pope, Martin IV. A Sicilian revolt against the Angevins, initiated by the massacre known as the Sicilian Vespers, which ultimately brought about the separation of the crowns of Naples and Sicily, broke the power of Charles but did not sever the alliance of the Papacy with the Angevins and with France. The imperious assertions of Papal supremacy by Boniface VIII did not avail to restore the authority which

had been exercised by Innocent III. Edward I of England twice defied him, and his attempts to escape from French influence resulted in the capture of his person by French troops at Anagni. The events that followed the death of Boniface a few weeks later (October, 1303) led to the election of the Archbishop of Bordeaux, who, though he reigned as Clement V from 1305 to 1314, never entered Rome and took up his residence at Avignon. Europe believed him, and perhaps with reason, to be subservient to French interests; the most notable event of his pontificate was the destruction of the Order of the Temple, the possessions of which were coveted by Philip IV. They were accused of revolting crimes and were tortured to make confession, and their guilt or innocence is still a matter of debate. The extinction of the Templars marks the abandonment by the Papacy of its old crusading interests, for it deprived the defence of Christendom of a powerful weapon.

The " Babylonian Captivity " of the Popes at Avignon lasted, with one short interval, until 1376. In the course of the period, two successive Emperors, Henry VII in 1310–3 and Lewis IV between 1323 and 1330, took advantage of the opportunity to attempt a revival of the Empire in Italy, but without success, though a new emphasis was given to the theory of the imperial jurisdiction by Dante in his *De Monarchia* and by the famous lawyer, Marsiglio of Padua, who argued for the supremacy of an elected Emperor, and, like some other thinkers of the time, proposed not only to deprive the Church of any coercive authority but also to reduce it to a condition of apostolic poverty. Even ecclesiastical opinion was divided upon this subject, for a powerful section of the Franciscans, who clung to the teaching of their Founder, agreed with Lewis IV in denouncing the wealth of the Church and supported him in his struggle with John XXII. The Papacy could not maintain its prestige in a Europe composed of growing and contending national states when it was identified, completely in current belief and largely in fact, with one of these states. French Popes, living on the soil of France and surrounded by cardinals many of whom were French, were naturally regarded as the

tools of French policy. The situation was rendered still more difficult by the outbreak of the Hundred Years' War between England and France. At last the Emperor Charles IV, who entertained no designs upon Italy, persuaded Pope Urban V to return to Rome in order to undertake the reformation of the Church. Urban went to Rome in 1367 but was unable to maintain himself there, and in the last months of his life he retraced his steps to Avignon (1370). His successor, Gregory XI, responded to a personal appeal made by St. Catherine of Siena, and the Papal residence at Avignon came to an end in 1376.

The mischief wrought by the Babylonish Captivity did not cease. When Gregory XI died in 1378, a Neapolitan, who took the title of Urban VI, was elected in succession to seven French Popes. His election was made under pressure from the populace of Rome, and it was a defeat for the French party in the Curia, which had been meditating a return to Avignon in order to escape the complications of Roman and Italian politics. Urban was tactless and quarrelsome, and the French party, alleging that his election had been made under fear of violence, chose, with the support of Charles V of France, an anti-Pope who called himself Clement VII. Thus began the Great Schism in the Papacy, which lasted until 1417. Four successive Roman Popes, Urban VI, Boniface IX, Innocent VII, and Gregory XII, had, throughout the schism, the obedience of England, Hungary, Poland, the Scandinavian countries, a large portion of the Empire, and most of the Italian States. The two successive anti-Popes, Clement VII and Benedict XIII, were recognized in France, Scotland, Savoy, Spain and Portugal, and, at first, Naples; but the obedience of Naples was recovered by Boniface IX, who also succeeded in asserting his authority over the turbulent Roman populace, which during the Papal residence at Avignon had followed Cola di Rienzi in a short-lived restoration of the Roman Republic. The scandal of the schism, and the degeneration of every type of ecclesiastical life which was its inevitable consequence, was accompanied by a series of outbreaks of heresy,

the most important of which occurred in England and in Bohemia. Wyclif's movement in England was, in origin, closely allied to the section of the Franciscans which cherished the ideal of apostolic or evangelical poverty for the Church, but it developed into an attack upon the authority of the priesthood and the central doctrines of the Roman Church. Richard II's queen was a Bohemian, and Lollardy spread to Bohemia, where the Hussite movement was developing at the time when the first attempts were made to put an end to the Schism.

The Conciliar Movement.

The Church itself made the earliest effort in this direction. When the Roman Cardinals elected Gregory XII in 1406, they made him promise that, should the anti-pope, Benedict XIII, agree to renounce his claim to the Headship of the Church, he would follow the example thus set and so facilitate the attainment of peace in the Church by a new and unquestioned election. A new hope was rising in anxious and troubled minds —the vision of a General Council which would restore unity to the flock of Christ. Gregory and Benedict negotiated for the summons of a Council, but a turn of Italian politics prevented its meeting, and Gregory and Benedict offended their own supporters by their luke-warmness in the cause of unity. France, in 1408, disowned Benedict and arranged for the summons of a Council by the dissatisfied cardinals of both parties. It met at Pisa in March, 1409, and its members passed sentences of deposition upon Pope and anti-Pope alike, and elected a third Pope, who took the title of Alexander V. The Council of Pisa was representative and well-intentioned, but its legal status was very doubtful, and the result of its action was merely to widen the schism. Alexander V died ten months after his election, and the cardinals who supported him met at Bologna and elected a Neapolitan named Baldassare Cossa, who had begun life as a pirate and continued to be an adventurer when he assumed the title of John XXIII.

The first conciliar experiment had failed, but the action of a Council remained the sole hope of Western Christendom,

and the Emperor Sigismund[1] made an intervention which proved that the conception of the Empire could still be of service to Europe. Taking advantage of John's difficulties in Italy, he forced him to summon a General Council to meet at Constance, to take the place of a small partisan Council which the Pope had been holding at Rome. The Council of Constance which met in November, 1414, unlike the Council of Pisa, could base its deliberations upon a summons by a Pope. John attempted to deprive it of that advantage by a romantic flight from Constance, but his escapade only produced a solemn declaration that an ecumenical council could not be dissolved by a Pope without its own consent, and that a Pope himself was subject to a council. Acting on these principles, the Council of Constance deposed John XXIII, who accepted the sentence. A similar sentence was passed upon Benedict XIII, who refused to admit the authority of the Council and maintained a titular pontificate until his death in 1422. Gregory XII abdicated on receiving a recognition of the legality of his position and only after giving a formal reconstitution to the Council, a proceeding somewhat inconsistent with its original claims. In November, 1417, a new Pope, Martin V, was elected by the College of Cardinals, and unity was restored to the Church. The Council of Constance thus solved the immediate problem, but its meeting, and the differences of opinion which emerged during the three years of its existence, went far to destroy the hopes of those who expected to find a permanent solution of ecclesiastical problems in the subordination of the Papacy to a succession of Councils. Provision was made for regular conciliar meetings, and for the intervention of a Council in the event of the recurrence of another schism, but the great task of effecting the necessary reformation in the Church was left to the Papacy. With the disappointment of these expectations, there also disappeared a glimmering hope that the intervention of Sigismund might prove to be the beginning of new

[1] He was not crowned as Emperor until 1433, and, at the time, was only King of the Romans, a titular dignity conferred by his election by the German princes.

and beneficent imperial activities. While the Council was in session, Sigismund undertook a missionary journey in the interests of ecclesiastical and civil peace. His mission was to persuade Benedict XIII to resign his pretensions, and to mediate between the warring powers of Northern Europe—England, France, and Burgundy; and Poland and the Teutonic Knights. He did detach Castile and Aragon from the anti-Pope, but even this single success was not permanent, for, a few years later, the Spanish schism was temporarily renewed. Neither Council nor Emperor could reconcile the rivalries of Europe.

The conciliar movement led, indeed, to one more schism in the Papacy. In accordance with a decision made at Constance, Martin V summoned a Council to meet at Basel in 1431. He died before it assembled, and his successor Eugenius IV adjourned it to reassemble at Bologna after an interval of eighteen months. The Council, in spite of its somewhat sparse numbers, defied the prorogation. It alleged, as one of its reasons, that the position in Bohemia required immediate action. The Hussite movement had survived the execution of its two martyrs, John Huss and Jerome of Prague, by the Council of Constance, and had become closely connected with Bohemian politics. Pope Martin V had proclaimed a crusade against the Hussites, but they had been successful in the field, and peace negotiations were in progress. The Council of Basel invited representatives of the Hussites to attend, but the actual pacification came later and in another way, and the real object of the Council in defying Eugenius IV was a revival of the conciliar claim to superiority over the Papacy. The Pope at first gave way, but further discussions arose, and, after years of controversy, he excommunicated the Council of Basel in 1438 and summoned a rival council. In the following year, the Council of Basel deposed Eugenius and elected a layman, Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, under the title of Felix V. The schism was brief, but it threatened to destroy the authority of the Papacy, though not to substitute for it the rule of a Council. Eugenius had found difficulty in maintaining his position at Rome, and was living at Florence

or Bologna; the French clergy in 1438 accepted in the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges the principles of the Council's repudiation of the monarchical authority of the Pope, but transferred his jurisdiction to the Gallican Church; a German Diet at Mainz went far to claim independence for the Church in Germany. An era of national churches seemed to be approaching. But Eugenius restored the prestige of the Papacy by re-establishing his power in Rome, a new German king, Frederick III, in return for a promise of the Imperial Crown, restored Germany to the Roman obedience, and, after Nicholas V succeeded Eugenius IV in 1447, the French king, Charles VII, also came to terms with the Papacy, and secured the abdication of the anti-Pope, Felix, in 1449. In the same year, Frederick III expelled the Council of Basel from his dominions, and its surviving members submitted to Nicholas V. There was no further hope in Councils of the Church.

The victory of the Papacy and the restoration of peace was celebrated by a " universal jubilee " in 1450, but no solution had been found for the evils of the Church and the world. Nicholas V, illustrious as a patron of literature, art, and science, was a man of personal piety and he made some effort towards the reformation and purification of the Church. His successor, Calixtus III, devoted his brief pontificate (1455–8) to a vain attempt to arouse Europe to the new menace to Christendom created by the capture of Constantinople by the Turks; Pius II, known in literature as Æneas Silvius, who had been Secretary of State to Felix V but had afterwards brought about the agreement between Frederick III and Eugenius IV, was immersed in projects of a Crusade against the Turks and in disputes about the establishment of Papal authority in France and Germany. No one of the three attempted the thorough-going reformation of the manners and morals of the clergy which was necessary for the recovery of public respect by the Church. They were followed by a succession of Popes, who were Italian princes rather than Heads of the Universal Church. Sixtus IV, in his thirteen years' reign, was engaged in Italian conflicts and bent upon the aggrandizement of his own family, and Innocent VIII

spent much of his energy upon a war with Naples. A corrupt College of Cardinals brought the Papacy to its lowest depth of degradation by the election in 1492 of the profligate Alexander VI (Rodrigo Borgia), an astute politician as well as a man of open and notorious evil life. It was this ruffian who, in 1498, brought about the martyrdom of the great preacher of repentance, Savonarola, who had made Florence a Christian republic. Savonarola was a heretic only on one point—he held the Lollard doctrine that a man of sinful life could not lawfully exercise the powers of the successor of St. Peter. The movement he had led was not destined to an influence like that which St. Francis had inspired in another Italian city; it came to an end on the spring evening of 1498 when his ashes were thrown into the Arno. The Vicar of Christ survived his enemy for five years and enriched his children with the possessions of the Church.

Alexander's blameless successor, Pius III, ruled for less than a month, and the ten years' reign of Julius II (1503–13) was devoted to the recovery of the Papal State, the suppression of Venetian ambitions to found an empire on the mainland, and the expulsion of the French from Italy. He succeeded in these aims, and he holds an important place in European history as the militant head of an Italian state. The Council which he summoned to meet in the Lateran in 1512 made a slight effort in the direction of ecclesiastical reform. Leo X (1513–21) continued his predecessors' policy, with more varied results, and he obtained French consent to the condemnation of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges by the Lateran Council, which affirmed the doctrine that Boniface VIII had enunciated in the Bull *Unam Sanctam* in 1302. That famous Bull declared that the Head of the Church controlled not only the spiritual but also the temporal sword, which could be rightly used only under his direction, and that the subjection of every human creature to the Roman Pontiff was a necessary article of faith. The destruction of the old ideal of the Empire and the failure of the conciliar movement had left in the Papacy the only hope of a universal authority operating to preserve peace and unity in the civil and ecclesiastical life of Europe, but any such hope

had already vanished before the Lateran Council, on the eve of the Reformation, reasserted the proud claim on which the history of the sixteenth century was to write an ironical comment. The Popes whose reigns followed the Great Schism could not, indeed, have maintained peace among the European nations, though they might have averted wars which were fought in the interests of their own ambitions as temporal princes. But they ignored the opportunity which was open to them in the clamant and admitted need for reform in the Church itself. Not a few of them hold an honourable position in the history of art and learning, but no one of them made any serious effort to deal even with the financial and other abuses of the Papal Curia itself, far less with the degeneration which had overtaken the Church as a whole, and, not least, the Religious Orders from which so much had been expected. A reform of the Church from within was, indeed, to come, but it was to come too late to preserve the unity of European Christendom. In the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the Papacy, absorbed in political aims, was neglecting its supreme duty.

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CHAPTER III

The History of the Reformation, the Jesuits, and the Counter-reformation

The Point of View.

The historian who would write a plain story of the sixteenth-century reformation is faced with many dangers. If his main interest is ecclesiastical, he is tempted by inclination to become partisan and propagandist and so to break a fundamental canon of his art. He may view the revolt led by Martin Luther as the mischievous rebellion of a wayward monk who by his heresy and schism despoiled the fair face of Christendom; or he may laud the courage and enterprise of a hero who dared all that he might win freedom for his fellow-men from a Church which had become as corrupt as it was oppressive. If the historian subscribes to the doctrine that his science is "the essence of innumerable biographies", he is captured by the romance of personality and writes as if Luther, Charles V, Erasmus, Calvin, Knox, and stalwarts of their calibre were the only actors worthy of mention on the sixteenth-century stage. If, once more, he reckons politics the main interest of life, he is apt to concentrate on the emergence of nationalities, and to see in the Reformation merely an illustration or a consequence of the expansion of political activity amongst peoples for whom a mediæval empire had lost both charm and authority. And if the historian accepts the opinion that economic concerns have the greatest influence in moulding the policy and destiny of a country, then he will easily resolve what appears to be

religious into the strivings of industry and commerce. These dangers are not imaginary, for they have waylaid many a history of the Reformation that has dealt in the most perilous of all generalizations, the generalization from half-truths.

The Reformation was not an isolated episode in the course of history, and any view of it which fails to disclose its intimate connexion with the manifold activities of a growing Europe is not only inadequate but false. In truth, it was the religious side of a wide-spread and irresistible movement which marked the sixteenth century as one of the world's creative eras. That movement was political, economic, literary, scientific, artistic, and ecclesiastical. It often appeared one-sided in its emphasis, for it assumed different forms in differing countries and even varied fashions in the one country; and it was never uniform in its current or its consequences. When that movement had spent its first force, every institution in Christendom, every system of authority, was changed. The change may have been for better or for worse, but it was real and ineradicable. The old had to give place to the new. To lay the praise or the blame for the refashioning of Europe at the door of any one man, be he pope or emperor or reformer, is a futility which every historian must avoid if he has respect for historical imagination. The exigencies of circumstance are usually more potent than the herculean exploits of heroes.

The Western Church.

A modern writer has declared that the Reformation was " a revolt against Latin theocracy and the hereditary paganism of the Mediterranean peoples ",[1] but the generalization is more pleasing than wholesome. During the middle ages Rome was the sole hope of all who cherished a tradition of learning and religion, and from Rome came the leaven that worked in a society which was for the most part crude and pagan. But Rome itself was both Christian and pagan, and the Church in its battle with paganism was not unscathed. Indeed, mediæval church history is a record of accommodation and com-

[1] Dean Inge in *The Legacy of Greece*, p. 37.

promise, for Christian evangelism was never complete. Rough, untutored tribes paid homage to Christianity and accepted the boons which a superior culture had to offer, but their new religion was marked with their old superstitions. The more the Church succeeded in winning adherents to its faith, the more was that faith endangered. The cost of universality was not small. The interaction between a spiritual religion and a rude secularism gradually softened the sharp distinction between a Christian and a pagan habit of life, and before the close of mediæval times there were worldlings within the Church as well as without. The danger had not escaped the attention of the ecclesiastical leaders, and none did more to stop the insidious evil than Hildebrand. Masterful and zealous, he attempted to impose upon the clergy of his time the lesson of disciplined life, but even he failed to manufacture sterling piety. St. Francis of Assisi in a later age set out on the enterprise of poverty and obedience, but the order that bears his name was not the order of his dreams. The organized Church of the middle ages became secularized.

But it is neither justice nor good history to ignore the vast influence which the Western Church exerted over Europe. Some attempt, and an honest attempt, was made to realize the ideal of the City of God which in early times had been the magnificent scheme of St. Augustine of Hippo. To the mediæval ecclesiastic the Church on earth was the City of God in being, and there were times when it would not have been a foolish travesty of fact to identify the Church and the world of Christendom; but hard experience proved that the Kingdom of God upon earth was a dream of pious souls. Hugh of St. Victor was but a visionary. We need not subscribe to the ' romantic ' theory of the middle ages, a theory which has brought just retribution by way of reaction, to pay tribute to the mediæval Church. As an institution in an era that was never stagnant but usually restless it stood for orderliness and unity; and, if these were attained by a growth in papal power that was ominous, it is difficult to imagine how otherwise the Church could have managed to direct the

destinies of warring and worldly races. The Church, too, was the guardian of what culture could be preserved throughout mediæval times. Undoubtedly there have been exaggerations of the Church's part in the development of civilization, and we must admit that Dr. Coulton has laid bare many of the weaknesses and evils of the era—ignorance, fear, superstition, and evil living—but for centuries the Church was the interpreter of the universe as a providential order, the moulder of the social system, the guide of the intellectual life, and the inspiration of mankind in the service of God.

Symptoms of Decadence.

But at the close of the fifteenth century it was manifest to many in Christendom that as an institution the Church had proved itself unequal to its task. Its presentation of Christianity had failed to confirm the faithful or to convert the worldling, and it had so failed that often the worldling was in the seat of the faithful. The very equipment which had been effective in earlier days for the protection of the saint and the reclamation of the sinner, the ecclesiastical organization modelled on the imperial machinery of government, became increasingly a handicap to Christian evangelization. The means had become an end, and the propagation of Christianity ceased to be a spiritual enterprise. The Curia fell from its high estate as guardian and missionary of righteousness and was complacently satisfied to be a business with secular assets, lucrative appointments, and grasping policies. The constant process of interaction between the Christianity sponsored by the Church and the paganism of strong, crude races ended in a lowering of religious standards of life. A wave of materialism spread across Christendom, and the Church was itself too secular to stem the tide.

In the fifteenth century there were in various countries of Europe many outspoken criticisms of the Church and its officials, and even furtive revolts from ecclesiastical authority. Even when allowance is made for the large tolerance of the mediæval man and for the truth that criticism usually assumes

some good in what is criticized, yet those adverse comments, biting rebukes, and incipient rebellions were evidence that the Church had lost much of its earlier hold upon the imagination and allegiance of mankind. Many observers were forced by circumstances to believe that the main cause of the disquiet lay in the Church's officialdom and that the days had gone when Christianity as an organized institution stood for poverty, obedience, righteousness, and brotherly service. No student of ecclesiastical history can deny that the Western Church in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries suffered a rapid loss of prestige, and it is easy to trace the decline of the papal power.

A New World.

The symptoms were everywhere manifest, and some of them are not difficult to record. Though the good Catholic doctrine that the Church is the body of the faithful throughout the world was never quite lost in mediæval times, yet towards the end of the period there was certainly a popular and deep-rooted impression that a great gulf separated clergy from laity. The mendicant expedient of a tertiary order which would make easier the policy of monasticizing mankind ended in failure, for in a world that was growing in interests and complexity it was felt that the chief end of man need not be monasticism. In the fifteenth century, if not even earlier, there was a new perspective of humanity. The cultivation of the religious spirit was still reckoned a main concern, and respect was freely given to the clergy, regular and secular, who were faithful to the behests of the Church and witnessed the beauty of service and contemplation of God; but it was not the sole concern. The horizon of the world was pushed outward by the force of circumstances, and it was felt that there were new and engrossing interests outside the providence of the Church. Some enterprising students were discovering the secrets of the universe; some scholars were captivated by the treasures of an ancient literature that had been hidden for centuries; some artists were finding joy in the making of beauty in canvas, stone, and metal-work; some hardy navigators were sailing

strange seas and adding new territory to their world; some craftsmen and merchants were earning not only a livelihood but considerable wealth in their manufacture and trading and were creating a new burgher class that was almost independent of feudal dominance; and some men gifted in political acumen were taking their part in the rise of nationalities. To these men a new world opened its doors, and the old Christendom seemed so poor and narrow that it lost much of its glamour and its authority.

Papal Policy.

During the very time that a cleavage between clergy and laity was most manifest the papacy was adopting a policy which confused the issues and was one cause of its own downfall. Boniface VIII, who became pope in 1294, encouraged by the victory of the Church over the Empire, made claims which a greater pope, Innocent III, had failed to establish in a happier time. Three bulls, *Clericis laicos*, *Ausculta fili*, and *Unam Sanctam*, completed the highest pretension which the papacy had made upon mankind—the dominance of the Church over every potentate, temporal or spiritual. But Boniface misread the times, underestimated the power of the French king, and prepared the way for the Avignonese captivity and the great schism. The force which had baulked Pope Boniface, the growth of a spirit of nationality, gathered volume during the fifteenth century, and Sixtus IV (1471–84) sought to strengthen Papal power by making the Church a real rival of the European states. The Papacy became a territorial power. Alexander VI carried on the policy, and the time came when Julius II could lead his own troops into the field of battle. Romagna, Ferrara, and Parma were the trophies of the Church militant. Undoubtedly, some minor advantages followed that policy, for the Papacy was the most virile force in Italy and became a centre of art and letters; but Christendom gradually realized that the Church had lost its estate of a spiritual and international power to become a mere territorial sovereignty. The mighty had fallen from their

seat. The vision of a Europe transformed by the evangel of Christ, of a Kingdom of God upon earth, had been lost, and high ecclesiastics could think of little else than a kingdom of this world with earthly pomp and trappings. To vie with its neighbours the Papacy had to offer prizes to its followers, and so a Church that had once witnessed the gospel of poverty, obedience, and sacrifice inevitably became worldly and corrupt. An institution which could give away bishoprics and abbacies to unspiritual persons soon ceased to be spiritual. Luther in the most famous of his treatises used vehement and scathing language in an attack on the Roman Curia, and even when we discount, as we must, the vehemence and exaggeration of his onslaught, sufficient truth remained to pillory a system that had irretrievably fallen from grace. And to many Churchmen at the beginning of the sixteenth century it seemed that the Church had actually made the transgressions of the wayward a source of ecclesiastical revenue, that the Church indeed had of late " commercialized sin ". In their eyes the Body of Christ had been sorely wounded.

Lost Prestige.

Respect for an honourable institution dies slowly, for there is an innate conservatism in mankind; but untoward policies sponsored by ecclesiastics of doubtful probity in an age that was questioning the very principles of life and authority hastened the decline of reverence. The Babylonish Captivity was an ominous commentary on the value of Papal bulls which declared the dominance of the Holy Catholic Church; the Great Schism of the fourteenth century encouraged the more daring to belittle, and even defy, the authority of any pope; the manifest worldliness of Christ's vicars relieved the fears of the sinners and daunted the hearts of the saints. Christianity itself was in jeopardy. In a world of new-born faith, faith in the beauty of creation, in the majesty of art and letters, in the power of economic enterprise, in the destiny of nations, in the mastery of ocean and continent, in such a world faith was only lacking in the Christian Church. Men were slowly

turning to the new and vital interests that were outwith the province of the faith; for the Church at the beginning of this new age did not perceive that the world had grown out of its old garments. To say that the chief cause of the Reformation was the corruption of the Western Church is to argue the matter with little regard for historical imagination. It is indubitable that in every country of Europe there were evils in the administration and life of the Church, and these evils were often gross; but mankind in the sixteenth century was singularly complacent and tolerant, for iniquity was not by any means confined to the clergy, and the complexity of new and very human interests diverted much attention from ecclesiastics who were probably not worse but better than their fifteenth-century predecessors. It is doubtful, historically, whether any institution that represented a real human need fell primarily because of the evils that gathered around it; but, even if there is no doubt, how can it be explained that the Reformation took place in the sixteenth and not in the fifteenth century? For more than a hundred years before Martin Luther's day the cry of the faithful had reached the heavens against the iniquities of the Roman Curia and the shamelessness of priest and monk.

What was the Reformation?

The Reformation did not stand by itself; it was not an isolated episode of revolt but a part, or an aspect, of a wider, inevitable, and dramatic movement of a world's growth. The Papacy had worked its will upon the Hohenstaufen emperors, and from the end of the thirteenth century was alone on the throne of Europe, but the ideal of a Christendom in a new world of thought and action was made impossible by inexorable circumstance. In many ways the emperor Charles the Fifth was the loneliest and most interesting figure of his epoch—a man who fought for an old regime and a lost cause, a man who was a parable of his times. Young nations were jostling against each other in these days in their rivalry for dominance, and kings by divine right were to take the place

of Holy Roman Emperors; the centre of the universe was no longer on the shores of the Mediterranean sea but was moving westward; the middle class of mankind was establishing itself firmly in a new world of trade and industry; the spirit of inquiry in science, philosophy, and religion was gaining converts amongst the learned; authority and institutions were losing their hold upon popular imagination, and freedom was a rallying-cry. The old order was giving place to the new.

The revolt in that marvellous century took many shapes, and even the Reformation was never uniform. For long the leaders of the ecclesiastical movement hardly knew where they stood or whither they were going. Vehement controversy often beat down a path for them, and there was a measure of opportunism in their policies. Gradually their courses were determined for them by the traditions, aspirations, and opportunities of their civic or national life. Protestantism was the sixteenth-century challenge of the individual, and it was inevitable that in the challenge there was often a rude handling of old loyalties, and a hasty dismissal of venerable beauty in symbol and ceremony. If it is true that the Catholic Church was " the last creative achievement of the classical civilization ", it is no less true that it was a great and noble achievement. The Western Church was the schoolmaster of the middle ages, but valuable as were her lessons she was not wise enough to satisfy the yearnings and to retain the loyalty of all her scholars when these ages had passed.

Germany.

Germany was the scene of the first organized religious revolt in the sixteenth century, and no country was better able to show the strength and the weakness of ecclesiastical innovation. Its broad territories were a considerable part of the Holy Roman Empire, but they were often the despair of the emperor and the opportunity of the hereditary prince. Imperial pride seldom stood in the way of territorial ambition or selfish diplomacy. The Habsburg dynasty had established

itself on the throne of the empire but was never secure in the loyalty of the subject peoples, and the political situation was often endangered by the tradition, needs, and policies of Habsburg possessions that were outwith Germany. The machinery of the empire was ineffective and had baffled the ingenuity of a Maximilian. Diets in which electors, nobles, and representatives of imperial cities had their chambers deliberated and legislated, but their authority was held in scant reverence when their decisions lacked popularity. Cities had grown prosperous in the wake of trade and industry, and ushered a new and powerful class into the society of Christendom, a class which complacently observed the decline of the lesser nobility and a widening breach in the bulwarks of feudalism. But the peasant in Germany at the beginning of the sixteenth century had little time for observation or complacency. His plight varied in degrees of hardship, but at the best prevented any satisfactory escape from fear, superstition, and bondage. It is easy to picture in too sombre colours the life of the peasant at the close of the middle ages, but it is difficult to imagine that his class was not moved to expectancy of a happier lot in those strange and emancipating years. Emperor, diets, cities, and peasants had their parts to play in the drama of the Reformation.

The Renaissance.

But it is important to notice two movements which made a lasting impression on Germany, though they were by no means confined to any one country in Europe, for these had a direct if perplexing bearing upon the Reformation. The first was the Renaissance. He is a brave historian who can generalize freely on the meaning, motives, and reactions of the revival of learning which caught the imagination of Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and he is happy who does so with impunity. It is safe to say, however, that the Renaissance took various shapes in different countries and even in one country was never uniform. At times the movement led men to scientific discovery and

geographical inquiry; at other times it attracted scholars to literary criticism and artistic appreciation; yet again it drew students to political speculation and practice; and, once more, it initiated the serious into reinterpretation of religious emotions and doctrines. No single event, and certainly not the fall of Constantinople, marked its beginnings or prescribed its limitations; and no man nor group of men could claim to be its proper representatives, for even Erasmus, a notable figure in its history, was but one of many types. Italy was first in the field of new learning and art. The heritor of the ideal of a Holy Roman Empire, the territorial guardian of the Papacy, and the host of many illustrious courts, she was singularly fortunate in her position. Dante, a true son of the middle ages and yet a prophet of the morrow; Petrarch, lover of ancient lore and of the spirit of freedom; Boccaccio, contemptuous of monkish superstition and frankly pagan in his exuberant joyousness—these men had been heralds of the revival. Vittorino da Feltre, the pioneer of a new pedagogy; Chrysoloras, the earliest teacher of Greek; Poggio, indefatigable collector of manuscripts; Plethon, who brought with him the very spirit of ancient idealism; Bessarion, ambassador, dignitary, and founder of libraries—these men began a splendid tradition of art and letters, which Florence with its benevolent despots, its Platonic Academy, and its philosophers did much to uphold. In Nicholas V the Renaissance reached the Vatican and the zenith of its power. But it was an aristocratic rather than a popular movement, a secular rather than a religious force, and it declined and fell without exerting any momentous influence upon the lives of the faithful. Indeed, though the Church encouraged the revival of learning in the earlier days of its history, it should be remembered that the Church of the counter-reformation declared itself against it. The Italian Renaissance was, in large measure, a reaction against monasticism and its ideal of life, and stood for liberty to roam everywhere for enjoyment of what a joyous and unheeding world had to offer. It was not didactic and never set itself out to be a social or religious

movement of regeneration. Siena was an exception that proved a rule.

German Humanism.

But Humanism, undoubtedly, was different in Germany. Often it led men to criticism of clerical abuses, to doctrines which the Church could not sanction, and even to revolt from ecclesiastical authority; but it never was regular in its symptoms or its consequences. Some scholars clung to the Church, some went over to the Lutheran Church, some were unaffected by either Church, and some repudiated all Churches. Humanism, however, wrought a significant change socially and intellectually in Germany. Nicholas of Cusa, scientist, cardinal, and forerunner of Galilei; John Wessel of Groningen, critic and scholar; Rudolf Agricola, restorer of Greek in Germany; and Sebastian Brant, designer of the *Ship of Fools*, were only a few of the men who led the way. The cities were infected with the new learning, and Augsburg and Nuremberg became renowned for their coteries of artists and students. But perhaps the most notable feature of the German Renaissance was the rise of universities throughout the country. Heidelberg, Köln, Erfurt, Leipzig, and many more were founded before Wittenberg gratified the academic ambitions of Frederick the Wise in 1502. The older universities were perhaps too early to be placed to the credit of the humanistic spirit, but there was a group which was undoubtedly the direct outcome of the new learning and was established between 1456 and 1527. In all of these there were conflicts between the adherents of scholasticism and the champions of more modern scholarship—conflicts which were, on the whole, conducted with loyalty to the Church's authority but were certainly a prelude to a more radical controversy. Learning is an art that is not easily controlled by authority, and it was in a university that the weapons of revolt from the Church were forged.

Renaissance and Reformation.

It is, then, a comparatively safe generalization that there can be no one theory of the relationship between Renaissance and Reformation. The indubitable facts of history prevent the student from holding that the revival of learning developed into a reformation of the Catholic Church in life and doctrine. Some humanists became reformers, but many were either loyal to the Church or indifferent as to whither their studies led them. But the facts also preclude the student from the theory that the Reformation was a frustration of the beneficent aims of the Renaissance, for many scholars were devoid of aims, and even when they were not lacking in aim they were often far from beneficence.

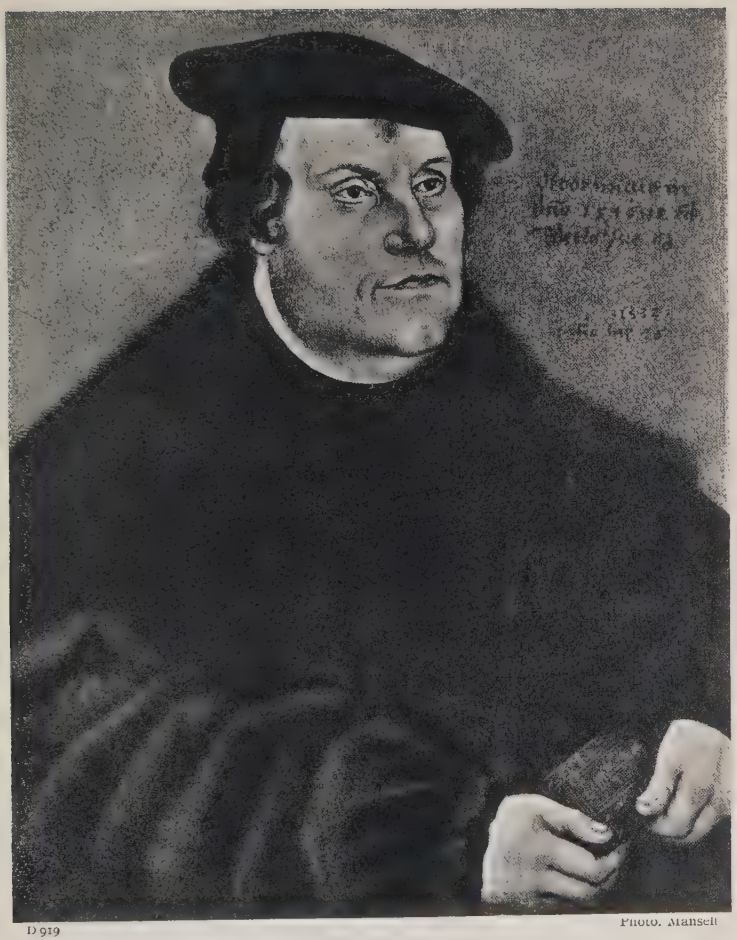
The Conciliar Movement.

The second movement which affected Germany in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries was connected with the great councils of the Church, but it needs little discussion at this point of the story. The Council of Constance, which began its meetings in 1414, was an attempt to decide great issues by means of conciliar rather than Papal rule. In that year the Church was faced with two scandals, the Hussite heresy and the schism which had despoiled the unity of Christendom since the year 1378. Many churchmen felt that only a representative council could have the necessary authority to uproot dangerous doctrine and to restore order in the chair of St. Peter. At Constance the Emperor Sigismund and a distinguished delegation of prelates, statesmen, and academic dignitaries were gathered together in pomp and expectancy. They were so sure of themselves and their authority that they declared the conciliar principle to be paramount in the Church. But all that the Council of Constance achieved was the burning of John Huss and the election of Martin V as sole pope of Christendom. The reform of the Church was left over to a more convenient season. That season should have been in 1431, when the Council of Basel

was summoned, but the Papacy was then strong enough to counter the movement for radical reform, and Basel spelt the failure of the conciliar movement. It is true that the French king was able to procure some measure of independence for the Church within his territory, but the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges was a poor substitute for the reformation of the Western Church. But the victory of the Papacy was won at a great cost, for not only had Europe seen that a king could extort concessions which made his " national " church semi-independent of the bishop of Rome, but she had begun to doubt the omnipotence of the Catholic Church as an authoritative institution. The very failure of the conciliar movement narrowed reformation into revolution.

Martin Luther.

The leader of that revolt in Germany was the monk, Martin Luther. Before him there had been critics of ecclesiastical abuses and incompetence, before him there had been teachers who rescued evangelical doctrine from mediæval scholasticism, but it was he who led his fellows to breach the walls of Rome. The circumstances of the political situation, the financial and spiritual straits of the Papacy, and the peculiarities of his temperament combined to make Luther a successful leader of revolution. He sprang into prominence on the last day of October, 1517, when he posted on the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg, the recognized place for academic notices, ninety-five theses on the subject of Indulgence, and before he reached his thirty-fourth birthday he was known throughout most parts of Germany. A monk of the order of the Augustinian Eremites had compelled Christendom to the study of the ecclesiastical tradition of indulgence, and not the least consequence of a spectacular challenge was that it launched a perplexed and indignant monk on a voyage of discovery which led him far and irrevocably from his accustomed moorings. What the conciliar theory had failed to achieve, what the humanistic revival had so far been unable to effect, was now on the way of



D 919 Photo. Mansell

MARTIN LUTHER

From the painting by Cranach in the Dresden Gallery

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accomplishment by the hands of a Wittenberg professor of theology. A widespread and insistent movement which had up to that time no organized articulation had at last found a courageous and popular spokesman. Who was he?

Early Life.

Of the mass of biographical detail that has gathered around Luther's early life it is only necessary for our purpose to cull a few facts. Martin Luther was a son of the people, for though his father by dint of hard work had raised himself out of the peasant class, he was never more than a working man who knew the struggle against poverty. At Eisleben and Mansfeld Luther grew up in the atmosphere of reverence for established authority and of simple piety not always free from superstition and fear. He was a student of Erfurt University, and after graduation as a Master of Arts he began the study of law; but in 1505 he forsook the university for the cloister, to the surprise of his associates and the grief of his father, who had mapped out for his son a different and more lucrative career. He had from earliest days a love of music, and as a reformer he turned that gift to good account. He had some knowledge of philosophy and knew his Latin classics, he was fairly proficient in Greek and acquired Hebrew; but he was never a humanist, for to him the study of languages was only a means to an end. Though he lived without reproach as a monk, to quote his own words, his life was for years a spiritual struggle, and peace came to him only when in 1512 or 1513 he rediscovered the doctrine of justification by faith, a doctrine which henceforward coloured his whole theology. On the business of his order he had visited Rome in 1511, but though the Scala Sancta may have quickened his perception of the efficacy of his cardinal doctrine of faith, it is certain that he was too unsophisticated to judge dispassionately the worldliness surrounding the Roman Curia, and he never could forget his disillusionment. He had, as he said, carried onions to Rome and brought back garlic. In the following year Luther graduated as a doctor of

theology at Wittenberg University and succeeded Staupitz in the chair of biblical literature. In 1513 he began his lectures, and he followed the bent of his mind by expounding the Pauline epistles. Yet up to the day when Luther published his theses on Indulgence he reckoned himself, and was reckoned by his contemporaries, a loyal son of the Church.

The Indulgence Controversy.

In 1510 Julius II made indulgence an expedient of Papal finance by his bull *Liquet omnibus*, and Leo X issued a commission to Albert of Mainz in March, 1515. The archbishop needed money to pay for his pallium and the pope needed money for St. Peter's, and the Fuggers of Augsburg, a banking house of long standing and convenient adaptability, supplied the necessary sum to the electoral prelate on condition that one half of the indulgence proceeds was retained by their agent and the remainder remitted to the pope. Albert of Mainz engaged John Tetzel, a Dominican preacher of proved talent, to carry on the business of indulgence selling. Myconius has left a description of the scenes that ensued, and, even when considerable discount has been made, enough remains to make intelligible the attitude which Luther adopted. He could not keep silence, and he sent a copy of his theses to the archbishop along with a trenchant letter of protest. In it he wrote: " I grieve at the very false ideas which the people conceive, . . . namely, that unhappy souls believe that, if they buy letters of indulgences, they are sure of their salvation." Luther also preached a sermon on indulgence and grace in which he denied that Scripture gives authority for the opinion that " divine justice requires or desires any other punishment or satisfaction from the sinner than his hearty and true repentance and conversion ". Indulgence, he declared, " improves no man, but only tolerates and allows his imperfection. So men should not speak against indulgence, but neither should they persuade any one to take it." It has often been said that the ninety-five theses were an academic form of challenge, and that is true,

though not the whole truth. They were more than that, for they were a protest against a system which Luther deemed so misleading that it was evil. In 1517 he had not thoroughly debated with himself the question of indulgence, but he knew that grave abuses sprang from it in practice. Already it seemed to him that the Church was claiming for itself powers that God alone could assume, and he was perturbed not only by the menace to public decorum and morality but by the suspicion that the Church had lost something of its pristine glory and authority. Luther did not make a direct attack on the time-honoured tradition of indulgence but rather on the grossness of its accompanying evils, yet criticism once begun was not easily limited in its range, and the controversy that quickly followed drew him farther than he knew from his old loyalty. The Roman Curia did not realize the seriousness of the Wittenberg matter, and negotiations in which the learned Thomist, Cardinal Cajetan, and the suave chamberlain, Charles von Miltitz, took part were unfruitful. Leo X in the bull *Cum postquam* reaffirmed indulgence doctrine; Luther appealed *ad papam melius informandum* and later to a general council of the Church; the redoubtable controversialist, Dr. Eck of Ingolstadt, threw himself into the fray—and the outcome was the Leipzig disputation of 1519. The debate turned on the ground of Papal authority, and Luther, who had prepared himself with diligence by an historical examination of the *jus divinum* of the Papacy, was cleverly forced to admit that general councils could and did err. Dr. Eck used the Bohemian heresy to good purpose and scored a Pyrrhic victory. Luther had to take his stand as a rebel, and all that remained was to make a reasoned appeal to the public.

The Reformation Treatises.

Luther was a prolific writer, and as early as 1518 Froben, the Basel printer, began to collect the reformer's works. Even in 1519 these had a large circulation throughout most countries of Europe, if we can trust the accuracy of Froben's

correspondence with Luther. But in 1520 three great treatises swelled the volume of his literary achievement, and they were a complete apology of the religious revolution. The first was an open letter *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation respecting the Reformation of the Christian Estate*, and it was addressed not only to the princes but to the young emperor Charles V, who in 1519 had succeeded Maximilian and was master of the most considerable part of Christendom. The treatise was a vehement indictment of the Roman Church and a daring appeal for a national German Church. Luther had always a heightened measure of speech and writing, and in that address he flung off all restraint. The " walls " with which Rome had surrounded herself are but " straw and paper ", for when her advocates declare that the temporal power has no jurisdiction over the spiritual, that the pope alone can interpret Scripture, and that only he can summon a council, they are wrong in that the sole difference between priest and layman is one of function and not of estate, in that the mind of Christ is given to all true Christians so that they can understand God's Word, and in that it may well be the duty of Christians to withstand the pope and to appeal to the Church. Luther proceeds to mention many matters that ought to be discussed in councils, such as the worldliness, bureaucracy, exorbitance, and illegalities of the Roman Curia, and then states twenty-seven articles respecting the reformation of the Christian estate. The treatise could only have been written by a man who had lost all respect for the Church and to whom her claims were negligible. His peroration was a threat: " I have another song still to sing concerning them and Rome; if they wish to hear it, I will sing it to them, and sing with all my might. Do you understand, my friend Rome, what I mean?" Despite its unmeasured language the address had an immense appeal not only to the ecclesiastic but to the statesman, for it was as propagandist in its nationalism as it was adroit in its opportunism. The second treatise, *On the Babylonish Captivity of the Church*, was addressed to the

theologians rather than the patriots and was an attempt to justify Luther's position and policy. Luther held that the sacramental theory of the Church was a deliberate scheme by which mankind was placed under priestly domination. Out of that "captivity" he sought to release his fellow-countrymen by an exposition of the real nature of a sacrament, and he declared himself against the doctrines of transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the mass. The last of the three was *On Christian Liberty* and was sent with a covering letter to Leo X. It was the *apologia* of the reformer, and with dignity it outlined the distinctive beliefs of Luther—the priesthood of all believers and justification by faith. Belief in such doctrines, however, meant disbelief of the very heart of the mediæval Church; and Luther had therefore brought on himself the peril of excommunication. In the peroration of the treatise he wrote: "I hear a report that fresh bulls and Papal curses are being prepared against me, by which I am to be urged to recant, or else be declared a heretic. If this is true, I wish this little book to be a part of my future recantation."

The Diet of Worms.

Luther had not to wait long before the publication of bulls and the opportunity for recantation came. The bull *Exsurge Domine* (published at Rome on 15th June) was promulgated by Dr. Eck in Wittenberg on 3rd Oct., 1520; and Luther's books were burnt both at Louvain and Köln. But the reformer's reply was drastic and spectacular—the bull and the decretals shared the fate of his books on 10th Dec. Martin Luther was known throughout the empire and was perhaps the most popular man within it. He went to the Diet of Worms to meet his emperor and his accusers, but he had many sympathizers behind him. Aleander, the astute papal legate, wrote that "all Germany is in commotion; nine out of every ten cry 'Luther', and the tenth, if he does not care for what Luther says, at least cries 'Death to the court of Rome!'" A few months later, Contarini, the

Venetian ambassador who was present at the Diet, gave like testimony to the popularity of the Wittenberg rebel. Luther made no recantation, but adhered to his opinions in face of an imposing array of imperial representatives, and he was placed under the ban of empire and declared an outlaw, 26th May, 1521. The years that ensued witnessed vain attempts to make good the declaration of outlawry against the man who courageously affirmed: *revocare neque possum neque volo quidquam*. For the time, however, Luther's friends at the instigation of the elector Frederick, "the Saxon fox" to his enemies and kindliest of counsellors to the reformers, removed their hero to the safety of the Wartburg. But even in his Patmos Martin Luther was a force in Europe, for it was there he set about his German edition of the New Testament which was published in September, 1522, and was the precursor of the translation of the Old Testament in 1534. The importance of the German Bible cannot be exaggerated, for not only did it further a religious movement which made Holy Scripture its final authority, but it set a standard of written speech throughout Germany.

The Weakening of Lutheranism.

The empire had declared itself against Lutheranism, and its example was followed in England and Scotland, but during the years 1521–4 the new doctrine made amazing progress and seemed likely to prevail throughout most parts of Germany. Luther was the hero of his race, and many favoured his views, imitated his ecclesiastical practice, and looked to him for guidance and deliverance. In and after the year 1524, however, it was manifest to the eyes of Christendom that Lutheranism could not capture the loyalty of more than a part of Germany. The dream of the address *To the Christian Nobility* was never realized in more than partial measure. Even when Luther was hidden in the Wartburg some radical reformers, encouraged and led by Bodenstein of Carlstadt, imperilled the movement in Wittenberg by their excesses and iconoclasm. But danger also came from other quarters. Luther's vehe-

mence alienated the humanists, who on occasion had given him a real though moderate support, and the reformation had to be carried on without any direct help from the scholars who, like Erasmus, frowned on any policy that savoured of 'tumult', scholasticism, or theological dogma. The greatest of sixteenth-century humanists, Desiderius Erasmus, was unappreciative of Luther's genius and envisaged a reformation far different from that of Wittenberg. The breach between them was made by weightier matters than the relative merits of St. Augustine and St. Jerome. The outspoken Luther in 1517 feared that Erasmus did not "further Christ and the grace of God", and Erasmus by his compliance with the will of Henry VIII of England in 1524 proved at any rate he would not further Luther. The reformation movement again was weakened in no small measure by the Peasants' Revolt in 1524–5. The social conditions of peasant-life in that era were in all places hard and in some quarters grievous, and it was natural that discontent should be widespread and intense. The hardship of a Roman law that took no cognizance of ancient privileges or scriptural injunctions of generosity, the campaigns of soldiery that lived on the land, the recurrence of famine and pestilence, and the success of the Swiss peasantry against the Habsburg power—all had their part in the determination of a militant march out of bondage. The peasants felt that the Lutherans, who stood for the gospel of freedom and had themselves revolted against authority, would be the first to succour them, and they were encouraged by the more radical of the religious reformers. At first the peasants had successes, notably in Northern Germany, and their programme was not immoderate in the *Twelve Articles* (March, 1525); but violence was met with violence, and the rising was ruthlessly quelled. The prestige of Luther and Lutheranism suffered irretrievably, for the reformer after a belated and unsuccessful attempt at mediation had taken the side of authority and counselled the princes in fiery language to destroy both rebels and rebellion. It is true that Luther was by temperament a conservative and a

man of peace, that from beginning to end of his career he was against the arbitrament of warfare, that he was convinced that an uprising of the populace would jeopardize the movement of reformation, that when the revolt was crushed he arraigned the cruelty of the nobles; but no extenuating circumstances that can be adduced will remove the blot of the Peasants' Revolt from the escutcheon of the reformer. The consequence of Luther's attitude was that the reformation lost entirely the sympathy of the poorer classes and was itself bound hand and foot to the territorial princes. Luther's fortunes too were not improved in the early summer of 1525 by the death of his friend the elector Frederick, or by his marriage to Catherine von Bora, who had, like her husband, repudiated the monastic vow.

Religion and Politics.

For thirty years, from 1525 to 1555, the fate of Lutheranism hung on the relative strength of two sets of secular princes and the freedom of Charles V from campaigns against his numerous foes. At the Diet of Speyer in 1526 the Lutheran princes won the right to administer religious affairs within their own territories until a general council should make a settlement of the Church's difficulties, and so the way for the Peace of Augsburg was prepared. But three years later, when Charles V had sacked Rome and was free to give his attention to Germany, the concession was withdrawn and the chagrined rulers made a " Protest " which gave a famous name to a reforming church (April, 1529). In 1530 Philip Melanchthon, Luther's friend and colleague at Wittenberg University, drew up the Augsburg Confession of which Luther wrote: " It pleases me well, and I know not how to better it." It was a conciliatory document which clearly enunciated Lutheran loyalty to primitive Church doctrine, to Augustinian theology, and, in particular, to the tenet of justification by faith; but just as clearly it differentiated Lutheranism from Romanism, Zwinglianism, and some features of doctrine that afterwards were named Calvinistic.

But Charles V, instructed by Cardinal Campeggio and optimistic in his political confidence, was in no mood for any measures that would establish heresy. The consequence was twenty-five years of warfare between the imperial forces and a Schmalkaldic league of protestant princes, in which the tortuous diplomacy and military genius of Maurice of Saxony turned the scales of war first against his Lutheran friends and then finally against a disillusioned and heart-broken emperor. Luther did not live to see peace in his time, but in 1555 Lutheranism was recognized as a religious force in Germany. Territorialism, exemplified in the principle of *cujus regio, ejus religio*, had won a dull victory for a prosaic cause. Charles V had fought strenuously for an ideal of unity and uniformity in religion, but he had failed in face of circumstances which made his ideal an anachronism. The Peace of Augsburg meant much for religious liberty in a world of travail, but it had serious limitations. Security had been won by a revolution that was not glorious, and it prescribed the freedom which the Church should crave and hold. Lutheranism was neither an unqualified success nor a disastrous failure.

Luther the Man.

Martin Luther, like his fellow-reformers of the sixteenth century, was not a political philosopher, and we do wrong to him to select and emphasize the portions of his teaching which bear a resemblance to the subject-matter of political science. But there can be no doubt that the influence of his reform movements was considerable on the evolution of the modern state. To secure the ends for which he strove he had to depend on the territorial prince, and the rulers of principalities were not loath to use religion for the aggrandizement of their secular power. Luther lived in days when monarchy became the aim of every sovereign, and though he was not primarily interested in the political happenings which ensued after the inevitable passing of the old order of Christendom, he indirectly helped his masters, who were

not always godly princes. But his real service was of more moment, and it was a service to religion. An able historian has suggested that " a future generation may be able to prove that the Reformation was due solely to economic causes in which human personality had no part ";[1] but, if historical imagination and a sense of perspective remain in the equipment of the historian, the suggestion is a vanity born of reaction against a biographical theory of history. The religious and the economic are the strongest motives of attempted progress and in combination they are almost irresistible, but so far economic considerations have not of themselves led humanity to the glories of disinterested service and to defiance of the terrors of martyrdom. And it is equally true that despite revulsion from the vagaries of an heroic school of historians it is impossible to find any notable movement in which human personality has had no part. Martin Luther has suffered at the hands of his friends who have placed him on a pedestal which it was not in his nature to covet. Even Böhmer, in our own days, has likened Luther's part in the movement of reformation to that of Napoleon in France and Bismarck in the German Empire; and he is more critical than was Schiller. Probably the exaggerated encomiums are largely due to the virulence of Luther's critics who from Cochlæus downwards have seldom spared him. " Criticize me who will, I do not pretend to be a saint " was the reformer's disarming confession. In a coarse era he was not far above the ordinary level of his fellows in speech, good taste, and pugnacity in debate. He was not a scholar and had not a scholar's regard for accuracy of statement and quotation, and there were times when his attitude towards truth was not free from casuistry; but Denifle and others have gone too far in their attacks to command the respect of the fair-minded. Luther was in many ways the child of his age, a schoolman who to the end was influenced by Occam, a reformer who could not rid himself of conservatism, a mediævalist in his attitude to economics,

[1] Ogg in *The Reformation* (Benn), p. 37.

a critic who had been preceded by humanists and preachers in more than one country; but he was more than the creature of his times—he was a prophet. For him Christianity was not just everything that the Church taught, demanded, and allowed; it was a freedom-giving, spiritual attitude. For him the Church was not a mere institution; it was an invisible kingdom ruled by Christ and by means of Holy Scriptures, and the Church is in relationship to visible churches only in so far as these proclaim the Word of God. Luther was not a theologian and certainly not a well-equipped student of Church history, but he was a man who had passed through a rich and varied Christian experience. He may not have understood properly the meaning of faith upon which he relied so heartily, but he made a worthy protest against an institution which had lost somewhat of its glories in routine and secularism and had lost touch with the things of faith and spirit.

Lutheranism.

Lutheranism in its earlier days stood for unfettered and spontaneous religion, it opened out a vision of Christianity freed from institutionalism with its pervasive spell of sacerdotal theory, it was a symbol of Teutonic revolt against Latin culture and tradition. But Lutheranism had itself to encourage institutions and theories as the years passed. Protestantism needed some authority to take the place of pope or council, and this it found in the Bible. Theologians discovered in it a quarry of doctrine as they in self-defence began to sharpen distinctions and erect the barriers of creed, and almost inevitably Protestantism became scholastic and authoritative. The Bible became to many a mediæval Aristotle, a textbook rather than an inspiration. The Peace of Augsburg was no peace in the campaign of theology, and Lutheranism fell from its high estate into the intolerant, bigoted, and dreary arena of theological controversy. It was not in Germany but in alien lands that the Reformation brought in an era of literary and religious splendour. Yet no student of history

can afford to read the story of the sixteenth century without paying some tribute, great or small, to Martin Luther for his part in emphasizing the freedom of the devout soul, the nobility of religious faith, and the rightfulness of a full-orbed and joyous life. His was no mean share in the saving of religion throughout a stirring and fevered age.

Sweden.

Lutheranism had not the expansive power of Calvinism, but it is notable that it was Lutheran doctrine and not that of the Reformed Church which was accepted in the Scandinavian countries. The history of the reformation in these lands shows how adaptable that faith was to the needs of a state religion. In 1397 the Union of Kalmar marked the amalgamation of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden under one sovereign; and, though Sweden broke away in the middle of the fifteenth century, the dynasty of Oldenburg regained Scandinavian control. Christian II, king of Denmark and Norway in 1513, was crowned king of Sweden seven years later, and he strove to counter the power of the Swedish nobility and prelates who had been for long a menace to the union and had oppressed the *bönder* or small proprietor class. He played the rôle of Papal champion, and on the charge of disloyalty to Rome he massacred many of the leading magnates. The Union of Kalmar, as it was said, was drowned in the Bath of Stockholm, for the outcry that followed the massacre provoked anger against the Papacy and a successful war of independence. Gustavus Vasa was elected king of Sweden by the Diet of Strengnäs in 1523, and for political and financial reasons, if for no other, he favoured the new doctrines which the brothers Olaus and Laurentius Petri had brought from Wittenberg. Bishop Brask led the Church party with ability and dignity, and not only drew the attention of Pope Adrian's legate to the plight of Sweden but remonstrated with his sovereign. "By the allegiance which I owe you," he wrote in 1524, "I deem it my duty to urge you not to allow the sale of Luther's books

within the realm, nor give his pupils shelter or encouragement of any kind, till the coming council of the Church shall pass its judgment." But the bishop received no encouragement from Gustavus Vasa, who coveted the patrimony of the Church for the maintenance of his throne and the payment of his military campaigns. At the close of the year a disputation was arranged, after the fashion of the times, in which Olaus Petri championed Lutheranism against the provost of Upsala. In 1527 the time was reckoned opportune for decision, and the king summoned a Diet at Vesteräs which by a recess ordered the transference to the Crown of the surplus revenues of bishops, chapters, and monasteries, as well as the bishops' castles; gave permission to the nobles to redeem from the religious houses all the land devoted to pious uses since 1454; and commanded that God's Word should be purely preached throughout the kingdom. The Diet then adopted the *Vesteräs Ordinantia*—and the reformation of religion in Sweden was achieved in royal and businesslike manner. The episcopal polity of the old Church was preserved in the new, for by the king's command three bishops were consecrated with ancient rites by the Catholic bishop of Vesteräs. A programme of reform was passed by the Synod of Ärebro in 1529, and Gustavus Vasa was the wealthy head of a poor but reformed church. His ecclesiastical statesmanship was not likely to escape the admiring notice of Henry VIII of England.

Denmark.

Denmark, likewise, adopted the Lutheran faith. Christian II, who had lost the throne of Sweden, returned to his own land, and it was not long before he saw in royal favour towards the new doctrines a means of curbing the power of his nobles. But his rashness, and that of Bodenstein of Carlstadt who visited the country, was his undoing, and he lost a second crown (1523). His successor was Frederick I, who was not opposed to Lutheranism and indeed procured religious liberty in his own dominions of Schleswig-Holstein (1524),

but he was most diplomatic in his negotiations. The Danish nobles were Catholic in their sympathies, and they denounced ecclesiastical innovations, but they were won over to the side of their monarch by his support of their claims on Church property. In an ordinance of the Diet of Odense, 1527, the Lutherans were granted religious equality with the representatives of the Church. " No man," so ran the ordinance, " shall be at liberty to ask whether a man is Lutheran or Catholic. Every man shall answer for his own soul " Again: " everyone is free to choose whether he will marry or remain celibate "; and, " in future bishops shall no more fetch the pallium from Rome; but after they have been duly elected by the chapters possessed of the right, they shall seek confirmation from the Crown ". But there was civil war before Lutheranism was established in Denmark. Christian III was masterful in his policy, and having arrested the bishops in 1536 immediately procured the abolition of episcopacy by vote of the Rigsraad. The Copenhagen Rigsdag adhered to the decision and published a recess by which authority was given for the promotion of other " Christian-like bishops or superintendents " who were qualified to teach and preach the gospel, and for the confiscation of all Church property, which was to be shared by the Crown and the temporal nobles. Bugenhagen of Wittenberg was invited to organize the new Church on Lutheran lines, and it is remarkable that he, though a presbyter, consecrated seven men to be superintendents or bishops. The Lutheran emissary also published a Church ordinance, afterwards legalized by the Diet of Odense (1539), and reconstituted the university of Copenhagen.

Norway.

Norway remained under the domination of Denmark until modern times, and in the sixteenth century was unable to do more than harass her superior. The manifesto of Christian III in 1536 made it plain to all that his will must prevail, and in most parts of Norway the reformation was carried

out as in Denmark. In the north there was support for the old Church, and Olaf of Trondhjem held out for a short period, but the royal forces landed at Bergen and quelled resistance. Iceland was won for Lutheranism by the efforts of Gisser Einarssen of Skalholt, who met with small opposition.

Luther and Zwingli.

Martin Luther may be the greatest of the sixteenth-century reformers, but there were others who shared with him the credit or the blame of leading successful revolt from the Western Church. Near him in age and not far from him in territory was Huldreich Zwingli, the pioneer of ecclesiastical reform in Switzerland. Historians have been tempted to make a dramatic contrast between the two reformers, and they have no lack of material. Zwingli, unlike Luther, was a humanist and for many years made Erasmus his ideal scholar; he never knew the anguish of soul which the Erfurt monk experienced; he was a radical and a republican, whereas to the last Luther had respect for the empire and never ceased to be a conservative; for him the universal Church meant little and its scholastic theology not more, but Luther was a schoolman and diverged less from the Church than any reformer of his age; he was a politician and even a militarist, and the German reformer left statecraft to the princes and hated the appeal to arms. It is, of course, possible to exaggerate these differences of tradition, training, and temperament, for there was a great deal in common between the reformers; but they did represent two distinct lines of reforming ideal and policy—the evangelical and the reformed.

Swiss Mercenaries.

Switzerland was a confederation of thirteen cantons in the year 1513, and the history of the confederation from the days when it began with the league of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden (1291) was marked with memorable victories against the powers of the Habsburg dynasty, against France,

and against Burgundy. The hardy Swiss were practically free from the empire, were renowned for their military prowess, were ready to espouse the cause of freedom and reform, and were favourably dealt with by the Roman Curia, an evidence of which was the Papal gift of sword, hat, and two banners (Diet of Baden, 1512). But their soldiery were enlisted as mercenaries by recruiting pensionaries of the Papacy and of the European states, and the consequences were not conducive to good morals or patriotic loyalty. It was the demoralization caused by such mercenary service that brought Zwingli into public prominence. Whilst he was parish priest of Glarus (1506 till 1516) he accepted a Papal pension, and three times as a chaplain he accompanied troops enlisted from his parish for Papal campaigns in Italy. But he saw at first hand the evils of the system and, though he accepted the claims of the Papacy on the valour of his countrymen, he patriotically denounced the enlistment of Swiss soldiers for the service of alien states, such as France. His first literary work was a parable in which France as a leopard, the empire as a lion, and Venice as a fox, were represented as driving Switzerland, the ox, out of its pasture-lands. But it was notable that the pope was the herdsman who withstood the wild beasts. It was with relief that the French agents saw Zwingli transferred from Glarus to Einsiedeln, where he witnessed the scenes of pilgrimage which had provoked the satire of Erasmus and where he was brought into conduct with the sale of indulgences by the Franciscan Samson. But the young priest was still a loyal Churchman in the eyes of Rome, for in 1518 he was appointed an acolyte chaplain to the pope and in the end of that year he was elected to the office of people's priest in the Great Minster at Zürich.

The Zwinglian Reformation.

At the beginning of 1519 Zwingli was a humanist and nothing more. From his earliest days he had been a student and could claim as his teachers Wölflin of Bern, Celtes of

Vienna, and Wyttenbach of Basel, his " patron and beloved teacher ". The extravagances of Einsiedeln were no more than a comedy to him, and the ecclesiastical commerce of Samson did not provoke him to much righteous indignation. Even as a man of the world his life was not beyond reproach. He had unusual gifts of preaching, but his attitude was merely that of a cultured man of letters. Before another year had passed, Zwingli the humanist had become Zwingli the reformer. Probably his long and dangerous illness during the autumn of 1519 touched his life with reality, probably the earlier writings of Martin Luther (to whom he never acknowledged himself a debtor) influenced him more than he knew; and, almost certainly, his eager study of the New Testament of Erasmus turned him to deeper meditation of divine truth. Zwingli preached with a new fervour in Zürich during 1520, and he made himself a social and religious power in a city that soon revered him. In 1522 the authority of the bishop of Constance was repudiated, and the Bible was declared to be the standard both of doctrine and of practice; and so reformation was begun. Zwingli published his Sixty-seven Articles in 1523 as a basis for a public disputation ordered by the town council, and these outlined the faith and policy of the reformer. The sole authority of the Bible, repudiation of Papal primacy, invocation of saints, fasting, sacerdotal celibacy, and pilgrimages—such were some of the propositions, and Zwingli was acclaimed the victor. Other disputations followed with a similar result; and the outcome was that images, relics, and even organs were cast out, that religious houses were dissolved, and that in April, 1525, Mass was celebrated for the last time in the Great Minster of Zürich. Zwingli had to face other difficulties, notably those dealing with the Anabaptists, but in 1529 he had satisfaction in seeing the reform movement established in at least six of the thirteen cantons. Œcolampadius was successful in Basel where " the mass died of sorrow "; Haller prepared the way in Bern where the Ten Theses were publicly disputed before they were accepted by civic authority; Wyttenbach,

Hofmeister, Vadianus, and Kessler were emissaries who deserved well of the Swiss reformation. But the rural or Forest cantons were loyal to the old Church and their jealousy of the towns increased their loyalty. Soon two rival leagues faced each other, one representing the Swiss who refused to join Zürich and Bern in their religious policy, and the other representing the reformers. The first Treaty of Kappel (1529) was in favour of the Zwinglians, whose forces were so superior that the Catholic cantons had prudently avoided battle; but war broke out anew, largely due to the aggressive policy of Zwingli himself, and the Zürich troops, unsupported by their Bernese allies, were discomfited at Kappel in 1531. Zwingli was slain on the field of battle. The defeat was a disaster, for it robbed Switzerland of a great religious leader and effectually stopped the expansion of his work of reformation.

The Genius of Zwingli.

Huldreich Zwingli has not received from humanity the homage which his genius deserved. He was not able to rid himself of the contemporary doctrine and habit of intolerance or of more than some of the dogmatic assumptions of his age, but he had a wider outlook and a more liberal attitude of mind than had most of the sixteenth-century reformers. Luther despaired of the salvation of a pagan who could envisage pagans in the realms of the blessed, and he openly rejoiced in the discomfiture of Zürich and its heroic leader —an ignoble rejoicing in which Calvin and even Erasmus shared—but Zwingli had no small part in the moulding of a new world of ecclesiasticism and religion. He had the eye of a politician for the civic consequences of his spiritual revolt, the mind of a scholar and philosopher for the orderly arrangement of his religious creed, and the zeal of a pioneer for the establishment of his cause. Religion, for Zwingli, was an enlightenment wrought by God in the soul of man, enabling him to know God and to live in accordance with the divine will. Christianity was the supreme religion because

it was the highest revelation of God. The Bible was the chief vehicle of that revelation, and had paramount authority in the business of doctrine and life. Luther revered Holy Scripture because it contained the gospel of redemption, but Zwingli always stressed the value of the Bible as an elucidation of God's will for men. That is why he could say that the gospel itself was a new law, and why he softened the contrasts that were so vivid in Luther's theology. Zwingli was more literal, more philosophical, and more legalistic than the Saxon reformer. The divergence is most readily exemplified in their attitudes to the sacrament of Holy Communion, and the conference at Marburg, arranged in 1529 by that restless politician and unreformed reformer, Philip of Hesse, showed how far apart Luther and Zwingli were in their interpretations of a cardinal Church doctrine. There could be no unity of thought and purpose between one who was content to repeat *Hoc est corpus meum* and one who could argue *abiit ergo et non est hic*. Twenty years were to pass before Bullinger, Zwingli's son-in-law and successor in Zürich, prepared a bridge between French and German Switzerland in the *Consensus Tigurinus* and led the way to a more Catholic view of the Lord's Supper. It is, however, somewhat unjust to declare, as is so often done, that Zwingli was never able to advance beyond the view that the sacrament was a memorial feast and that the bread and wine were mere symbols, for in his later days he did admit that the sacrament was a witness of redemption through Jesus Christ (cf. preface to his *Action oder Bruch des Nachtmals*). But Zwingli in his abhorrence of everything that savoured of superstition and idolatry set his face against a doctrine of the real presence, and could, therefore, be more tolerant of new views than could Martin Luther, who believed that tolerance was disloyalty to Christian truth.

Zwingli and Calvin.

It is worthy of remark that Zwingli's philosophical interpretation of the universe led him on a road that John Calvin

travelled some years later. His emphasis on the divine will inevitably involved a doctrine of omnipotence and a theory of predestination which has been popularly ascribed to the Genevan theologian. That theory broadened as well as narrowed Zwingli's creed. Faith, for Luther, was trust in divine forgiveness, but for Zwingli it was more—it was acceptance of truth and confidence in a divine providence manifested not only in Christ's redeeming love but in all of God's works. But election came before faith, and election was the real basis of Christian assurance of salvation. The Church was a communion of saints, so far Wittenberg and Zürich were at one; but it was, for Zwingli, the great body of the elect, an invisible community in which were young children, pagan heroes, believers and even unbelievers, the living and the dead. Thus Huldreich Zwingli ploughed the soil for John Calvin and the Reformed Church. The spontaneity of Lutheranism in its doctrines of freedom, of grace, and of Holy Scripture, was to be merged in a more objective scheme of theology and a more rigid form of ecclesiastical polity and practice.

From Zürich to Geneva.

The death of Zwingli in 1531 put an end to the aspirations of Zürich as the citadel of protestantism in Switzerland. Bullinger strove hard to consolidate the work of his predecessor and attained some prominence as an emissary of reformed doctrine in other lands; but it was Geneva and not Zürich that became the Protestant Rome, Calvin and not Zwingli that organized the campaign of the Reformed Church. John Calvin was not a pioneer, for he lived in the second age of the sixteenth-century revolt and entered into the labours of other men. His genius lay not in originality but in consolidation. A scholar of some eminence, he was able to appreciate, as Luther failed to do, the merits and defects of humanism; a stylist in letters he could appeal to circles who knew good French and Latin; a lawyer by training he could marshal his facts and arguments of theology; a moralist

by disposition he could devise a rigid standard of life for the compulsion of the wayward; an aristocrat by inclination he had less faith in the people than in the trappings of democracy; an eager, intense man he could lead men because he had himself in cold and calm control. In a letter to Melanchthon he once wrote of Luther: "Your Pericles allows himself to be carried beyond all bounds with his love of thunder"; but John Calvin achieved more than Lutheran thunder and yet was never carried farther than he would go. He was the master spirit of the Reformed Church that was to win its victories throughout Christendom.

Geneva before Calvin.

Geneva from early days was an imperial city, but it was in practice governed by a bishop, a vidomne, and a commune. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the powers of the bishop had been curbed by the dukes of Savoy who had hereditary claims on the vidomnate, but in 1504 the Genevese rebelled against their lord, who in that year had seized the temporal rights of the see. Freiburg and Bern came to the assistance of Geneva after the patriotic Berthelier had given his life for freedom, and in the Peace of St. Julien (1530) Geneva had almost won her battle. The city, therefore, seemed ripe for the coming of the reformer who could prove to the satisfaction of awakened natives that the new religion was the staunch ally of liberty. William Farel arrived in October of 1532, elated by missionary successes undertaken at the instance of Bern, which four years earlier had adopted the cause of reformation, but his visit was unwelcome and it was left to Antoine Fromment to make the first breach in the walls of the catholic city. The power of Bern, however, was persistently thrown on the side of the reformed preachers, and after two disputations had been staged in Geneva victory rested with them. In 1536 the citizens swore loyalty to the reformation, and Bern acknowledged their independence. It was a great year in their history, for it did not pass before Calvin was peremptorily called to his Genevan life-work by

Farel, who had recently succeeded in the city which had repudiated him. He was returning from a visit to the Duchess of Ferrara when he was waylaid by the impetuous preacher, and he who had a few months before finished his *Christianae Religionis Institutio*, a systematic account of the reformed faith, was set the fellow-task of systematizing a city's ecclesiastical polity and moral behaviour.

Calvin's Early Life.

Calvin's early training fitted him for his work. The son of a notary attached to the bishop and chapter of Noyon in Picardy, he was well educated at the Collège de la Marche and at the Collège de Montaigu in Paris. The influence of Cordier the humanist drew him to the study of letters, but in obedience to his father he turned to law and had the advantage of prosecuting his learning under eminent legalists of whom Alciati at Bourges was the chief. Calvin, however, gave up the profession which filial piety had demanded, and after his father's death returned to humanistic pursuits, the first-fruit of which was an edition of Seneca's *De Clementia*. But he was to be a humanist no more than a lawyer, for a spiritual experience (of which he wrote later in one of his commentaries) determined his profession. In 1533, when he was twenty-four years of age, he belonged to a small group of scholars in Paris who gave their allegiance to the new faith, and from that date he persisted in his criticism of the Catholic Church and his construction of a reformed Church which should be free from what he deemed the errors and iniquities of Rome. Geneva was the site of his experiment in ecclesiasticism, and there he reared a polity and devised a discipline that have since then rivalled those of the mother Church. For a time he had the help of Farel (whom Erasmus derisively named Phallicus) and the two played prominent parts in the reforming of Lausanne, but for the most of his time Calvin was the supreme champion of reformation in Geneva and the task absorbed all his energy. Except for a short respite (1538–41) he remained in the city until the end of his life

in 1564, and various as may be the verdicts of his critics there is no gainsaying the immense power which he wielded. John Knox thought that Geneva was the most perfect school of Christ since the days of the apostles, but Castellio, Bolsec, and Servetus had good reason to hold entirely different opinions. A theocracy ought to be the ideal civic constitution, but one man's theocracy is often another man's penitentiary.

The Genevan Reformation.

The stages in the accomplishment of Calvin's purpose of reformation are easily seen, and step by step they can be related to the principles already laid down in his *Institutes*. As early as 1537 a memorandum of the ministers of Geneva was presented to the Genevan council, and it is noticeable that emphasis was laid on the frequent, reverent, and reformed celebration of Holy Communion, on the "discipline of excommunication", on the singing by the congregation of the ancient psalms, on the catechetical instruction of the young, and on the regularizing of the marriage ceremony. The council gave a qualified approval to the memorandum and also to a *Confession de la Foi* prepared in the same year; but they rejected the weapon of excommunication from the reformed armoury, and for a period Calvin and Farel were banished from the city which they were moulding. Yet Geneva could not command peace and prosperity in their absence, and in 1541 a reluctant Calvin was recalled to his labours. During the second period (1541–64) the reformer was for the most part master of the situation. Immediately on his return he submitted to the civic authorities *Les Ordonnances ecclésiastiques de l'Église de Genève*, and with some modifications the new ecclesiastical constitution of the city was approved with acclamation. It was soon followed by a short treatise on the Lord's Supper, a catechism for the Church, and a book of prayers. The programme was complete; Geneva was to mend her ways. It is little wonder that Calvin could write in 1542 to a friend: *videbis me non leviter sudasse.*

The Calvinistic Polity.

Calvin, like the other reformers in the sixteenth century, believed that the cure for the present discontents was a return to the usages of the primitive Church, and also that it was an easy matter to reconstruct the organization of that early Church. The ordinances were his attempt to bridge the gap between the first and the sixteenth centuries. He believed that he had scriptural authority—and the Bible was the paramount standard for Calvin and, therefore, for Geneva—in declaring that Christ instituted four orders for the government of the Church, pastors, teachers, elders, and deacons. These, then, were to be the officers for the Genevan Church, and he had much to say about each class. The section on elders (*des anciens*) is important, for it was these men who, along with the six ministers, formed the consistory of Geneva, the body of censors who dealt with the morals of the citizens. It is probable that Calvin had to be content with a compromise on the matter of the election of elders, for in the *Institutes* he was careful to define and distinguish the spiritual and secular provinces. In the *Ordonnances*, however, the twelve elders were a committee of the three Genevan councils and their president was a civic magistrate —and not John Calvin. The consistory speedily began its work of morality, and from 1542 till 1564 it carried out its disciplinary projects to the confusion of some vice and many vicious. It was only in 1555 that the consistory gained the long-disputed right of excommunication, but it was always its practice to hand over to the civil magistrate the men and women for whom the Church's discipline had no terrors.

Calvinistic Intolerance.

That opened the way for persecution, and it is an irremovable blot upon Calvin and Calvinism that in order to make Geneva a city of saints the carnal weapons of banishment and execution were freely used. It is not sufficient to enlarge upon the intolerance of the age, for the Protestant Church was

the child of a revolt against oppression and should have learned a more excellent way of life. The attempt to free Calvin from rebuke is no mark of grace, for despite the campaign he had to fight against his Genevan foes he was supreme in power for the last ten years of his career and from 1542 he was at least the strongest citizen. It is true that the mediæval rule of a city was often inquisitorial and often unduly harsh, but that must not be urged in defence of a reformer who set out to change the old order and bring in a new and better regime. John Calvin was a good man, but he saw only one fashion of goodness and only one way of attaining it. For him the ordinary man was a helpless creature, intellectually, morally, and theologically, and it was for his security and salvation that he should be firmly dealt with. Calvin was not responsible for the conciliar governance of Geneva, but he did nothing to make it more kindly and popular. He did not trust the people, and was himself inclined to an aristocratic rather than to a democratic order. It is noteworthy that the business for the General Assembly was first discussed in the Little Council, a body intimately connected with the consistory, and that the Genevan church was little more than the institution of an oligarchy of which John Calvin was the leader. He is a bold man who would say that civil liberty and democracy were prized by the reformer, for the sole liberty which Calvin approved was liberty to walk circumspectly in the paths of virtue and the sole democracy which he favoured was a disciplined populace willing to be led by its ecclesiastical officers.

Calvin the Theologian.

No religious leader and no religious polity have been more severely criticized than Calvin and Calvinism, yet the sharpest censures have failed to dislodge the one from his place amongst great men or the other from its vantage ground in Christendom. Calvin was a theologian more than a philosopher, but even in his theology he was not original, for he advanced no doctrine that had not its roots in the great

confessions of the Church. With him is always associated the tenet of predestination, but it was a logical conclusion of justification by faith alone, and indeed could be traced back through St. Augustine to St. Paul. Even in the form it took in the fourteenth chapter of the *Institutes* it was practically the doctrine which Martin Bucer had been preaching in Strassburg. But Calvin the Frenchman was logical and persistent, and he wove predestination into the innermost fabric of Reformed Church theology. The principle of his creed was the sovereignty of God who reigned in the heavens as never absolute monarch ruled in a world that had begun to be intrigued by divine rights of kingship. The difficulty was that Calvin's logic in a realm not always suited to logic hindered his breadth and happiness of vision. Sovereignty is not now the supreme category either in religion or in politics, but it was a mark of Calvin's genius that he built his theology upon a principle of royalty, the highest known to him and his contemporaries.

Holy Scripture.

Again, Calvin, like other reformers of his age, made Holy Scripture the standard of doctrine and life, but he went farther than Luther and made it the complete oracle of the Reformed Church. The Bible in its Old and New Testaments was the seat of an infallible authority. No polity, no rite, no ethical precept was proper if it could not find scriptural sanction. Calvinism, therefore, was apt to favour a legalism that could be justified by biblical texts rather than the spirit of a living gospel. Judaism was too often wrought into the substance of a Christianity that claimed to be free from oppression—in a measure, it crept into the place of a discarded scholasticism. Calvinism has but slowly emancipated itself from the thraldom of an ethical creed which bristled with categorical imperatives and rigorous prohibitions. No great Church can afford to dispense with discipline of its members; but unless discipline is well conceived it may easily breed sullenness in the disciple and complacency

in the master, and the history of some Calvinistic churches can show examples of these evils.

Calvinism and Economics.

Some ingenious critics have advanced the opinion that Calvinism and capitalism are intimately connected, and a few of them have boldly stated that capitalism sprang out of the Reformed Church. In modern times the historical relation between religion and economics has been often discussed; but it is seldom that the matter has been treated by a writer equally expert in the respective spheres of economic and ecclesiastical history, and the consequence has been that the discussion has not been free from the vagaries of propaganda. It can be safely said, however, that John Calvin was not primarily interested in economics or even in political philosophy, for his master interest was the religion of his fellow-men. But his ethical regime in Geneva, like that of his followers in other centres, bred men who believed in common honesty, in the avoidance of gross pleasures, in the sacredness of family life, in the duty of providing for their dependents, and in the blessings of respectability—men, in fact, who were almost bound to succeed in material prosperity, because of their spiritual attitude towards it. Consequently, many Calvinists were admirably equipped by the habits of thrift, diligence, and uprightness for taking part in commerce and manufacture. The French Huguenots, the Dutch merchants, and the Scottish burghers were famed for their industry and enterprise. Amongst them, therefore, capitalism throve. But that economic system had been in existence long before John Calvin was born and longer before his disciples in progressive countries made prosperous use of it. In truth, the Reformed Church accepted the economic system of the time and believed that in so doing Christianity was not imperilled; but no Church nor institution was more forward in castigation of any abuses that arose from the system. The indictment against Calvinism must not be wantonly enlarged.

Merits and Defect

John Calvin might have accomplished more for the world had he tried to accomplish less, but he feared for the ark of God and would have steadied it in the march. He was not of those who believe the best of their fellows, and if he made other men sorrowful he himself had little joy. But when every just criticism has been uttered, there remains much in Calvinism to win the approval of the impartial. His theory of the Church, visible and invisible, has inspired the lives of many Christians; his conception of the state has called forth the zeal of the patriot and the generosity of the philanthropist; his encouragement of education has set an example to humanist and benefactor; his fearlessness in face of adversity rallied patriots far beyond Geneva in their fight for freedom of worship; his belief in an omnipotent God gave new hope to the weak and made strong the resolutions of the militant.

France.

In France the reformation of religion was beset by difficulties, and it was long before Calvinism gained a footing. Early in the sixteenth century a small group of humanists gave promise that their country would take its share in awakening the Church to a sense of its dignity and ministry. Lefèvre of Étaples, indeed, had rediscovered the doctrine of justification by faith alone and the authority of the Bible before Martin Luther caught the imagination of Europe, and in 1521 he began the task of translating Holy Scripture. With him there were like-minded scholars, Briçonnet, the Bishop of Meaux, Roussel the mystic, Farel the fiery preacher, Vatable the hebraist, and Louis de Berquin, noble alike in birth and learning; and they sought to purify the Church from within. For a time it seemed likely that the circle of Christian humanists would not only be extended but have an extensive influence. Erasmians, such as Budé, lent support, and even men like Clement Marot, court poet and

translator of the psalms, and Rabelais the inimitable satirist (whom Calvin would fain have counted on his side) went some length in the new paths. Most of all, the French king by the Concordat of 1516 was master of the Gallican Church, and through his sister, Margaret of Angoulême, he appeared to be well disposed towards the group of reformers at Meaux. Lutheran doctrine reached France by means of Froben's printing press, and although it alienated many of the humanists it spread rapidly amongst the middle classes of the people.

Failure of Reform Movement

But traditions and political circumstance severely checked the movement. Margaret was not sufficiently moved by the power of religion—she could write the *Heptameron* as gladly as *The Mirror of the Sinful Soul*—to be a present help in time of trouble for the new preachers and scholars; Francis I had to take to the battlefield against his rival Charles V, and left his kingdom in the charge of his mother, Louise of Savoy, whose spiritual adviser was Cardinal Duprat, the foe of all heretics; the French defeat and capture at Pavia meant that Francis's future policy lay in alliance with the Papacy; his release was obtained on condition of his opposition to Lutheran heresy; and, last of all, the Sorbonne and the Parlement of Paris, the two main props of the French monarchy, were from the first antagonistic to all reform of the Church. Accordingly, France set its face against the reformation. In 1523 repression began, and ten years later the inaugural address of Nicholas Cop, the rector of the university of Paris, not only showed the hold which Luther's doctrines had taken upon some of the learned, but the power of the royal court to suppress them. John Calvin was implicated in the academic oratory and had to flee with his friend from Paris. In the end of 1533 Francis I wrote firmly to the Parlement about "*cette maudicte secte hérétique Luthérienne pullule*" and demanded severe measures of suppression. The burning of heretics became the fashion of the day. When Henry II succeeded his father in 1547 it was Calvinism

rather than Lutheranism which formed the religious opposition to orthodoxy, for John Calvin the Frenchman knew the genius of his race. The *Chambre Ardente* was the royal reply to the *Institutes*, and in little more than two years that court of persecution issued five hundred sentences the severity and cruelty of which amazed an age well inured to suffering. The Edict of Châteaubriant (1551) and the Edict of Compiègne (1557) completed the programme of repression.

—And of Persecution.

But persecution has seldom checked religious zeal. More often it has fanned it into flame. Men and women who knew how the Waldenses had been slain and whose children were to see how Catherine de' Medici could deal with Huguenots on the Eve of St. Bartholomew, were welded into unity of religious purpose. In 1555 the first congregation of reformed folk was organized in Paris, and in four years other seventy-one were spread throughout the country. Not only were there many artisans and members of the middle class amongst the ranks but many of high place and noble birth had joined them. Antony of Bourbon, husband of Jeanne d'Albret and father of Henry of Navarre, Louis the Prince of Condé, and Gaspard de Coligny were attached to the new faith. John Calvin at Geneva sent pastors for several of these congregations, and by encouragement, advice, and treatise strengthened a struggling Church. The first Protestant synod was held at Paris in 1559, and a confession of faith (*Confessio Gallicana*) prepared by Calvin's pupil, Antoine de la Roche Chandieu, as well as a document displaying the polity of the new Church (*Discipline ecclésiastique*) were approved. Some toleration was granted by the Edict of St. Germain (1562), and the Huguenots' organization proved that Calvinism could be the creed of more than a city. The ecclesiastical history of Scotland was to prove that it could be the faith of a nation.

Expansion of the Reformation.

The sixteenth-century reformation was not confined to continental Europe, and two countries outwith its bounds deserve some attention in any sketch of the ecclesiastical revolt—England and Scotland. It is true that the story of the Netherlands has many pages which tell of enterprise, fidelity, and persecution in the achievement of freedom in Church and State from the days of Henry Voes and John Esch who suffered for their faith in 1523; but the stirring times of Alva and his " Council of Blood ", of William de la Marck and the " Sea Beggars ", of William the Silent and the United Provinces, were towards the end of the century when the first wave of the reformation had already passed over Christendom. There is no necessity for an elaborate narrative of the stages of ecclesiastical reform in Britain, but it is remarkable that the religious movements in England and Scotland had characteristics that sharply contrasted them, and that these are only intelligible to the student who can appreciate the tradition and genius of the respective countries. The task of estimation, far from easy in either case, has been made more difficult by glib and clever generalizations perpetrated too often by even reputable historians. The English reformation is as little explained by the infatuation of Henry VIII for Anne Boleyn as the Scottish reformation by John Knox's antipathy to Mary Queen of Scots. Great events have seldom inadequate causes.

England before the Reformation.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century there was no clamant desire in England for a rude break with Rome, but the papacy was not popular. Many Englishmen had lost their reverence for the pope and were actively pursuing their ordinary tasks and pleasures without much regard or fear for papal censures and interference. They remembered that Avignon and the great schism had impaired the majesty of the Vicar of Christ; and that the head of the Church had

often to rely upon Spain or France for the maintenance of his exalted position. Around them they noticed unmistakable signs that the Catholic Church had suffered a loss of its spiritual power and that the mendicant orders, which had once been justly renowned for their zeal and efficacy, had fallen from their high estate. And the time was not yet come when the Society of Jesus could re-establish a faith that had been shaken. In the meantime, their interests were quickened and enlarged by the consciousness that England was not only a nation but a greater nation than they had imagined, and Englishmen were proud of a national literature that was arising to give voice to their thoughts and reality to their ambitions. The world, for them, was growing quickly and alluringly, and in its new complexities the religious interest lost some of its dominance. The theories and first principles of religious philosophy that were now being wafted in the air from the continent did not for a time greatly move men who were more practical than metaphysical in their outlook on life. Even when they did pause to examine such abstract matters, the more cultured of them remembered that England's record was not one of subservience to alien powers, and that even in regard to the papacy their sovereigns had held their own—Henry I had made sure that the temporal possessions of the clergy would have the imprimatur of the Crown upon them; Henry II had forced the clergy under the ordinary law of the land; Edward I had placed them within the parliamentary system; and other monarchs had tenaciously practised these patriotic privileges. In 1509 most Englishmen were proud of their new king, their strong, confident, cultured sovereign, and were well content to leave the prestige and policy of England in his capable hands. There was room for reformation, of course, for the papacy had been aggressive and too many of the English clergy were not worthy of their profession, but their monarch was independent and fearless, and if strong measures were needed he would surely take them.

The Scottish Contrast.

But in Scotland the state of affairs was far different. That country emerged slowly and belatedly from its mediæval age, and it was not only backward but poverty-stricken, factious, and ill-governed. Monarchy was neither strong nor in high repute. As kings there had been many Jameses but no James who could lead his people to prosperity and peace. George Buchanan is not always a trustworthy writer, but he had good reasons for his opinion regarding the " divine right " of Scottish sovereigns. In any case, Scotland's plight was sadly proved by her succession of " infant kings and contested regencies ". In the beginning of the sixteenth century she had not a Henry VIII, but a James who in a few years was to be slain on Flodden field with the flower of his nobility. Scottish institutions were rudimentary and unrepresentative, for parliament was little more than a feudal oligarchy, composed of lords, prelates, and some representatives of boroughs, who met in one chamber and whose work was done by a small committee. The country, too, was distracted by factions, for not the least reason of her powerless monarchy was the strength of her powerful families. James II had destroyed the Douglases, but others had quickly filled the gap, and the rivalry of Lowland lords was matched in the Highlands by the age-long quarrels of warring clansmen. Scotland was not a nation as England was, and it is notable that the first real step on the way to Scottish nationality was taken when the country gave up its alliance with France and ranged itself on the side of the Reformation. In lowland Scotland, it is too much to say in all Scotland, religion was a nation-building principle in the sixteenth century. Far more than in England, or in any other country of Christendom, there was need of a reformation in Scotland. William Dunbar and Gavin Douglas were churchmen and mediævalists, but they were severe in their criticisms of the clergy of their day whom they rated scornfully for their simony and immorality. But they were outdone by another man of

letters, Sir David Lyndsay, who in his *Dreme* pictured prelates, abbots, and friars groaning in an inferno for their earthly avarice and lust. There is no need to go to the writings of John Knox (who always found it hard and sometimes impossible to write dispassionately) to find evidence against the mediæval Church on the eve of reformation, for Acts of Parliament, the Statutes of the Scottish Church, royal expostulation, prelatic exhortation, and contemporary secular literature unite in denunciation. Naturally there were many who were grieved, as was Ninian Winzet, at the pitiful state of the Church, and the work of the Reformed Church was carried on by many who left Dominican and Franciscan friaries or Augustinian foundations. But it is undoubted that the Church owned more than the third of the kingdom's resources, without the justification of an honest spiritual return, that it hindered the expansion of trade, that it cared little for the worker, that it was unable to educate the people, and that it gave too seldom an exhibition of ordinary piety. Benefices were openly held by laymen, often by sons of a nobility who greedily despoiled the patrimony of the Church, and in many places the spiritual needs of the people were set far behind the temporal ambitions of the worldly-minded. In England there were revolts of the loyal against the high-handed " reforming " policy of a Tudor monarch; in Scotland there could be no revolt on the plea of religion, for the Church had lost its power to command the devotion of the people. In England, therefore, the reformation issued in the compromise of an Elizabethan Anglicanism; in Scotland the reformation ended in Calvinism, the most uncompromising opponent of mediæval Catholicism. Revolt could go no farther.

Henry VIII and Reformation.

Henry VIII, whom Holbein has immortalized in our imagination, was in many ways an epitome of the Renaissance era. Self-willed, restless, passionate, he was clear-sighted, shrewd, and strong. No man could manipulate men and

events to his purposes better than the Tudor sovereign, and he had the art of popularity with the middle and lower classes of the country. He was served by ministers of state who placed amazing talents of business and diplomacy at his service, yet he was not only ungrateful but cruelly merciless in his response to their subservience. The needs of the nation were his opportunity, and he took full advantage of his fortune in reigning whilst England demanded a strong monarch. Autocrat as he was he could almost convince his subjects that what he did was necessary and was done with the precision of legality. Englishmen loved parliamentary government and Henry VIII showed them what a parliament could achieve, when it was royally treated. The " Reformation Parliament " during the years 1529–36 broke the link between England and Rome, reformed some minor ecclesiastical abuses, humiliated the clergy and curtailed the liberty of the laity, exalted the power of the Crown, made the sovereign " supreme head " of the Church, approved the abolition of monasteries—made Henry VIII dictator in Church and State.

The Political Context.

The immediate occasion of such drastic accomplishment was the personal matter of the king's desire to be rid of Queen Katharine, and the decisive year was 1529, when Pope Clement VII, who had Charles V and Martin Luther to consider, felt himself unable to grant the desired divorce. But the occasion must be placed in some historical perspective. The mooted divorce was not popular in England, for to the end Katharine retained the bulk of English sympathy; Henry VIII had no armed force to overawe unwilling subjects; and there was a limit to the good-natured tolerance of Englishmen, even in Tudor days. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that Henry had behind him the support of a majority of his countrymen, and easy to hazard the opinion that the king, who had begun a selfish policy of mastery over conventions, secular and ecclesiastical, was intrigued by his own daring and went to a length of arrogance he had not contem-

plated. The English king, the " growling lion " in Luther's phrase, had tasted blood and was hardly satiable. The reformation was summed up in the Act of Supremacy (1534), which declared Henry VIII to be the supreme head of the Church of England and ignored the proviso which Convocation had once added regarding the allowance of the law of Christ. Henry paid little heed to human or divine allowances. The " Maid of Kent " and the " pilgrimage of grace " were proofs that some parts of the royal policy were unpopular in various districts of England, but there is not much evidence to show that Henry's ecclesiastical headship was widely resented. Sir Thomas More was one of few who dared to make a stand against the tyrant, and his daring cost him his life. The dissolution of the monasteries, smaller and greater, was a blot on the fair fame of Crown and parliament, but the reforming son of Henry VII needed money, and the monasteries had few friends.

The Character of the Reformation.

There was no change of doctrine during his reign. The Ten Articles (1536) and the Six Articles (1539) conclusively showed that what England desired was freedom from Rome rather than freedom from Romish doctrine. Her king had absolute power over all ecclesiastical concerns, was the final court of appeal, had the appointing of archbishops and bishops in his own hands, was the recipient of revenues that previously had gone to Rome—and he was still the " defender of the faith ".

The reformation in England during the reign of Henry VIII was an anomaly. His ministers of State were students of Machiavelli, had learned their lesson, and were the instruments of their Prince who used and discarded them with frank brutality. By their means he had become absolute in power, and absolutism meant more to him than did religion His ways were tortuous. From 1531 till 1536 he coquetted with Protestantism, from 1536–40 he reacted against it; and from 1540–7 he was so much a politician that he could hold

the balances. It is little wonder that Henry's children and successors could claim that each was carrying out the wishes of the wondrous parent. Edward VI was the Protestant of the three; Mary was the Catholic; and Elizabeth, ablest of all, was the Anglican. She had a hard task, but she and her archbishops accomplished it. Parker was an able politician, a champion of Anne Boleyn, and a favourite of Cranmer; Grindal was almost a Puritan and did not hide his sympathies; and Whitgift, the defender of Anglicanism from Catholicism on the one side and from Puritanism on the other, was the embodiment of his age. The Church of England was never reformed after the pattern of Geneva or even of Wittenberg, and the failure of Cartwright's propaganda must always be instructive to the Scottish or continental critic; but, just as surely, the Church of England did break away from Rome, and in the eyes of the Catholic Church is a heretical communion. Anglicanism has gone its own way, persisting in claiming its part in catholic Christianity and upholding its right to represent the spiritual genius of a people who have never feared compromise and have never been obsessed by the metaphysics of theology.

The Scottish Reformation.

The stages of the Scottish reformation need not be related in detail. The movement was begun and carried on in opposition to the rulers of the kingdom, and can, therefore, be called without impropriety a popular revolt. Lutheranism had reached the country despite the efforts of the Church, the king, and the universities; and in 1528 Patrick Hamilton was burnt in St. Andrews for preaching the new doctrines which he had learned at Marburg. The time was not ripe, however, for a revolt against the authority of the mediæval Church, though many wondered why a young nobleman with royal blood in his veins could give his life for heresy. Wonder grew into reflection, and reflection into criticism. But for years criticism was not enough to cause revolution. The Church was the strongest estate in Scotland, for Flodden

had sorely weakened the barons, a party which was afterwards to play a decisive part in reformation; and the Church saw in a continued alliance with France the surest bulwark against the intrusion of the Tudors. Henry VIII of England had designs upon Scotland. His sister had married James IV and he hoped that the foundation of a dynastic union between England and Scotland would automatically follow. It seemed to Somerset and his master, some years later, that a marriage between Edward VI and James V's daughter Mary would be a providential blessing of Tudor policy; and Somerset, himself a protestant, tried every art of peace and war to strengthen an English party in the northern kingdom. Thus the ecclesiastical problem in Scotland in the first half of the sixteenth century was intimately bound up in the rivalry of two parties, a French party which claimed to be patriotic and loyal to the Catholic Church, and an English party which looked to England and to the reformation as the remedy for Scotland's distresses. Cardinal David Beaton was the leader of the Franco-Scottish section, and from the year 1539, when he succeeded his uncle as primate, until 1546, when he was cruelly slain in St. Andrews, he was the most powerful man in Scotland. George Wishart brought the reformed doctrine, which he had imbibed at Zürich, Basel, and Strassburg, into his native land, and was zealous in propagating Calvinism; but he fell into the clutches of Beaton and perished in the year 1546.

John Knox.

John Knox was the real creator of victorious Protestantism in Scotland. A man of upright character, of fearless disposition, of intolerant intensity in religion, he had the gifts of leadership, fiery eloquence, and indomitable resolution. He had served as a prisoner in the galleys of France and after his release had found a congenial asylum in Geneva, the Protestant Rome, before he returned to Scotland in 1559 on the invitation of the "Lords of the Congregation". These noblemen and gentry had subscribed a covenant, a

famous word in Scottish history, eighteen months earlier in which they pledged themselves to " forsaike and renunce the congregatioun of Sathan ", and they looked to John Knox to lead them to triumph. They did not look in vain. The reformer had many on his side, for some feared that Mary Queen of Scots, who in 1559 had become queen of France also, might make Scotland a mere appendage of a foreign kingdom, and others feared that she would destroy all hope of a reformation of the Church in their country. John Knox and his party received the help and pay of England, and in 1560 the Treaty of Edinburgh saved Scotland from both French and English. A national party stood out, accredited with political and ecclesiastical successes, and Knox saw to it that the party's inspiration came from Calvin and Geneva. In August of 1560 the Scottish parliament amid scenes of unexampled enthusiasm adopted a Confession of Faith drawn up chiefly by Knox (for its language betrayed its author), and a few days later abolished both papal jurisdiction and mass in Scotland. The First Book of Discipline sketched the polity of the Reformed Church, on lines that were claimed to be scriptural and were certainly Calvinistic, and gave considerable attention to education and discipline. The Book of Common Order, approved by the General Assembly in 1564, was the last of the trilogy.

The Scottish Reformation was carried out without bloodshed, and in the lowlands it was undoubtedly popular. Indeed, it seemed as if " church " and " nation " were but two names for one entity, and the reformers encouraged the belief. Knox had won his victory, and Scotland was pledged to protestantism. Andrew Melville, in a later day, guided protestantism into presbyterianism of the classic type, but the Stewart monarchy had to fall before the Scottish battle of ecclesiastical polities was finally won. Yet Calvinism did not emerge unscathed from the conflict, and in the end some of its rigidity and intolerance, some of its characteristic faith in theocracies, and perhaps some of its passionate intensity were left behind amongst the ruins of religious warfare.

Revival of the Papacy.

The thirty years which followed the Diet of Speyer (1529), when "protestantism" was added to the vocabulary of Christendom, were years of amazing progress in the disruption of the Western Church. A great part of Germany, almost the whole of Switzerland, considerable portions of Hungary and Poland, Scandinavia, Britain, declared against the Papacy. In France there was a body of reformers who might yet stir the Gallican Church into greater freedom, and even in Italy there were hostile critics of Rome. The Reformation seemed to be on the march to triumph. But the next thirty years witnessed an equally amazing reversal of ecclesiastical fortune. The Papacy not only checked the revolt (except in the United Provinces) but won back large territories for Catholicism. The counter-reformation fully matched the victories of the reformation. The story can be read in the pages of Ranke, Philippson, and Ludwig von Pastor, and it is as dramatic as it is illustrative of the ebb and flow of ecclesiastical movement.

The Secret of the Counter-reformation.

Wherein lay the secret of the undoubted Catholic successes? It is difficult to imagine that it was due to the wisdom and virility of the popes who followed Leo X. Adrian VI has been awarded praise for the new spirit he infused into the Papacy, and certainly he had an honesty of purpose and a sense of duty that set him above his fellows. But he ruled for less than two years, he incurred the suspicion and hatred of the Medicis, he was regarded as an alien, and his cardinals penned the ominous epitaph: "Here lies Adrian VI whose greatest calamity in life was that he was called upon to rule." Clement VII did not deserve even the faint praise of good intentions, for he had no settled policy and his French intrigues brought upon him the wrath and vengeance of Charles V. From the year 1527 the power of Spain gathered weight in Italy, and, indeed, it was Spanish influence which was the

prime agent in the Catholic rejuvenation. The pontificate of Paul III was the most important era in that movement, but able as was Paul III he was only indirectly responsible for the success of the Papacy. He promoted several ecclesiastics of high character, though a Contarini was offset by a David Beaton, and attempted some reforms, but his greatest service was in creating new agencies which accomplished what he failed to achieve. Of the other popes in the counter-reformation period Julius III and Marcellus II were negligible, the aged Paul IV was more vehement than practical, Pius IV was a genial diplomatist, and Pius V, strongest of all, was pitiless in his repression of the Huguenots and Dutch, as was natural in the pontiff who had the temerity to issue a bull of deposition against Queen Elizabeth of England. These popes, some of them good, some of them indifferent, were not sufficiently strong or wise to initiate, guide, and lead to triumph a counter-reformation. They were more mediocre than the pre-reformation pontiffs, but in its time of uncertainty and trial the Papacy needed mediocrity and respectability in the Vatican that the eyes of Christendom should be lifted from Rome and set upon the outposts of the battle-ground.

The Council of Trent.

The secret of the counter-reformation did not lie in the personality of the popes who ruled whilst it was in progress, and it must be looked for in the significance of the Council of Trent (1545–63), in the founding of the " Company of Jesus " (1540), in the establishment of the Roman Inquisition (1542), and of a resolute censorship of literature. The reformers in their challenge of abuses, doctrinal and moral, had been driven to a challenge of papal authority. The time for debate and submission had gone when it was seen that Lutheranism and Calvinism were firmly established, and the Church, if it was to survive an imposing onslaught, had to stop the breach in its walls. Obviously, the Church could only effect this when it had exhibited to Christendom a real

effort in the reform of its 'head and members'. The history of general councils was not inspiring, but Paul III found it impossible to delay the meeting of a synod, and in 1545 the Council of Trent was summoned to discuss Church doctrine and Church reform. In spite of the pope's wishes these were taken concurrently, but Paul III was successful in securing that the papal legates should control the business of the council and that voting should be not by nations or by proxies but by 'heads'. The consequence was, as Dr. Pastor points out, that the legates voted as they were directed and were not independent. It would be as inaccurate as it would be churlish to deny that the Council of Trent succeeded in effecting reforms. Catholic doctrine was once more affirmed, as was to be expected, but a large number of reforms were made, though most of them were of minor importance. But by far the most important result of the council was the victory won for papal predominance. The pope was henceforth superior to any council, and the reform decrees were to be interpreted by Rome. For years the bishops, Spanish, German, and French, had disputed heartily, but the legates had played upon political and patriotic rivalries so cleverly that the Papacy emerged from Trent stronger and more secure. There was to be no compromise with protestantism, and warfare was the order of the day.

The Company of Jesus.

The Company of Jesus, founded by Ignatius Loyola (1491–1556), received papal sanction in the bull *Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae* (1540). No more effective device for the strengthening of the Church could have been found. Loyola was a *miles Christi*, and Pascal's *Provincial Letters* must not blind us to the fact that Loyola was a great figure in a century of great men. A soldier crippled in his country's wars, he took into the Church the military categories of unquestioning obedience, desperate courage, and the will to victory. The *Spiritual Exercises* has rivalled the world's classics in its hold upon the imagination and enterprise of humanity.

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IGNATIUS LOYOLA

From the painting by Titian in the Spencer Collection

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Loyola and his comrades (Xavier was one of them) set out to conquer the world, and every encouragement was given to them and their society. The expansion of the Jesuits was swift and marvellous, and before Loyola died in 1556 there were Jesuits in almost every country of the world. Foreign missions were the sphere originally contemplated by the founder, and Francis Xavier with consuming zeal and masterful methods set out to compel eastern lands into the Catholic fold; but the society was so efficient that its labours were also directed to education and to war against the heretic. The methods of the Jesuits were militarist, and even in the sixteenth century they were not universally popular within the Church, but in storm tactics against protestant heresy they were certainly effective.

Inquisition.

The third cause of the success of the counter-reformation is to be found in the weapon of the Inquisition. In 1542 Cardinal Caraffa (afterwards Paul IV) succeeded in obtaining from Paul III the bull *Licet ab initio* which founded the Roman Inquisition. Loyola devised a world mission for the re-establishment of the Catholic Church; Caraffa placed his faith in a robust repression of the heretic. The Western Church never had scruples about the policy of coercion, and as far back as 1478 the Inquisition had been founded in Spain. It is not easy to write dispassionately on the methods which were used by inquisitors, Spanish or Roman, for their barbarity shocked an age that was used to suffering and intolerance. The secrecy that pervaded the tribunal, the inevitableness of conviction, the ingenuity of the tortures, have cast a blot of shame upon the record of the Church which sanctioned inhumanity. But the Inquisition had undoubted success in attaining its ends, for there is a limit to the endurance of man, even when he is a heretic.

Censorship in Literature.

The Catholic Church adopted a policy of censorship in literature for the faithful, which must be mentioned in any enumeration of counter-reformation methods; but protestantism and even national governments have from time to time pursued a like policy. The Council of Trent in 1562 not only gave its imprimatur to censorship but decreed that it should be more rigorously employed. The Tridentine Index had to be enlarged if it was to be effective, and Pope Pius V appointed a " congregation of the index " which has remained as a committee of the Church down to the present time. The questions involved in the *Areopagitica* need not now be discussed, but what is pertinent is the remark that whatever may have been the influence of the Index on the literature of the world it certainly made it more difficult for the loyal churchman to read books against which his Church had set its face.

The Power of the Papacy.

" Luther saved the Church in the sixteenth century by dividing it " are words that have been attributed to Père Hyacinthe, and there is some truth in the daring generalization. The reformation was a spur to the Western Church and was the indirect means of rehabilitation. After the ecclesiastical revolt of the sixteenth century the face of Christendom was changed. There were Lutheran, Zwinglian, Calvinistic churches, all of them reformed churches, but they do not complete the roll—the Catholic Church was also a reformed church. Had it not in some measure put its house in order, had it not quickened a loyalty that had almost died, had it not evolved a policy that took into consideration the meaning and movement of a new world, it could not have survived. It has been said that had the occupants of the papal see been equal to their office, the unity of the Church might have been preserved. But that is a generalization which is made up of a half-truth and a truism. The reformation

and the counter-reformation cannot be understood if they are regarded as escapades in the history of the Church.

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PART V

AFTER THE REFORMATION

CHAPTER I

The English Versions of the Bible

In any consideration of our modern conceptions of Christianity it is relevant to inquire into the nature of our knowledge of the documents from which our conceptions of it are derived. Is that knowledge direct? Is it complete? Is it accurate? Is there anything distorting in the medium through which we know them? The answer to the first question is, for most of us, obviously in the negative. The books which compose the Bible were written in Hebrew or Greek; and only a minority of Christians are acquainted with Greek, and a smaller minority with Hebrew. The large majority of Christians know the sacred books of their religion only through translations into their vernacular tongues. For us in England it is therefore pertinent to consider the character and value of the English translations of the Bible.

Such an inquiry is stimulated when we realize that we have at the present day two different translations competing for our attention—those which we know as the Authorized and the Revised Version respectively. The competition between these translations has led in the past to much heated controversy, which, as usual, has darkened wisdom. There is no occasion for heat; but the answer to the questions we have put will only emerge from a consideration of their history.

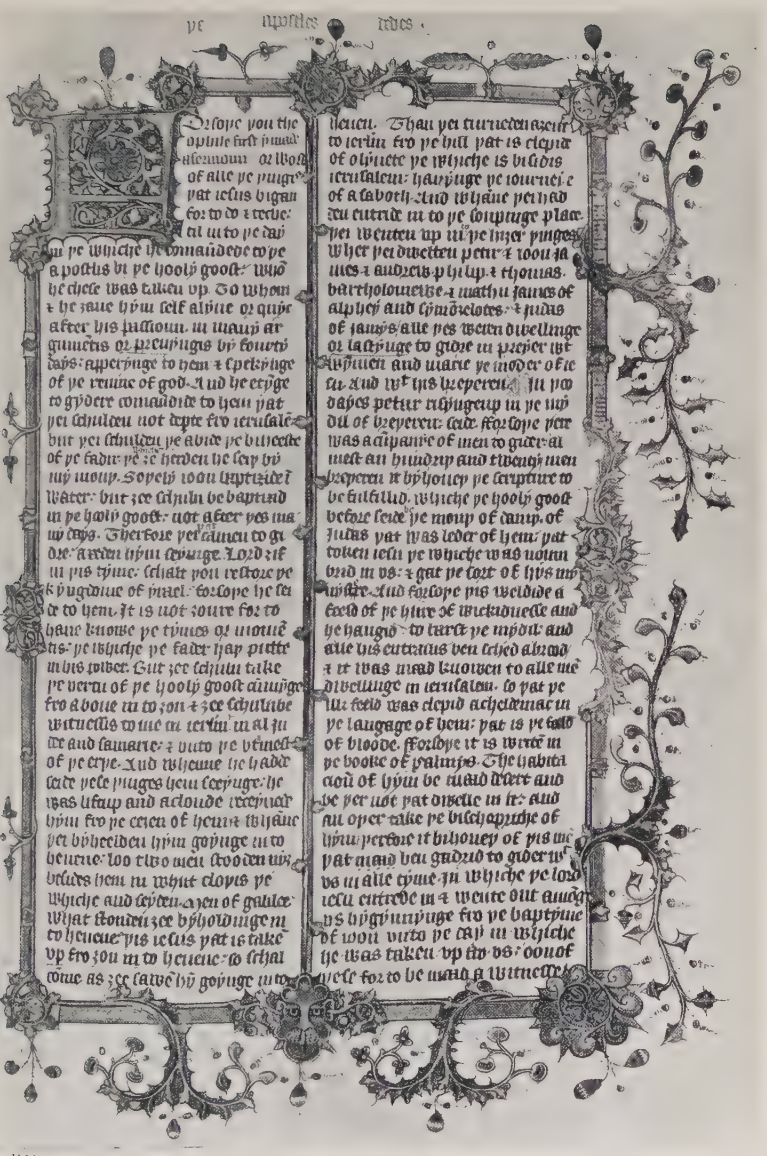
Three Periods of the English Bible.

The history of the English Bible falls into three periods of very uneven length. There is first the period from the introduction of Christianity into Saxon England to the eve

of the Reformation, say from 600 to 1500, during the whole of which period the Scriptures, so far as they were known at all, were known in hand-written copies (manuscripts). The second period is that from about 1500 to 1611, which opens with the events leading up to the production of Tyndale's printed New Testament in 1525, and ends with the publication of King James's Bible (the Authorized Version) in 1611. The third is the period from 1611 to the publication of the Revised Version, of which the New Testament was given to the world in 1881 and the Old Testament in 1885. The last forty years is the period that has been at our disposal to estimate the work of the Victorian Revisers.

First Period: 600–1500.

The first period, long though it is, can for our present purpose be summarized very briefly. The official Bible throughout the whole period was the Latin Vulgate. Partial renderings into English are recorded from the seventh century; but no complete English Bible existed until near the end of the fourteenth. The outstanding points between the conversion of England and the Norman Conquest are the metrical paraphrases attributed to Caedmon (late seventh century, though the exact date of the surviving representative of them is uncertain); Bede's translation of *St. John*, and Alfred's of the *Psalms*, which have not come down to us; interlinear word-for-word glosses of the Latin text of the *Gospels* and the *Psalms*, of which the earliest are those inserted in the Canterbury Psalter (Cotton MS. Vesp. A.I., ninth century) and the Lindisfarne Gospels (tenth century); a translation of the Gospels, made in Wessex about the year 1000, and a paraphrase of the historical books of the Old Testament by Ælfric, Abbot of Eynsham, about the same date. Then comes the Conquest, imposing a check on all English literature, which lasts until the revival of national spirit in the fourteenth century. With this came a renewed demand for an acquaintance with the Scriptures in the native tongue; but the books most in request were, curiously enough, the *Psalms* and the *Apocalypse*.



REDUCED FACSIMILE OF A PAGE OF WYCLIF'S BIBLE

From the original in the British Museum

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Wyclif.

A verse-by-verse translation of the Psalter, by Richard Rolle of Hampole, was extremely popular; a French version of the *Apocalypse* made its appearance in English; and towards the end of the century we reach the Lollard controversy, which gave birth to the first complete English Bible, that of Wyclif. Of this it is sufficient to recall (1) that it was produced avowedly as part of the movement of protest against the Church of Rome; (2) that it was translated from the Latin, without reference to the original tongues; (3) that it had no influence, except possibly by the stimulus of its example, on the eventual Bible of England. The first edition of it appeared between the years 1380 and 1384, during Wyclif's life and under his inspiration, but whether any part of the actual translation was executed by him is uncertain. All that is known is that the greater part of the Old Testament was the work of one of his principal supporters, Nicholas Hereford. Shortly after Wyclif's death (1384) a revised edition was produced by one of his followers, who on circumstantial evidence has been identified with John Purvey. This seems to have circulated in large numbers and many copies are still extant; but, as the Lollard controversy died down during the fifteenth century, the Wycliffite Bible fell into the background, and when the Reformation controversy began, the work had to be done over again.

Wyclif's Bible, though a great historical event, and a creditable performance for its age, laboured under several disadvantages which disqualified it for a prolonged life. It was translated from the Latin, not from the original tongues; the English language was still in process of formation, and was not yet a first-rate vehicle of prose literature; the translation aimed at literalness, with little reference to English style; while the fact that copies could still only be produced by hand limited its circulation.

Second Period: 1500–1611.

All these disadvantages have disappeared when we reach

the second of our three periods, which begins with William Tyndale (*c.* 1490–1536).

Tyndale.

Tyndale had, while at Oxford (where he graduated in 1512), definitely associated himself with the party of opposition to Rome; and like Wyclif he saw that an English translation of the Bible, widely circulated among the common people, would be a powerful weapon in the controversy. He had studied both Greek and Hebrew; and by 1520 at latest he had dedicated himself to this task. Failing to find the help he looked for from Bishop Tunstall of London, he left England in 1524, and completed the first stage of his work at Hamburg. His New Testament was printed in 1525, partly at Cologne and partly at Worms, and late in that year or early in the next copies began to reach England.

Tyndale's New Testament, the work of an avowed disciple of Luther, was bitterly opposed by the leaders of the Church, and a great part of the first edition was bought up and destroyed by the Bishop of London; but the fire was now kindled, and there was no suppressing it. Other editions appeared in 1534, 1535, and 1536; the Pentateuch, likewise translated by him, was printed in 1530, the *Book of Jonah* in 1531; and when he died the death of a martyr in 1536, he left behind him a translation of the historical books of the Old Testament, from *Joshua* to *2 Chronicles*, subsequently printed in the Bible which passes under the name of Thomas Matthew.

Tyndale's Bible, though incomplete, is one of the greatest landmarks in the history both of English religion and of English literature. As indicated above, it was free from the defects which hampered Wyclif's enterprise. It was printed, and therefore could be multiplied indefinitely; it was translated direct from the original Hebrew and Greek, and therefore was more authentic; it was the work of a master of the English language who by his genius set a stamp upon that language which has never been obliterated. Though many revisions intervened between Tyndale and the Authorized Version, Tyndale's style and a very large

part of Tyndale's language persisted through the whole process.[1]

From 1535 to 1611.

The period which begins with 1535 and ends in 1611 is a story of successive revisions of the work of Tyndale. It is only possible to enumerate briefly its principal stages. In 1535 Miles Coverdale, Tyndale's disciple, produced the first complete English Bible, the second edition of which, in 1537, was " set forth with the Kinges most gracious licence ". Matthew's Bible, in the same year, was patronized by Cranmer and Cromwell; and in 1539, under the same authority, Coverdale produced the Great Bible, which was officially ordered to be set up in every parish church. Seven editions of it between 1539 and 1541 established the English Bible so firmly in the affections of the people that it could never again be shaken. During the Marian reaction the English refugees in Geneva produced a revision, with Puritan annotations, of the New Testament in 1557 and of the whole Bible in 1560. This Bible was the first to be published in a handy form, suitable to private ownership and use; it was also the first to be printed in Roman type and to be divided into verses. Until superseded by the Authorized Version it continued to be the Bible of the people; while for official purposes the Bishops' Bible (1568) replaced the Great Bible. A Roman Catholic version (New Testament at Rheims, 1582, Old Testament at Douai, 1609) had small success, though some use of it was made by the company of translators appointed by King James, as a result of the Hampton Court Conference of 1604, to whom we owe the climax of this period of Bible translation, the Authorized Version of 1611.

The Authorized Version.

On the merits of the Authorized Version it would be superfluous to dwell, or upon its unique and unbounded influence upon English language, English literature, and English religion.

[1] An interesting demonstration of this will be found in *The Beginning of the New Testament translated by William Tyndale*, 1525, by A. W. Pollard (Oxford, 1926), with a facsimile of the unique fragment of the uncompleted Cologne edition

It closed, finally and absolutely, nearly ninety years of refinement on the work of Tyndale. It made the Bible the treasured possession of the English people. What is relevant to our present purpose is to consider how this version, so firmly rooted and so deeply loved, has come within our own day to have its position challenged.

Third Period: 1611–1885, Authorized to Revised.

Briefly the causes which, after an interval of more than two and a half centuries, led to the production of a new English version were, in the case of the Old Testament, the advance of Hebrew scholarship, and in the case of the New Testament the increase of our knowledge of the original Greek text. As is explained in another chapter, the manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible are so uniform that the texts used by scholars to-day are substantially identical with those which lay before the translators of 1611; but our knowledge of Hebrew has greatly advanced during the interval, and many passages which are obscure or mistranslated in the Authorized Version are far better represented in the Revised. On this point there is little controversy, and the Revised Version of the Old Testament has in fact provoked little criticism. Partly this is to be accounted for on the ground that the Old Testament is less intimately familiar to the reader than the Gospels, so that there is less sense of revolt against the alteration of well-known passages; but it is more due to the fact that the Old Testament Revisers were able, without any sacrifice of their scholarship, to be more conservative than their New Testament colleagues felt themselves able to be. Where changes have been made, the gain to interpretation is generally so clear as to justify itself; and if the Old Testament stood by itself, it is likely that the Revised Version would have been accepted without serious difficulty.

The Greek Text of the New Testament.

With the New Testament the position is quite different; for the advance of scholarship has proved beyond a doubt

that the Greek texts used by King James's translators were very defective. The standard edition then available was that printed by Robert Estienne in 1550; and this in turn rested in the main on the editions of Erasmus in 1516 (in which the Greek New Testament made its first appearance in print) and 1527. Now Erasmus's first edition was based on the manuscripts which happened to lie ready to his hand at Basle. These were few in number and late in date, the manuscript mainly used for the Gospels being only of the fifteenth century. In his last revision (in 1527) he introduced a few readings from other manuscripts and from the Complutensian edition of Ximenes (1522); and Estienne made use of some fifteen other manuscripts which were available for him at Paris; but substantially it is true that the Greek texts accessible to all the English translators from 1525 to 1611 rested upon a few late manuscripts of no special quality. It was all that was possible at the time. The editors had neither the time nor the opportunity, even if they had recognized the need, to search out the earliest manuscripts and to investigate their character.

Accumulation of New Evidence.

This was the work of the next two centuries and a half. Curiously enough, the first impulse to research was given only sixteen years after the appearance of the Authorized Version, when the Patriarch of Constantinople, Cyril Lucar, presented the Codex Alexandrinus to Charles I. From this time we can date the zeal of Biblical scholars for the accumulation of evidence. Commencing with Walton's Polyglot of 1657 (which contained the first collation of the Alexandrinus), a succession of editions followed throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, in which, while the text remained unchanged, the number of manuscripts recorded and collated increased in an ever-swelling stream. The climax may be said to have been reached by the discovery of the Codex Sinaiticus by Tischendorf in 1859, and the publication of the Codex Vaticanus (which had been lying in the Vatican Library since about 1480) in 1868. Not that the accession of fresh authorities,

and even of important authorities, ended even then, or has ended yet; but already by the middle of the nineteenth century, when the movement for a revision of the Authorized Version may be said to have commenced, scholars had before them, in place of the poor score of late Greek manuscripts and the printed Vulgate which lay before Estienne, hundreds of Greek manuscripts ranging from the fourth century downwards, together with Latin, Syriac, Coptic, and other ancient translations. The time had come when all this mass of evidence could be sifted and classified, and conclusions drawn as to its bearing on the true text of the New Testament.

The Revised Version.

It is not necessary (nor is there room) to review all the controversy which arose out of this process and raged round the Revised Version. The revision was put in hand in 1870; the New Testament appeared in 1881, the Old in 1885. The protagonists in the determination of the Greek text to be followed were Westcott and Hort, whose edition of the New Testament, published in 1881, was epoch-making in the history of the textual criticism of the Bible. Briefly, the conclusions put forward by them and now accepted by all scholars are as follows. The great mass of our manuscripts represent (with many varieties of detail) a recension of the text which probably had its origin in the region of Antioch in the fourth century, and which, having been adopted by the Church of Constantinople, became the standard text of the Greek world. Over against this there is a relatively small minority of divergent manuscripts, the texts of which can, however, be shown by the evidence of the earliest Christian writers to go back to an earlier date. Of the secondary character of the Byzantine text (which is that represented by the Authorized Version) doubt no longer exists. Critical discussion now centres on the character and comparative value of the small group of manuscripts and versions which preserve the earlier forms of text.[1]

[1] The results of a generation of criticism are magisterially summed up and carried forward to further conclusions in Canon Streeter's recent work, *The Four Gospels* (London, 1924).

Early Families of Text.

These authorities, being analysed, fall into groups which can be associated, with greater or less certainty, with localities which were the main centres of Christianity in the early centuries of the Church. (1) Most prominent and distinct of all is the *Egyptian* group, headed by the great Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus of the fourth century, the manuscripts known as L and T, the Coptic versions (especially the earliest, the Sahidic), and the quotations by Origen in his earlier works. Other manuscripts and Fathers show mixed texts, which cannot be discussed here. (2) Next comes the *Roman* group, represented by Codex Bezæ and the Washington manuscript (in St. Mark only), both of the fifth century, the Old Latin version, and certain Fathers, notably Cyprian and Irenæus. (3) Third is the *Antiochian* group, represented by the Old Syriac version, with some support from the later Syriac versions. (4) Recent criticism has made it probable that a local text associated with *Cæsarea* (where Origen lived in his later years, and where Pamphilus and Eusebius established a famous library) may be found in the manuscript known as Θ (theta) and a certain group of minuscules, and in the quotations in the later works of Origen.

Westcott and Hort pinned their faith to the Egyptian group, to which they gave the name of *Neutral*, as being in their opinion, particularly in Codex Vaticanus, a text which had suffered little corruption. The divergent readings of the Roman and Antiochian texts (which they grouped together under the title of *Western*) they regarded as generally errors due to free handling by copyists. The Cæsarean family had not then emerged into separate recognition. The Revised Version therefore, speaking quite broadly, represents a Greek text based upon a belief in the paramount excellence of the Egyptian group of authorities, and especially of the Codex Vaticanus. This contention has been to some extent mitigated by a fuller recognition of the fact that the readings of the other early groups deserve careful consideration and may not infre-

quently be authentic; but in the opinion of the present writer it still in the main holds the field. The texts of all these groups are old, and the readings attested by them certainly circulated in the early Church; but in the majority of cases internal evidence and the normal canons of textual criticism favour the Egyptian text. Nor is its superiority unnatural; for Alexandria was the home of Greek scholarship, and traditions of textual fidelity are likely to have been stronger there than elsewhere. This conclusion does not, however, preclude the possibility that the truth may occasionally be found elsewhere; and particular weight naturally attaches to readings which are attested by two or more of the rival groups against Egypt.

In the main, then, it must be recognized that the Revised Version of the New Testament (though, being the work of a committee, it does not represent a whole-hearted adoption of the views above summarized) is superior to the Authorized as a representation of the original Greek text of the sacred books. Where it fails is on the literary or linguistic side. The Victorian scholars were not the equals, as masters of language, of the Jacobeans, who inherited from their Tudor predecessors a marvellous command of the English tongue. Scholarly accuracy is apt to skirt perilously near the borders of pedantry, and fidelity to the word may be unfaithfulness to the spirit. This tendency was accentuated by the addiction of the generation to which the Revisers belonged to minute verbal criticism of Biblical texts. It was held that the same Greek word must always be represented by the same English word, lest false inferences should be drawn from the employment of different words. The Greek aorist tense must be represented by the 'past definite', although English idiom often favours the imperfect. Further, the rules of classical Greek were applied too strictly to the Greek of the New Testament, the nature of which was less well known than it has been since the discoveries of Greek papyri in Egypt have so immensely increased the material for the study of the 'common' Greek of the Hellenistic world.

These and similar criticisms have lent a substantial backing

to the opposition which the Revised Version inevitably incurred from the natural dislike of the alteration of familiar passages. Unfortunately the amount of change, whether due to a real difference in the text translated or to the punctilious employment of the same English to represent the same Greek in parallel passages, was very much greater in the Gospels, which are precisely the books most familiar to the ordinary reader, and in which change is most resented. The Revision has therefore laboured under a burden of unpopularity, much of which was unjust; and this has tended to obscure its great merits. In particular, many difficult passages in the Epistles are made clearer in the Revised Version; and no reader of the New Testament who cares to know its real contents and its real meaning can afford to ignore it. The Authorized Version remains an incomparable monument of English, and we trust it will never lose its hold on the English people until it is clear that the Revision has struck its roots equally deep. Even then it cannot wholly lose its value; for it has left an indelible mark on English language and literature, and, more than all, it made Great Britain a Bible-loving nation—a characteristic which, it is much to be hoped, will not be lost.

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CHAPTER II

Seventeenth-century Dissent: Jansenism and Puritanism

The Revival of Augustinianism.

In their origins Jansenism and Puritanism have much in common, for they both drew their inspiration from the Augustinianism revived by the sixteenth-century Reformation. They shared rigorist and ascetic elements, and they both narrowed the range of permissible aids to devotion. The best products of these movements show high seriousness and dislike of compromise: as zealous minorities opposed to powerful and aristocratic State churches, both types of nonconformity appealed most strongly to the middle classes, whom they educated in habits of intellectual independence and self-respect. Jansenist and Puritan were the most consistent exponents of the individualism latent in the Protestant Reformation: in their more degenerate forms both were distinguished by sanctimoniousness and the absence of a sense of humour.

Origins of Jansenism and Molinism.

In origin and early history Jansenism was academic. While studying at the University of Paris, a Dutchman, Cornelius Jansen (1585–1638), made the acquaintance of a Basque, Duvergier de Hauranne (1581–1643), better known as the Abbé de Saint Cyran. A common opposition to Jesuit practices and principles led the two students to discuss the project of a general reformation of Catholicism, which, they were led to believe, had

been corrupted by mediæval excrescences and must be restored to its apostolic simplicity and purity. Like Calvin and Luther before them, the two students found inspiration in the writings of St. Augustine, particularly in his writings on Grace, but unlike Luther and Calvin, neither student had any intention of creating schism, the aim of both being to reform and restore Catholicism from within. The problem facing them was even more complicated than that which had confronted the Protestant reformers, for in the meantime the Council of Trent had attempted a codification of doctrine, and a great religious order had come into existence—the Society of Jesus. On the one hand, while the Council of Trent could not at any time have repudiated the doctrines of St. Augustine, it had declared the problem of predestination to be an insoluble one, and so had adopted a non-committal attitude on the subject of an important deduction made by Lutherans and more especially by Calvinists from the Pauline and Augustinian theories of Grace. On the other hand, the Jesuits, convinced that they owed no special allegiance to Augustinian or Thomist doctrines, were prepared to go outside the accepted bounds in their search for the elements of a practicable and flexible moral theology. A Jesuit theologian Louis Molina (1535–1601) taught, in the Portuguese university of Evora, a theory of Grace according to which divine Grace was linked with human effort: the two worked inseparably together: hence the name Congruism. This view was ably maintained in Molina's *De liberi arbitrii cum gratiæ donis concordia* (1588), a book attacked by Catholic and Protestant alike, not because it introduced the element of freewill into religious aspiration but because, by insisting on the necessity for human co-operation with divine will in the process of salvation, it committed what to the sixteenth-century mentality was the most heinous possible offence, namely, it limited or appeared to limit the omnipotence of God in His dealings with humanity.

The doctrine of Congruism or Molinism was widely taught by the Jesuits: it was the direct antithesis of the theory of Grace preached by both Dominicans and Calvinists, and was

distasteful to all Catholic theologians not influenced by the Jesuits. Molinism was thus regarded as a form of neo-Pelagianism and very nearly incurred papal condemnation: the bull drawn up against it, however, was never promulgated because of the domestic misfortunes incurred by the Jesuits in the early years of the seventeenth century. Jansen and Duvergier de Hauranne were therefore concerned with a dualism which had been emphasized for the second time in one century of religious thought—the dualism between an exclusive Grace, working on the Elect independently of human volition, thus achieving its triumphant results independently of human resistance or back-slidings; and, on the other hand, a congruent or concurrent Grace acting in conjunction with human effort and dependent for its permanence on the constant renewal of that effort. In the one view, salvation when achieved is cataclysmic and complete: in the other it is a process wherein the recipient of Grace co-operates for the achievement of results that may afterwards be lost by negligence.

Saint Cyran and Port Royal.

The later careers of the two students were very different. Jansen returned to the Netherlands, where he became professor of theology at Louvain and afterwards Bishop of Ypres. Phlegmatic and conscientious, his interests were centred in academic questions of theology, and, though he kept up his correspondence with the more erratic Saint Cyran, he never thought of his views as other than strictly orthodox. To him, Christian doctrine was synonymous with the teaching of St. Augustine, on whose writings on Grace he compiled a laborious commentary, published two years after his death as the *Augustinus*. Saint Cyran was destined to a less placid career. He became abbé of Saint Cyran in Berry and incurred the hostility of Richelieu by his fervour, his independence, and his unremitting hostility to the Jesuits. When, in 1628, Angélique Arnauld transferred the head-quarters of Port Royal to Paris, he collaborated with her in the direction of that

Perillustris ac Reuerendiſſimus D.D. CORNELIVS IANSSENIVS
Epiſcopus Iprenſis et S. T. Doctor Louanienſis Regius Profeſſor. etc.

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CORNELIUS JANSEN

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convent and preached to the nuns a dismal predestinarian theology in which he advocated for the few and fortunate Elect an attitude of gloomy seclusion from a sinful and doomed world. His fiery, uncompromising personality gave force and conviction to his views; Port Royal thus became the centre of a revived Augustinianism by which Catholicism was to be purged and restored. In spite of the apparently negative element in his beliefs, St. Cyran was a great educator as well as theologian, for the ' little schools ' of Port Royal date from his chaplaincy in Angélique Arnauld's convent: it was as educators and moralists that the Jansenists were most permanently to influence France. Richelieu ordered Saint Cyran's imprisonment in 1638: the prisoner died shortly after his release in 1643. Saint Cyran's was the personality that transformed the depressing and academic doctrines of Jansen into a militant faith.

Arnauld and the Jesuits: the Five Propositions.

Jansen's book, published three years before (1640), had excited little comment, and though Saint Cyran had profoundly influenced the community of Port Royal, it might well have seemed that his death destroyed any possibility of the creation of a Jansenist sect. Moreover, by 1643 the Jesuits had recovered much of their lost power in France, where there were many converts for Molinism as well as for the casuist principles which some Jesuits were applying to questions of practical morality. But in 1643 there appeared a book which inaugurated a long and weary controversy, a controversy which served to bring into national prominence the distinctive doctrines which Saint Cyran had already infused into Port Royal. This was the *De la Fréquente Communion*, a book of disturbing interest to those Catholics who wished to make the best of both worlds, for it condemned the system current in some quarters whereby frequent communion was prescribed and practised as the best spiritual régime for eliminating frequent sin. Its author, Anthony Arnauld, was the brother of Angélique Arnauld and was the learned representative of a family which

had already distinguished itself by successful opposition to the Jesuits. Arnauld did not attack frequent communion (frequent communion was practised at Port Royal), but he insisted on a full realization of the solemnity of the sacrament and the necessity for complete spiritual purgation before its acceptance. The book touched the Jesuits on a vital point—their willingness to compromise and sometimes equivocate in matters concerning the spiritual welfare of their flocks; hence the book may be considered a plea for the more rigorist interpretation of the duties of the believing Catholic.

The Jesuits claimed that the *De la Fréquente Communion* was an attack on the Eucharist itself, a view not substantiated by an impartial reading of the book. When Arnauld renewed his campaign by publishing an *apologia* for Jansen, attention was directed to the fountain-head of the alleged heresy. The *Augustinus* now came to be the centre of controversy and, with the help of the Syndic of the Faculty of Theology in the Sorbonne (an ex-Jesuit), five propositions were extracted by the Jesuits from Jansen's book and declared heretical. The famous Five Propositions are as follows:

1. There are certain divine commandments which it is impossible for the Just to obey as they have not sufficient Grace.

2. In the state of fallen nature there can be no resistance to interior Grace.

3. For merit or demerit, after the Fall, it is not necessary for man to have interior liberty: it is enough that he be exempt from external constraint.

4. The semi-Pelagians admit the necessity of an interior and prevenient Grace, even for the first act of Grace, but they were heretical in their view that this Grace could be controlled by the human will.

5. It is a semi-Pelagian heresy to say that Christ died for all men without exception.

The elucidation of these propositions is complicated by the fact that two of them are criticisms of other doctrines,

in this case semi-Pelagian, that is Molinist, doctrines. The first proposition simply asserts that human perfectibility is impossible: the second and third are based on the view that the divine decrees with respect to Grace have for their object not man before the Fall, but after it, in this respect differing from Calvinism, according to which these decrees are anterior to the Fall: in other words, while Calvinism is Supralapsarian, Jansenism is Infralapsarian, and attaches even more importance than did Calvinism to the inevitable consequences of the original lapse from Grace. The fourth and fifth propositions are condemnations of Molinism: the fourth denies any human co-operation in the working of divine Grace, and the fifth, by implication, asserts the well-known doctrine propounded in the Lambeth Articles (1595) that " it is not in the will and power of every man to be saved ". Thus the Five Propositions attribute to God certain purposes directly consequent on the Fall: these purposes are carried out through Grace, and humanity is the passive material to which Grace is accorded or denied as God had foreordained since man's lapse into sin. In other words, the Five Propositions proclaim Predestination, but not so complete nor logical a system of Predestination as that which had been propounded by Calvin, because while the ' assurance ' of the Calvinist Elect is absolute and quite irrespective of Adam's transgression, the assurance of the Jansenist is more timid and precarious: it lacks the jubilation of the Calvinist and retains an element of fear; the saved must, as Pascal said, " conserver cette crainte qui modère notre joie ". If we judge the Jansenists by the Five Propositions alone, we can understand why they were termed " Calvinists who go to Mass ".

Pascal and the Five Propositions.

These doctrines were referred to the Vatican for examination and, after considerable delay, they were condemned by Pope Innocent X in a bull of May, 1653. Hence there came into existence in France a body of men and women united by their acceptance of a revived Augustinianism and branded by

their enemies the Jesuits as the heretical sect of the Jansenists.

It was Pascal who defined, on behalf of his friends of Port Royal, the sense in which they could repudiate responsibility for the Five Propositions. The Pope, he declared, was justified in condemning the Five Propositions as heretical, but was wrong in thinking that they had ever been enunciated by Jansen. This repudiation may have savoured of sophistry, but at least it prevented the Jansenists from taking up a separatist position. Pascal's attitude, however, makes it more difficult for the modern critic to determine how far the Five Propositions can be taken as the formulary of Jansenism, a difficulty intensified, in Pascal's case, by the fact that on his death-bed the great defender of Port Royal is said to have repudiated the Jansenist conceptions of Grace. On the whole it may be asserted, first, that the Five Propositions interpret rightly the main teachings of Jansen's book; second, the Jansenists denied them because in their naked form they seemed to savour of non-Catholic doctrine, notably of Calvinism; and, third, that in their practice of a rigorous and somehow timorous morality, in their insistence on an exclusive and very arbitrary doctrine of salvation, many Jansenists practised in their lives those very doctrines which, for the sake of avoiding schism, they considered themselves obliged to repudiate.

The Activities of Port Royal: a "cas de conscience".

The years immediately following the papal condemnation of the Five Propositions are years of fruitful literary and educational activity on the part of Port Royal and the Jansenists. There were at this time three Port Royals—the two religious communities, one in Paris, the other near Versailles, and an informal body of laymen, including Pascal, Antony Arnauld, de Tillemont, and Nicole, which, after 1636, met together for devotion and discussion in a house overlooking the valley of Port Royal. Pascal joined this last-mentioned community in 1655, the year when Arnauld was expelled from the Faculty of Theology in the Sorbonne on the ground of alleged heresies

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PASCAL

After the painting by Philippe de Champagne

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in two letters relating to the Five Propositions, an expulsion due to the activities of the Jesuits. The Jesuits had now completely discredited their opponents, but in his *Lettres Provinciales* Pascal appealed, as no one had ever before appealed, to the public opinion of France, and by his searching invective and withering sarcasm brought permanent discredit on the lax morality of the Jesuit casuists. But the success of Pascal's attack did not save Port Royal from persecution. Louis XIV, who began his reign in 1660, was by temperament hostile to anything savouring of heresy and resolved to maintain Catholicism in France undivided and undefiled. In 1661 Pope Alexander VII was induced to assent to a formulary for imposition on all ecclesiastics, religious orders, and teachers in France: this formulary condemned the " Five Propositions contained in the book of Jansen: these doctrines not being those of St. Augustine, whom Jansen misinterpreted ". The nuns of Port Royal were given the alternative of signing the formulary or returning to their homes. Meanwhile, in 1660, the schools of Port Royal had been closed, and the death of Angélique Arnauld in 1661 removed one of the inspirations of the movement. The so-called Peace of Clement IX (1669) allowed the nuns to sign ' sincerely ' instead of ' purely and simply ', and the immediate success of this compromise is a tribute to the importance of terminology in the Catholic life of seventeenth-century France. For a few years the Jansenists were at peace: a peace based on nothing more substantial than a verbal quibble.

The conferment of the archbishopric of Paris in 1695 on a prelate known to have Jansenist sympathies (Noailles) foreshadowed the end of this period of peace, for it encouraged the Jansenists to renew the old and barren controversy whether the Five Propositions were in Jansen's book or not. A definite step was taken when a *cas de conscience* was submitted to the archbishop: could a confessor absolve an ecclesiastic who condemned the Five Propositions but maintained ' respect and silence ' on the question of their attribution? This problem was definitely answered in the bull *Vineam Domini* (1705),

wherein Pope Clement XI condemned such 'respectful silence'. At this point the question how far Jansenism could be tolerated was complicated by the Gallican policy of Louis XIV: the king disliked heretics, but he had himself endorsed a policy which controlled the acceptance in France of papal bulls: to concur in papal condemnation of the Jansenists was to go back on those very principles which he himself had so clearly enunciated. This is probably the only problem which Louis XIV never succeeded in solving, though in the vacillations of his last years one can detect a preference for orthodoxy even at the expense of Gallicanism. The promulgation in 1713 of the bull *Unigenitus* condemning the *Réflexions morales sur le Nouveau Testament* of the Jansenist Quesnel precipitated a conflict of national importance which was not ended by Louis' death two years later. The Jansenists lost a leader by the desertion of Noailles in 1728, and thereafter the movement steadily declined, so that Jansenism survived as little more than a great tradition. The two communities of Port Royal had been dispersed by 1710.

Jansenism in Perspective.

Such, in very brief outline, is the external history of Jansenism in seventeenth-century France. The subject has long been familiar to English readers in the ample and fascinating pages of Sainte Beuve: its spirit can be fully appreciated in the writings of some of its greatest exponents, such as Pascal, Arnauld, and Nicole. To the fervid Protestant, the movement has always had much to commend it, because Jansenism was so sharply opposed to the methods and doctrine of the Society of Jesus, and seemed to revive some of the most characteristic elements of the Protestant Reformation. A more balanced view recognizes that while the Jansenists incarnated a high ideal, and did magnificent service as educators, they never possessed the sense of conviction and purpose which made Puritanism in England and America a great driving force; moreover, from the moment when they repudiated their own doctrines they forfeited whatever was consistent in

the teaching of Jansen and St. Cyran. At its best, Jansenism is not a particular theory of Grace but (as in Pascal) an actual experience of Grace: as expounded by lesser men, such as Arnauld, it is dogmatic and militant, practically synonymous with anti-Jesuit propaganda. At its worst, it is egotistic and querulous, pessimist as well as puritanical, condemning the world as necessarily sinful and doomed, and imposing even on the Elect an attitude of self-distrust and apprehension. These last characteristics can be found in Nicole and Quesnel. Generally, the Jansenists as anti-mystics applied to the analysis of religious emotions the ruthlessly intellectual methods of Descartes; indeed they are the moralist Cartesians of the seventeenth century, rejecting every presupposition that could not satisfy the intellect, anatomizing every aspiration in order that its earthly elements might be laid bare, and seeking for certitude in realms where others find only hope. These qualities may explain why Jansenism did not exercise a permanent influence on a Catholic and Latin race: the traditions of mysticism were too strong.

It may be added that the temporary importance of Jansenism can be explained by a local cause. There was opposition to the Jesuits in the early years of the seventeenth century, but there was also, among the more thoughtful Catholics, a dislike of the libertine and agnostic tendencies so clearly marked in France at that time. The cultured scepticism of Montaigne had many exponents, because the genius of Montaigne was essentially French, and his vein of amused tolerance could be appreciated by educated men tempted to cynicism by the religious excesses from which Europe was slowly emancipating herself. At the same time, there became popular in Paris a fashionable libertinism and epicureanism, resulting frequently in open avowal of atheism. These were the phases through which cultured society was passing in the first half of the seventeenth century: the teaching of St. Francis of Sales, Cardinal Berulle's Establishment of the Oratory, and the philanthropic activities of St. Vincent de Paul were each in turn counteracting forces. Then came Jansenism, with its

doubtful formulary, its foreign origins and superhuman ideals. The genius of Pascal conferred permanent distinction and honour on the movement: after his death, it resumed its dogmatic and militant character. It might conceivably have become the creed of a middle class, but outside of the lawyer families in Paris, there was no real middle class in France of the Ancien Régime, and Jansenism was too academic and 'difficult' ever to provide inspiration for any but a comparatively small minority.

Calvinism and the English Reformation.

The earliest manifestations of dissent within the post-Reformation English Church were pleas for the admission of one or other of those foreign influences which had struggled for supremacy in the Anglican experiments of Edward VI's reign, pleas based on the assumption that the English Church was one of the 'Reformed' churches. By 'Reformed' was meant the very definite disciplinary and doctrinal systems of the Swiss reformers as contrasted with the more loosely-defined Protestant Evangelicism of Luther: this distinction was carefully preserved in the sixteenth century but has since been obscured, as evidenced by the use of the formal but misleading phrase 'Reformed Protestant' to designate the modern Church of England. One of the first instances of the assertion of 'Reformed' elements in the Anglican settlement is to be found in the *Northampton Model*, published in 1571. A service was here prescribed which allowed for the use of the Prayer Book, but insisted on the importance of regular preaching and the use of Calvin's Catechism. This scheme provided also for a tribunal of discipline, composed of laymen and 'ministers', empowered at regular intervals to inflict penalties on offenders: there were also provisions for week-day 'lectures' and prayer meetings (stigmatized later as 'prophesyings'). The *Northampton Model* is thus a plea for the restoration and establishment of the Calvinist element in the English Reformation settlement. About this time also began the attempt of Archbishop Parker to eliminate all clergy who would not

accept the three vital things—the Prayer Book, the Thirty-nine Articles, and the Apparel: from the date of the enforcement of these requisites can be traced the steady divergence of the two separate strands in the English Reformation. Insistence by Parker on the necessity for a hierarchy (this against the ' Reformed ' view that all clergy are equal) and on the insufficiency of the Bible alone as an authority for discipline and ritual, served to give greater prominence and distinctiveness to the counter-propaganda waged by Thomas Cartwright, the Presbyterian professor of theology at Cambridge. The University of Cambridge retained its Calvinism as its official religion until at least 1595, when its authorities forced a recantation from a young Bachelor of Divinity named Barret, who was found guilty of preaching freedom of the will. This enforced recantation of views culled ' from the dung-hill of popery and pelagianism ' led to a revival of the vexed question of ' assurance ' in salvation: the fact that Barret should have incurred public censure for attacking this Calvinist conception and advocating in its stead a more liberal interpretation is a striking testimony to the deep-rooted Calvinism in the religious thought of many Elizabethan divines, both Puritan and Anglican. The Lambeth Articles which followed on this dispute appeared to consecrate the Calvinist theory of predestination, but by that year (1595) churchmen were beginning to divide on this question, and thereafter the unofficial Lambeth Articles were invoked only by parties anxious to emphasize the reformed or Calvinist element in Anglican doctrine.

The Independents.

The first plea for a church completely independent of the State came from Robert Browne, who, in his preaching at Cambridge, repudiated holy orders and proposed to substitute self-governing religious communities for the State church. These views were in direct opposition to those of Cartwright, whose Calvinism involved very definite institutional principles: Browne was thus introducing an entirely new element into the

controversy, and was disliked as much by Presbyterian as by Anglican. He had to take refuge in the Low Countries: his *Reformation without Tarrying for Any*, written at Middelburg, is a trumpet call for separation from an organized 'prelatic' church, and for adherence to the church as a spiritual, independent body.

Thus by the end of Elizabeth's reign there existed at least two distinct forms of dissent—namely, the Presbyterians, who worshipped after the Genevan model, and the Independents, who rejected the traditional conceptions of ecclesiastical authority and had kinship with neither the Reformed nor the Evangelical churches of the Reformation. The distinction between these two has since been obscured by the common persecution from which they suffered and by the joint enterprises on which, for a time, they embarked, but it is essential to distinguish them. Their one point in common was insistence on the Scriptures as the sole authority in matters of discipline and doctrine. The Presbyterians had more in common with the Anglicans, for these two shared at that time (though in different proportions) allegiance to the Calvinist theories of assurance and predestination, and both accepted the ideal of the uniform, intolerant church: moreover, the transition from Presbyterianism to Anglicanism was not an unnatural one, as witnessed in the career of James I of England. Charles I had this in common with at least one modern Anglican archbishop that he was baptized in a Presbyterian edifice. But neither Anglican nor Presbyterian had any sympathy with the Independents, who inherited something of the old Lollard antagonism to the earthly, arrogant church. It was from Independency, not Presbyterianism, that English Puritanism was to draw its strength, for Presbyterianism was foreign and autocratic, while Independency was the reincarnation of the traditional discontent of the 'small man' anxious for the solace of a personal and intimate faith, and repelled by the spectacle of a wealthy, secular-minded church. The Independent is the spiritual descendant of the Lollard and the ancestor of the Wesleyan and Congregationalist.

Scottish Presbyterianism and English Puritanism: Contact and Contrast.

In the early decades of the seventeenth century the Church of England moved swiftly and far from its Calvinist foster-mother: it was the work of Laud and the Arminians to reinstate the Catholic parentage. 'Arminian' became a conveniently vague word for designating any one of three different things, namely, a believer in free-will theology, or a 'ritualist', or a sycophantic prelate: equally, the word 'Puritan' or 'Sectary' came to connote all the multitudinous types of non-papist and non-presbyterian opposition to the religious uniformity which Star Chamber and High Commission tried to enforce. It required contact with the more rigid Scottish Presbyterianism to reveal the distinctive characteristics of English dissent: this contact was effected when, in 1643, Scottish ministers came to London in order to give effect to the implications of the Solemn League and Covenant. Parliament deputed to the Westminster Assembly the task of formulating an ecclesiastical system based "on the word of God and the example of the best Reformed churches"—a phrase sufficiently vague to obviate any possibility of Scottish dictation to England in matters of doctrine, though it is necessary to add that the Presbyterian was not the only seventeenth-century church which would have acquiesced in the extension of its frontiers. The debates of the Westminster Assembly, however, served to bring out clearly the differences between Scottish Presbyterianism and English Puritanism. The first was certainly based on the model of a Reformed church, for in place of the old divine right of pope and priest it substituted the divine right of the Presbytery, while the second placed the laity on a parity with the clergy and repudiated the conception of human authority in matters of doctrine and discipline. There was soon evident, even in Parliament, an opposition to the Presbyterian claims, and though in June, 1646, a Presbyterian system was established by Ordinance, Parliament retained adequate safeguards for secular supremacy in religious

matters. In effect the Ordinance was little more than a dead letter, for only in London and Essex was Presbyterianism ever popular. The Confession of Faith and the two Catechisms drawn up by the Assembly had few adherents.

The Religious Settlement of the Commonwealth.

Presbyterianism was nominally the form of church government between 1646 and 1660; nominally, because neither Cromwell nor the Army as a whole had much sympathy with Calvinist ideals, and in England *Presbyterian* was a vague adjective applied to Independents and Baptists as well as to strict Calvinists. A Committee for Scandalous Ministers had been instituted to deprive the still loyal Anglican clergy and to substitute a ' preaching ministry ' in their stead: in 1654 committees of ' Triers ' were appointed for the counties, their duties being to examine the qualifications of candidates for the ministry. Every effort was made to exclude from their benefices all clergy who had been ordained by bishops, but the Commissioners were empowered to pay a fraction of the value of sequestered livings to the wives of previous encumbents. While the interrogatories of the ' Triers ' were inquisitorial in the extreme, they were of a personal as much as a doctrinal character: Anglicans, Papists, and Quakers were, of course, inadmissible, but otherwise there was considerable latitude and even divergence in the standards maintained by the ' Triers ' throughout the counties. It was a preaching and praying ministry that was intruded in these years: a few of their number were illiterate: many were unfitted for a cure of souls: none was committed to any very clearly defined model of worship or doctrine, though Baxter's system of voluntary associations for the maintenance of discipline was adopted in many parts of England. Cromwell was, within limits, in favour of toleration and comprehension, but circumstances did not favour such a policy. In 1657, however, the Jews were again admitted into England.

Such, very briefly, was the Puritan religious settlement. It was not fiercely intolerant, if we judge it by seventeenth-

century standards, but on the other hand it was anomalous and even chaotic. An attempt to define the religious views of the chief Puritan sects has to face similar confusions and inconsistencies.

The Views of the Independents.

The following were the main principles of the Independents as they were formulated in 1641:

1. The Scriptures provide the sole ' canon and rule ' in all matters relating to doctrine and worship.

2. " All ecclesiastical actions devised by man are to be excluded from the exercises of religion."

3. " Every company, congregation, or assembly of true believers joining together according to the word of the Gospel in the true worship of God is a true, visible church of Christ."

4. Churches and congregations are all equal.

5. The pastors, teachers, and ruling elders of particular congregations are the highest officers in the church.

6. Ecclesiastical officers cannot impose any bodily or pecuniary mulct on transgressors. The heaviest sentence that can be imposed by the church is to declare that an offender is no longer a member of the Kingdom of Heaven.

7. The civil magistrates have supreme power over all churches within their dominions.

To these views the Independents soon added a theory of toleration. This was first expounded in Roger Williams' *The Bloody Tenent of Persecution*, a book which drew from Independent principles the logical deduction that as churches are spiritual entities, there can be no legitimate interference by State or Church in religious doctrines. For the cast-iron formulæ of the Continental reformers, the Independents thus substituted a system which, at least in theory, allowed complete independence to each congregation and freedom of thought to individuals. The fact that the New Model army had a majority of Independents in its ranks ensured the triumph of Independency as the alternative to Presbyterianism, and this latitude

in religious matters was parallelled by a growing latitude in the political principles and panaceas that were urged on the nation in ever-growing number after 1643. As Independency was an idealist, amorphous set of beliefs, so too were many of the political expedients proposed during the years of the Civil Wars: indeed, there is an anarchic element in the political thought of these years, due, not to the alleged democratic or republican elements in Presbyterianism, but to the far more radical and individualist tendencies of Independency. If Presbyterianism is taken to connote a definite system of church government, then the word must be used very sparingly of English dissent after the Westminster Assembly. This view may be illustrated by a reference to William Prynne, one of the few notable Englishmen of the period to whom the word Presbyterian can with any truth be applied.

The Views of the Presbyterians as illustrated by Prynne.

Prynne left ample literary evidence of his opinions. The appearance of women on the stage, the wearing of ' love locks ', and the drinking of healths all alike incurred his vehement anathema: in these he was a Puritan, but he had some of the more constructive views of Presbyterianism. Thus in 1630 he produced his *Anti-Arminianisme*, wherein he attacked the Pelagian heresies of Laud and his school: the book is one of the most emphatic assertions of predestinarian doctrine ever penned. Echoing the language of the Thirty-nine Articles he declared that:

" The consideration of Predestination is full of sweet, pleasant and unspeakable comfort to all Godly persons in that it doth establish their faith: confirm their assurance of eternal salvation through Christ, and fervently kindle their love towards God. And that it is dangerous to none but curious or carnal persons lacking the spirit of Christ."

In his *Perpetuitie of a Regenerate Man's Estate* he emphasized the imperishable nature of salvation when once achieved. Otherwise, he asks, what man would trouble himself to live

the moral life? "If ministers should preach that true Grace is of a corruptible and fading nature, that it is such a thing as may be lost when once it is obtained, who is there that would seek or respect it?"

The full implications of seventeenth-century Presbyterianism can be traced in the successive stages of Prynne's close-cropped and scripturient career. It first showed itself in opposition to the engines of Stuart and Laudian despotism: it was revolted by the constitutional license which ended in the execution of Charles: it was the main inspiration of his opposition to the constitutional experiments of the Commonwealth, and it survived in the welcome which he extended to the restored Charles II. His *Sovereign Antidote* (1642) claimed that the King is bound by contract—in England it is the coronation oath: violation of this oath and declaration of war on parliament and kingdom justifies the subject in resorting to arms. Within a few years Prynne is found writing numerous appeals for the retention of some essentials: in 1648 he wrote his *Plea for the Lords*, and in common with the Scottish Presbyterians he strongly opposed the execution of the King. In *Levellers Levelled* he denounced the extreme views of John Lilburne, insisting on the necessity for the conservation of hereditary and aristocratic elements in the constitution. Opposition to the autocratic rule of Cromwell led to his imprisonment during the greater part of the Commonwealth period. His consistent stand for monarchy and constitutional tradition earned for him his appointment as Keeper of the Records after the Restoration.

Baxter: the Fifth Monarchy Men.

But Prynne is not typical of English Puritanism. English dissent was mainly individualist and personal: the claims of the church as an institution were denied, tradition as well as authority was suspect, and the spiritual life began and ended in the intimacies of the soul. Here one may note a certain egotism, not always unpleasing: it is to be seen at its best in some of the greater Puritan moralists, like Baxter, who early

in life developed habits of close introspection. Recording the sinfulness of his childhood days in Shropshire, he mentions how he robbed orchards, listened to idle tales, and took pride in his schoolmaster's commendations. When fourteen years of age " it pleased God that he met with *Parsons of Resolution* (as corrected by *Bunny*) ", and from that moment he realized that God had thoroughly awakened his soul. " Meeting afterwards with Dr. Sibbes' *Bruised Reed*, he found that it opened more of the love of God to him ". (Calamy, *Abridgement*.) This intense solicitude for the salvation of the soul is the inspiration of the two great classics of English Puritanism—Baxter's *Saints' Everlasting Rest* and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. At times this introspection becomes hypochondria; a sense of proportion was inevitably lost by men who could never think of the spiritual life as other than a solitary battle against almost hopeless odds. As a remedy against uncertainty, Baxter enjoined " self-examination, or the serious and diligent trying of a man's heart by the rule of scripture ". Later in life he devised more concrete remedies; his *Preservations against Melancholy and Over-much Sorrow* contains several practicable recipes, mostly of a dietary character—" those that have hot and dry bodies ", he wrote, " should avoid fasting and eat as much as they can well digest . . . of boiled burrage, lettuce, and stewed prunes ". By such means were the ' decayed professors ' to be restored to spiritual health.

The Fifth Monarchy Men provide some interesting examples of the implications of this individualism. The views of this curious sect may be gleaned from the works of John Rogers (1627–65), who received Presbyterian ordination in 1647, but afterwards joined the Fifth Monarchy Men. In *Bethshemesh* (1651–2) he maintained that only independent churches were true churches, that they were subordinate to none but Christ, and that they could retain their purity only by remaining separate from ' the world's false ways '. Presbyterians he regarded as no better than Roman Catholics in doctrine and discipline. Women, he argued, may be office-holders in the church. In his *Sagrir*, published in 1653, he

showed an advance from Independency to the characteristic Fifth Monarchy doctrines, for therein he attacked clergy, tithes, and lawyers: pleaded for an aggressive foreign policy inspired by Protestant principles: and called for the abolition of all ' Norman and Babylonian yokes '. The destruction of ' Norman lawyers ' and national churches was to precede the establishment of that Millennium of which the Fifth Monarchy Men were the prophets: " Schoolboys look after holidays: worldly men after rent days: chapmen after market days: travellers after fair days: professors after Lord's Days: and the people of God long after those days of Christ, viz. the end of the four monarchies [the Assyrian, Persian, Macedonian, and Roman] that the Fifth may come wherein Christ and his saints shall rule the world." It is of interest that much of Rogers' polemical work was carried on against the Presbyterian Zachary Crofton, who before the Restoration was imprisoned for preaching in favour of Monarchy. After the Restoration, Rogers had to seek refuge in Holland, while his old enemy Crofton was again imprisoned, this time for preaching in favour of the Solemn League and Covenant.

Milton and English Puritanism.

As the Jansenist principles find their highest expression in Pascal, so the essentials of Independency were transmuted by Milton into soaring ideals of liberty springing from virtue. Milton expounds much that is of permanent value in the ideals of Independency. Liberty he regarded not as mere freedom from restraint, not as whatever ' the law hath prætermitted ', but as a positive quality of character to be fostered by right thinking and right teaching. " Real and substantial liberty," he wrote in his *Second Defence of the People of England*, " is rather to be sought from within than from without: its existence depends on sobriety of conduct and integrity of life." In his *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* he declared that " none can love freedom heartily but good men: the rest love not freedom, but license ". The Miltonic virtue is not ' fugitive and cloistered ', but active and militant: the life of the good man

is a struggle in the open against a world wherein sin is predominant. In such a struggle victory falls only to the Elect, an Elect not preordained by fortuitous decree, but rather purified and refined from the dross of human life—" God more esteems the growth and completing of one virtuous person than the restraint of ten vicious." Superstition and passivity were the two converse qualities of the moral training and the constructive, self-conscious virtue which Milton required in both subject and ruler: the prerogative of sovereignty was for " a spirit of the greatest size and divinest mettle ": the end of secular education was to enable the subject " to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war ". Monarchy is only for the servile: of all governments, a commonwealth makes the people " flourishing, virtuous, noble, and high-spirited ". More than any other Puritan writer, Milton emphasizes the value of self-respect—" the pious and just honouring of ourselves, whence every laudable and worthy enterprise issues forth ". In emergency, the Miltonic liberty might be imposed from above on those who had failed to achieve it for themselves; on the eve of the Restoration the poet still hoped that Englishmen would recover their senses, and that if they would not accept ' liberty ' it should be forced upon them by Monk's " faithful, veteran army ". The history of the Puritans in the American colonies provides the best illustration of this harmonious mingling of idealism with force.

The Quakers and Perpetual Peace.

The thesis has here been maintained that English Puritanism became self-conscious and national during the years immediately following the Westminster Assembly, and that in these years it abandoned the Calvinist and foreign elements of which the Scottish Presbyterians were the most distinctive representatives. The rise of the Quakers is an instance of this reaction from the rigid formalism of the Reformed churches. The excesses of which many of the early Quakers were guilty aroused opposition, and the enthusiasm of the Friends was as

suspect to the Independent as it was to the Anglican, but the Quakers were the personification of that intense spiritual fervour which could never accommodate itself with the traditional ritual of a State church. In at least one respect the Quakers made a remarkable contribution to the thought of the seventeenth century. Like the Mennonites they were Pacifists, but at least two of their number advanced far from a merely negative attitude and propounded theories of perpetual peace. In his *Essay towards the present and future peace of Europe* William Penn showed that the truest means to peace was justice, not war. Starting from the conception of government as an expedient of justice devised by man to avoid the evils of the state of nature, Penn called upon the princes and states of Europe " to agree to meet by their stated deputies in a general diet, estates, or parliament, and there establish rules of justice for sovereign princes to observe one to another: and thus to meet yearly or once in two or three years at furthest . . . and to be styled the Sovereign or Imperial Diet, Parliament or State of Europe: before which sovereign assembly should be brought all differences depending between one sovereign and another that cannot be made up by private embassies: and that if any of the sovereignties that constitute these imperial states shall refuse to submit their claim or pretensions to them, or to abide and perform the judgment thereof, . . . all the other sovereignties united as one strength shall compel the submission and performance of the sentence." Penn thus proposed a scheme of international arbitration similar to that of the Huguenot Sully. Of all the seventeenth-century sects, the Quakers were the most consistent exponents of irenist principles. Penn's scheme was further amplified by John Bellers who, in *Some Reasons for an European State*, proclaimed a principle not yet fully admitted in modern times: " It would be much more glorious for a Prince to build palaces, hospitals, bridges, and make rivers navigable, and to increase the number of his people, than by pouring out human blood as water to invade his neighbours." This humanitarian element is seldom lost sight of in Quaker writings: it is notably

absent from the general literature of the seventeenth century.

Restoration Puritanism: John Flavell.

The Restoration, in re-establishing an Anglican settlement, introduced a policy of intolerance which drove into penury and exile many of the most spiritual-minded men of the age. Of those who suffered by this ecclesiastical legislation, the Presbyterians had perhaps the best grounds for complaint, for it was they who had helped to reinstate Charles, and they could claim, with some justice, that the Solemn League and Covenant was still (in 1660) a valid compact. They were intolerant, but they did not have a monopoly in that respect. It was otherwise with the mass of English Puritans. They were not so distinguished by zeal for uniformity as were the Presbyterians, and the best of them had much in common with latitudinarian Anglicans and with the tolerant, liberal thinkers known as the Cambridge Platonists. It was Sheldon who completed the work of Whitgift and Laud — the work of creating an enlightened and indignant dissent, embittered by the harsh lessons of experience. The loss which thereby accrued to the English church can be adequately guessed from the depths to which official Anglicanism sank in the succeeding century. It was a misfortune as well as a mistake to stigmatize English dissent as ' Presbyterian ', and it was equally unfortunate that the question of toleration was complicated by the apparent necessity for anti-papist legislation. But even in Charles II's reign the change for the better began: the nation was not yet ready for the Declarations of Indulgence, but the loyalty of Nonconformists was proved beyond question, and after the third Dutch War (1672–8) the temper of the nation was distinctly pro-Dutch and anti-French. By the fusion of national aspirations into anti-French and anti-papist channels, it was at last recognized that Nonconformists were not necessarily a political danger, and the Toleration Act of 1689 granted to the dissenters that tardy and moderate toleration which, except for a short interval in Anne's reign, protected them throughout the eighteenth century.

It may be noted that the Puritanism of post-Restoration days shows an abandonment of some of the narrower features which had once characterized it. It would be easy to illustrate this from Baxter: it can be seen also in the work of such less-known men as John Flavell (1630?–1691) and Peter Sterry, one of Cromwell's chaplains, who survived to 1672. Flavell was one of the ministers deprived at the Restoration who appears thereafter to have continued his pastorate surreptitiously. In 1669 he published his *Husbandry Spiritualized or the Heavenly Use of Earthly Things*, an interesting contribution to Puritan mysticism, based on the view that the deepest moral lessons may be derived from the sympathetic contemplation of the humblest natural objects—" to make a ladder out of earthly materials for the raising of ourselves up to Heaven is the art of arts ". " The world below," he writes, " is a glass to discover the world above. . . . The irrational and inanimate as well as rational creatures have a language and, though not by articulate speech, yet in a metaphorical sense they preach unto man the wisdom, power, and goodness of God."

" Birds, beasts and trees
Teach mysteries
If sinners be not blocks.
They 'll quickly mend
When God doth send
Teachers in droves and flocks."

Peter Sterry.

Flavell's interpretation of nature has few counterparts in seventeenth-century literature except among the Cambridge Platonists. One of the latter was the Puritan Sterry who is known for his *Discourse of the Freedom of the Will*, first published in 1675. Amid much confused thinking, one can detect in this book some of the rarer characteristics distinguishing the later Puritan divines, for Sterry was a mystic and, like his fellow Platonist Henry More, he found in nature many things answering to his deepest spiritual needs. Pascal had declared " le silence de ces espaces infinis m'effraie ": Sterry delights in the harmony of the infinite:

"Every degree of being, as it is a part of the whole, is a divine variety springing from and comprehended in the unity of the whole. . . . In what way, or by what force otherwise shall each part be figured, bounded, acted to an agreeableness and correspondency with all the other parts that the universal music may be full and entire?

"I only offer it now to thy thoughts . . . whether all that which we call materiality and corporeity do not by the charms of this music awaken into a divine company of beautiful spirits. . . . Dr. More seemeth to me like a prophet as well as a poet to sing this mystery. . . . He that in a clear evening fixeth his eye on the firmament above him beholdeth by degrees innumerable stars with springing lights sparkling forth upon him. If God lift up a little of his veil and by the least glimpses of his bared face enlighten and attract the eye of our soul to a fixed view of Himself, with what divine raptures do we see the eternal truths of things, in their sweetest lights, springing and sparkling upon us, besetting us round in that firmament of the divine essence, as a crown of incorruptible glory."

English Puritanism: a General Estimate.

With all their confusion of thought, Flavell and Sterry are witnesses to the advance made by English Puritanism from the spiritual impenetrability of the Protestant Reformation, for they were struggling to evolve an interpretation of nature such as did not find coherent expression till nearly a century later. The characteristic of the sixteenth-century mentality as revealed in the Protestant Reformation is Finitude—the attitude of mind which rests content with an academic formula and regards all revelation and knowledge as declared for eternity in one book. To go beyond formulæ and books in order to seek for spiritual truth in the realms of nature was indeed to break fresh ground. A true estimate of English Puritanism will emphasize its narrowness, its intense egotism, and its tendency to sanctimoniousness: such an estimate will instance English Puritanism as a good example of the anarchy which may follow a literal application of the Protestant

principle of individual interpretation of the Bible, but no true estimate will deny that Puritanism, in some of its best manifestations, revealed traces of the finer religious instincts of reverence, humility, and the desire to understand. It is true that these qualities have to be sought for in more recondite quarters: in seventeenth-century England they may be found not on the high-roads of conformity or controversy, but in the by-ways of Cambridge Platonism and Restoration Puritanism.

In conclusion, however, it may be suggested that it is neither in enlightenment nor in spiritual discovery that the real influence of Puritanism is to be sought, but rather in its literal application of the Reformation principle of the priesthood of all believers. While the dangers inherent in this doctrine were fully experienced in the national crises through which England passed in the seventeenth century, the application of the principle could not but help to encourage an attitude of responsibility and independence in those middle classes from which Puritanism drew its strength. Men who might otherwise have relied solely on the priest and the confessional, or have acquiesced in that complete surrender of personality which participation in a traditional ritual may induce, were accustomed in the more informal atmosphere of the Puritan community to think of the religious life in terms of temptation, struggle, and conscience. It is inevitable that men who think and speak in such terms shall be specially liable to the accusation of hypocrisy, but this attitude to life may at least foster the quality of Integrity—an invariable and at times almost formidable Integrity, often relegated in public life to an obscure background by more picturesque and specious qualities, but an Integrity which still provides the mainspring of much that is characteristic and permanent in British character.

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CHAPTER III

The Eighteenth Century

Action and Reaction.

The division of time into centuries though arbitrary has more than practical advantages. The historian, looking back across the ages, is often able to sum up general movements of human life and thought in a series of judgments corresponding roughly with the centuries themselves. These judgments are, of course, never exhaustive; from their nature they cannot be. Nevertheless they are of value as milestones on a long road sometimes of progress, at other times of retrogression. The fifteenth century, for instance, saw the discovery of two new worlds, one spiritual—the literatures of Greece and Rome; the other physical—America and the sea-route to India. The sixteenth century was the age of the Reformation. Wars of religion for many years dominated the movements and politics of the century that followed. With the cessation of these wars, including in the term the revocation of the edict of Nantes, there came upon all Europe at the end of the seventeenth century a time of spiritual fatigue, the natural reaction from the exultation of the Reformation and the Counter Reformation, and from the passion of the wars of religion. In England we must add the reactions from the rigid rule of the Puritans. The weariness extended not merely to the affairs of the Church but into the politics and civil life of men. Of its reactions nothing is more remarkable than the expulsion of the Jesuits by the popes themselves. One mark of the weariness was the inability to discern the signs of the times. The rise of the new

industrialism, which began in England about 1760, was unmarked in the Church; only rarely a new church or a new school was built to meet the needs of the new populations. To the student of the eighteenth century a distinguishing token is the intensity with which the age interested itself in what are now seen to have been the merest trifles, the blindness it displayed to the great elemental forces working below the surface. Its history, until stung into reality by the great fact of the French Revolution, too often disgusts by the pettiness of its political cabals and the grossness of its financial abuses, by the light-heartedness with which it launched into wars of almost annual recurrence, by the brutality of its legal systems, and by the insufferable arrogance with which a landed class, wrapped up in their pleasures, resisted or mutilated, when they could not reject, every movement towards reform, and above all by the indifference of the Church to these abuses and crimes.

Equally remarkable was the blindness of the century in the world of ideas and social life. Absence of foresight was the characteristic of the age, the natural result of its constant policy—*tranquilla non movere*. The unexpectedness with which the French Revolution burst upon the world is one of the commonplaces of history, but this very unexpectedness is at the same time the demonstration of the blindness of the century to the latent forces of which it was the eruption. In English political life the same blindness was seen in the reign of a dreary toryism which resisted all change simply because it was change. And because the deeper things were hidden from its eyes the eighteenth century concerned itself with the superficial facts of life, whose picturesque, elegant charm has so fascinated novelists and historians that we sometimes forget that the eighteenth century will be for ever memorable, not because of its beaux, whether at Bath or Versailles, its wits, its exquisite manners, its salons, its delightful dilettanteism, but because of the revolutionary forces that, unknown to itself, were maturing within its womb.

No movement of religion or thought can escape from the

influence of its environment, and religious life and thought in the eighteenth century was no exception to the rule. In its main outline the century expressed, as we have seen, a spiritual weariness, but out of this there burst in England in the second half of the century the great reaction which we call Methodism; and in Germany, not yet recovered from the wounds inflicted upon it by the Thirty Years' War, we see the rise of Pietism.

Spiritual Fatigue.

There are other facts which should be taken into account in any survey of the religious life of the age. First and foremost we must put the absence of all spiritual message in the Church itself. In France the Church never sank to a lower level of absolute worldliness; the appalling licence of the Court of Louis XV was almost matched by the licence of many of its bishops and abbots. The wealthier monasteries, often granted *in commendam* to courtiers and politicians, had become a scandal; Jansenism, which had in it many elements of the spiritual, was crushed out both in France and Holland. In England even the nobler men in the Church, its Seckers and Butlers, seem to have been unconscious of any higher source of inspiration than reasonableness and moderation. Butler himself for the major part of his life was an absentee from his see. In this absence of spiritual vision the Church of England proved herself on the same low level as the age before which she should have upheld the ideals of the Cross. Instead of the great religious and political ideas of the seventeenth century we have the age of Walpole and the Pelhams, an age in which idealism and self-sacrifice, with one or two great exceptions, have given place to the reign of bribery and corruption. The forces which had produced the religious struggles of the previous century had become exhausted, and had produced, partly by reaction, a hard uninspiring materialism, opportunist in its methods, destitute of all the nobler, ideal elements of life, and, in consequence, fatally degraded in its standards of religion and ethics. As Mark Pattison points out, "the genuine Anglican omits the period from the history of the

Church altogether ". There is scarcely a religious work of the age, apart from Law's *Serious Call* and Butler's *Analogy*, which will live. Even Wesley's *Sermons* are only kept alive by legal means. Compared with the seventeenth century its religious writings are unspeakably dull, covered with a thick dust of dogmatism or vanished controversy. On all sides the age was one of inertia, of the absence of ' visions ', and of consequent spiritual sterility. As is usually the case in a materialistic age where reason becomes the substitute for faith, we note the rapid disappearance, even in the leaders of the Church, of doctrinal teaching, and the conversion of Christianity into a mere system of morality. The natural consequences followed. The substitution of a moral for the supernatural basis of religion led to the decay of morality itself. The Church prided itself upon its elimination of ' enthusiasm ', and upon its practical tendencies; the real result was extraordinary coarseness and inefficiency in all departments of life, and in the Church itself a lifelessness which congratulated itself upon having found a half-way house between Atheism and Athanasianism.

Philosophic Rationalism.

English philosophy—leaving out Berkeley, whose affinities were rather with Malebranche than with his contemporaries—poetry and religion were all alike dominated by the same visionless materialism. In the sphere of thought this called itself rationalism. In the sphere of religion this rationalism—we use the word in its better meaning as the attempt to found religion upon reason—resolved itself into a self-complacency that was unconscious of the fact of sin, and, therefore, of the need of a Saviour, that masqueraded as theoretical Deism, or as a benevolent neutrality between rival religions. Nowhere was rationalism more influential than in the nonconformist churches, many of which all over England, especially after the meeting at Salter's Hall in 1719, lapsed from their seventeenth-century Presbyterian or Independent character into unitarianism or socinianism. An eighteenth-century Bunyan

would have been a literary miracle. Even poetry, under rationalist influence, became so intensely didactic—" Essays on Man ", " Vanity of Human Wishes ", and the like—as to lose all its lyrical and natural notes. Turn where we will we see upward longing lost in a destructive, materialistic satisfaction with a level of effort or attainment that at the utmost was but decent mediocrity, perfect contentment with the best of all possible worlds. Even the crime of slavery, the appalling prisons, the miseries of the poor were officially unnoticed by the Church; for the first beginnings of their redress we must look outside the Church to individuals like John Howard, or to the Quakers.

Ratiocination—Introspection.

We may consider the characteristics of the age from another angle. In the sphere of thought we see a complete lack of spiritual discernment, for the waking of Kant from his dogmatic slumbers and the consequent new outlook that he gave to philosophy, though chronologically in this century, in their effect belong to the next age. The mediæval philosophers had tried to reduce the complexities of knowledge and of life into one harmonious whole in which faith and reason would find full reconciliation. The eighteenth-century philosopher on the contrary was chiefly engaged in looking into himself, analysing his own feelings, unconscious that the ultimate issue of his ratiocination would be the destruction of the unity of the very self that he was seeking to contemplate. This cold introspection took many forms. In the realm of pure thought the theories of Locke, intended at first to be the application of reason in elucidation and defence of Christianity, gradually developed into the scepticism of Hume. In the Church theology became conscious that faith and reason, in spite of the good intentions of the ecclesiastical controversialists, were becoming sundered, even antagonistic. But instead of the great architectonic vindication of their union which had been the work of Aquinas, it produced only polemics in which too often, as with Hoadley, the Churchman only differed from the

Deist in the number of articles in his creed. Apologists without vision in their efforts to chisel Christianity into an intelligible human system deprived it of all life; they forgot that Christianity, if true to its genius and history, should always be attacking the gates of hell rather than sheltering behind the walls of syllogisms. Even Butler's *Analogy*, with all its force of argument, is an exhibition of Christianity upon its last line of defence, as indeed to Butler's pessimistic mind it would appear to have been. Not with such a theory of Probabilism, nor with a system of purely external evidences, had the Church won its ancient conquests. A Butler going to the stake is inconceivable; enlightened self-interest would not lead that way.

Mediæval Solidarity.

If we would understand more fully the materialistic rationalism and dissolvent individualism of the eighteenth century, at any rate up to 1750, we must look a little more deeply at its causes. Curious as it may seem, it was one of the by-products of the Reformation. The Reformation in its inner significance was the protest of individualism against the ex-excessive solidarity characteristic of the mediæval world. In the Roman Church the individual *qua* individual had little or no place. His salvation was conditioned from first to last by his belonging to a corporation, in whose privileges and functions he shared; through whose sacraments his life was nourished; by whose graduated hierarchy, though but the meanest servant of the Church, he was linked on to the Supreme Head; whose saints—their human sympathies deepened by their glory—shielded him by their merits and intercessions. Through this corporation alone was he brought into touch with his Saviour; outside the corporation his soul was lost. Men were saved both in this world and in the world to come by their fitting in with the whole. Compare for instance the greatest of all mediæval poems with Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. The salvation of Dante is achieved by a scheme which brings within its com-

pass universal man, and which takes him for its accomplishment through all the circles of earth, heaven, and hell. Christian, on the other hand, is the lonely traveller, who begins his religious life with fleeing from his home, and whose one companion is soon torn from him. Only once in a long pilgrimage, in the House Beautiful, has the Church anything to give to his spiritual needs. Alone he traverses the dark valley, with no sacraments of the Church to drive away his terrors. In the one the corporate whole is supreme; in the other the individual. In this corporation, also, in the Middle Ages all racial and even national distinctions were obliterated; the Church was majestically one in creed, ritual, discipline, and language; a kingdom without frontiers and without calendar save indeed the recurring feasts of its immortals.

The Rise of Individualism.

Against this exaggeration of solidarity the Reformation was a many-sided protest; in its beginnings political or national more than religious, social rather than moral, a revolt against an all centralized yet omnipresent world-power which had outlived the conditions of its birth. In place of the Holy Roman Empire we see the rise of separate nations, each determined to work out its own life, political and religious, on its own lines. Side by side with this growth of the new nations we see the loss of the old civic spirit, and the destruction of the old mediæval guild. In place of Realism and Nominalism, we find the Renaissance, with its return from the search after the universal to the triumphs of individual genius in scholarship, art, and literature. A debased classical architecture becomes supreme, the marvellous unity out of countless parts of a Gothic cathedral a forsaken ideal. Instead of a salvation conditioned by corporate relations, we find Luther's assertion of the paramount importance of the inner life for the individual. For whatever else justification by faith may mean it stands for the claim that between the individual and his Saviour no corporation, no priest, no sacrament, no saints, not even ratiocination may intervene. The diverse creeds of the Refor-

mation—their very diversity was one of the fruits of this triumph of individualism, as indeed it was one of the signs of their weakness — agree at any rate in this fundamental position.

The Seat of Authority.

One difficulty which the Reformation had left behind, for the clear examination of which the cessation of the wars of religion had given men more leisure, was the question as to the seat of authority. As regards authority, the Reformers did not, on the whole, follow Wyclif in claiming this prerogative for the individual. Luther, it is true, seemed at times to do so, especially in the liberty he asserted for every man to examine the Scriptures for himself, in his claim that even General Councils may err, and by the daring act of his marriage. But Luther's logic was overruled by the necessities of the age, and by the tendency of his strong personality to identify truth with his own view of it. The Peasants' Revolt, the excesses of the Anabaptists, as well as his differences with Carlstadt and Zwingli, led him to the assertion of an authority other than of the individual. In his later life Luther had an overwhelming dread of the ' common man '. For the most part the reformers, as Wyclif before them, found the seat of authority in the Scriptures. For an infallible Church they substituted an infallible Book, whose authority and contents they received on grounds which they did not trouble to analyse, the analysis of which, in fact, was forbidden, and whose meaning was supposed to be clear for all. The claim that the Bible was the religion of Protestants assumed a unity of its message for all Christians which the modern mind sees to have been without warrant. Others, again, as for instance the Dutch Church, asserted the authority of an unchangeable symbol, and declared the Netherland Confession as set forth in the canons of the Synod of Dort (1619) to be infallible, for the Cnuts who bid the tides to cease their advance find their historical parallel in every ecclesiastical assembly. The result either way was the same. Though the individual's salvation was conditioned by

his own subjective act, authority was still wholly external, in some respects more external than in the Middle Ages. A Church, however corrupt, is after all more progressive and alive, more responsive to the winds which blow from the heights, than a Revelation which is supposed to be completed for all time, to which no spiritual experience can add one jot or tittle of value and which, in addition to being stereotyped, is found on analysis to be itself far from a unity.

The Conditions of Salvation.

The nature of authority was not the only matter in which the individual found himself subject to an external power. Calvin falling back, as Bradwardine and Wyclif had done before him, upon certain elements in the many-sided theology of St. Augustine, had added to an external authority purely objective conditions of salvation. Salvation ceased to be in any way the act of the individual, and became the result of immutable decrees. Strange as it may seem, this elimination of the individual was the result of the very emphasis that the Reformation, especially the theologians of Geneva, placed upon the individual. On one side Calvinism stood for the emphasis of individuality; it placed the individual absolutely face to face with God; there was nothing between, neither priest nor Church, nor even a Saviour. In this we see the secret of the strong, if rugged and dour, manhood which it has always produced, whether in Scotland or South Africa. But by a familiar spiritual paradox this very strength of individuality arose from the overwhelming consciousness of the believer that he was absolutely nothing before God, in Whose service he would find the end of his existence. God and His Will were all in all; the individual was but the channel for His motions. Whether in heaven or in hell the meanest being existed merely for the pleasure of the Eternal, his action limited and conditioned before all time by sovereign decree. "He had been wrested," as Macaulay tells us in a famous passage, "by no common deliverer from the grasp of no common foe. It was for him that the sun had been darkened, that the rocks had been rent, that the dead had risen, that all

nature had shuddered." All is viewed, as Spinoza—the representative in philosophy of this same creed—would phrase it, *sub specie aeternitatis*, and forms part of an eternal scheme of which in one sense the individual is the centre and cause—this last, paradoxically, no mean exaltation for the individual otherwise reduced to the consciousness that he is a mere 'worm'. But if we are to understand the eighteenth century we must remember that with Calvinism the supreme note of the Supreme Being is neither reason nor love, but omnipotence, depicted by its writers in a way that seems to the modern mind almost amoral. For them man is but the potter's clay, sonship something that may or may not be added. Thus the ultimate result of the Reformation, on the side of Geneva at least, was the elimination of the individual in the assertion of whose claims and efforts the Reformation had begun. All had become once more external: an external source of authority —not the Church, but the Bible; external conditions of salvation—not the individual's faith, but the immutable decrees of an unrelated Being. Nor could these conditions be altered by aught that the individual might experience or accomplish.

Deism and its Basis.

Not until the eighteenth century did the contradictions of this position become apparent. Enthusiasm has a rare power of fusing antinomies; the loss of fervour and faith is the letting out of a cold, dissolvent logic. Strip the creed of the various brands of reformers of its religious power, eliminate from it all sense of mystery, reduce it to frozen metaphysics and the supremacy of reason, rob it of all the nobility which the overwhelming consciousness of the greatness of God had imparted to the merest 'worm' that lay at His feet, broaden by the discoveries of astronomy and science the gulf between the Infinite and the finite, remove the one bridge between the two, the Man Christ Jesus, and the logical result is Deism, the fashionable creed both in Europe and England of the early years of the century in which Wesley was born. For if all is immutable decree there is neither logic nor use in prayer

except in so far as prayer is the expression of resignation, the individual ceasing to beat his wings against the prison bars. The idea of an unrelated, irresponsible God who has foreordained all action must be the dissolvent of any belief in the Bible, viewed, as the Puritans viewed it, as the record of His constant interpositions in the affairs of men, an interference oftentimes on occasions of but trivial importance and in ways that seemed absurd to the new science. Where all is decree and foreknowledge, miracle as distinct from magic is of necessity impossible, and the life and atonement of Jesus either a work of supererogation, or else containing little beyond the ordinary. In a word the unrelatedness of God and his creatures will express itself in the denial of the possibility of all the acts and processes whereby the individual soul has sought to establish relations with his Creator and Redeemer. Jesus becomes a member only of the Trinity—that too not beyond the reach of doubt—never a Brother, a Saviour, the Life within.

Methodism and Deism.

In a reaction against this Deism which in England at one time seemed as if it would sweep all before it in the first half of the century, Methodism had one of its roots. Wesley combatted Deism, not by his pen, but by his deeds, and the same might be said in a lesser way of the more mystic Pietists of Germany, whose lives shone out in beautiful contrast to the general deadness of the Lutheran Church. The Deist had appealed to logic; Wesley, leaving the more logical issues to Butler, and the more idealistic to Berkeley, gave us the logic of the heart. In place of a frozen theology he appealed to a living experience, in which God was not hidden, neither far off, but very nigh. Deism had called in as the umpire common sense; Wesley fell back upon the truth that for the vision of God there must be another, higher sense which Christ summed up as purity of heart. God, said the Deist, is unrelated; your own creeds have demonstrated this. Wesley taught once more the great Pauline truth: relation ' in Christ Jesus ', the redeemed soul—' whosoever will '—conscious of his sonship to

the Father through his own movement, assisted by the Holy Spirit:

> "My chains fell off, my heart was free,
> I rose, went forth, and followed thee."

Prayer, said the Deist, is illogical and absurd; even Balaam had discovered that God is not a man that He should change. Wesley's answer was to teach men how to pray, and so to pray that whether God was changed or not their relations to God were for ever changed; whether God had granted aught in answer to special petitions He had given at any rate knowledge of Himself. There is nothing mysterious, the Deist claimed, in Christianity, it was old as creation. Wesley brought men face to face with the mystery of sin and the still greater mystery of the Cross. Miracles, the Deist added, are impossible, a manifest contradiction, and appealed with triumph to a well-known specious dictum of Hume. Wesley in answer enlarged experience so as to include spiritual affairs, and adduced the supreme miracle of life, the break in all continuity exemplified in every conversion of a sinner into a saint, that right-about-face of all the forces of a depraved character the explanation of which is beyond the ken of any merely natural system of ethics.

Uncritical Criticism.

The student should clearly grasp the limits of this rationalism, which, as we have seen, apart from Methodism was the characteristic of the age, especially of the first fifty years of the century. The strength that it possessed arose rather from its affinity to the current philosophy—of which, in fact, as we shall see later, it was an outcome—than from any objective study of fact. It differed profoundly therefore from modern criticism. Some slight beginnings it is true were made in the examination of the Pentateuch, but so slight that we may say that Higher Criticism was as undreamed of by the rationalist as traditionalism was unquestioned by the orthodox. The modern difficulty of the exact place in religion

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JOHN WESLEY

From the painting by N. Hone in the National Portrait Gallery, London

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and theology of the Bible finds no place in the life of the Churches in the eighteenth century; for the majority of protestants the Bible was still their religion. All criticism of antiquity had disappeared from the universities. In England Bentley alone seemed able to discern the grossest forgeries from the masterpieces of the past. The historical sense was equally lacking. The eighteenth century produced indeed vast collections of documents—the Rymers and the rest—for which to-day we are grateful, but the critical study of history was still to come. The story of the world before the emergence of Greece and Rome, let alone before Abraham, was a matter undreamed of. Moses was still regarded as the first historian; sober theologians could still point to shells on hill-tops as proofs of the Flood; of the discredit that anthropology has given to the early Bible record there was not a suspicion. Two of the English rationalists it is true were historians; and in France there was the many-sided Voltaire. Of one Englishman, Hume, the reputation has long since passed; the other, Gibbon, has a secure seat among the immortals. But it should be noted that Gibbon's famous chapter on Christianity is subjective in its attack rather than objective. A belief in himself as a philosopher was always Gibbon's foible, and his regard for history as " little more than the register of the crimes, follies, and misfortunes of mankind " lies at the root of all his neglect of the spiritual and idealistic.

Deism on the Continent.

That in the suppression of Deism as a force in English life the appeal of Methodism to a living experience played a leading part is fully acknowledged. This is seen the more clearly if we turn to the after effects of Deism in France and Germany. In the works of Voltaire, Diderot, and Rousseau we gather the ripe fruit of the teaching of Toland, Collins, Woolston, Tindal, and other English Deists. Almost all the writers of the *Encyclopédie* were profoundly indebted to their English predecessors, whose teaching they carried still farther, applying its powerful dissolvents to the State as well as to

religion. Prevented by the fear of the Bastille from advocating direct reforms, they discovered an ideal world in a legendary past, or in the far-off isles of the Pacific. All that is needful, said Rousseau, is to return from an artificial civilization to primitive nature, to the happy ignorance, transparent manners, and simple virtues of uncultivated man who, like Pope's poor Indian, " sees God in clouds and hears him in the wind ". But in France, when the Protestant Church of the South had been crushed by Louis XIV, and its acknowledged leaders driven under Louis XV to Lausanne, there was no Evangelical Revival to deliver the country from a movement that ultimately became an engine of destruction; no Wesley to show that not in primitive man with his unrestrained passions but in the God-man alone would salvation be found. In Germany the effects of Deism were less violent but more lasting. There the Leibnitz-Wolffian philosophy, with its system of microcosms and macrocosms, its predetermined harmonies, its optimistic fatalism—at which Voltaire poked his well-deserved sarcasm in *Candide*—and its sentimental coquetting of the ego with its own self, had predisposed the thoughtful to welcome the deistical writers. ' Illumination ' (*Aufklärung*), to use the new name under which the Deism masked, rapidly dominated the Lutheran Church, captured the schools and universities, crushed out Pietism—which, in spite of a respect less than just for thought and science, should yet be reverenced for the value it attached to the religion of experience—and reduced Protestant Germany by its ' theology of the understanding ' to shallow utilitarianism and irrational rationalism. The deliverance effected in England, on the intellectual side by Butler and on the spiritual by Wesley, in Germany was but partially accomplished by Kant and Herder. The teaching of Kant was a healthful rebuke to the low ideals of illuminism, but brought in an ethical legalism that knew nothing of the liberty of the sons of God, and a speculative pantheism that was destructive of all personal religion. The influence of the German poet Herder (1744–1803), with his stress on the value of feeling in religion and his love of Christianity as the

beautiful, will not for one moment compare with that of the English evangelist consumed with the passion for souls, not for the beautiful or cultured alone, but for common sinners whom the Gospel can transform into saints.

The Value of the Deistic Controversy for Theology.

The Deistic controversy must not, however, be wholly condemned; it was not without its good side for the Church: the effort, however exaggerated and superficial, to make use of reason as the gift of God for the discovery and investigation of truth; the emphasis, as in Locke's great treatise, of the Reasonableness of Christianity. Moreover, the Deistic controversies led to the growth of toleration. At the beginning of the eighteenth century it was still necessary in England to vindicate the right of every man to think freely. In France, where, as we see in the Calas tragedy, every immorality or crime could be pardoned except difference from the Catholic Church, the value of the blows struck by Voltaire in behalf of freedom should not be forgotten. The error of Deism lay not in its maintenance of freedom, or in its subjection of theology to critical examination, but in the claim that unassisted reason was sufficient for all human needs, that reason, without idealism, by introspection and analysis merely could explain everything. The danger of its opponents, whether Quietists or Methodists, especially if narrow-minded and illiterate men, was rather the exaltation of faith into something either independent of reason or which gloried even in being contradictory to reason—*Credo quia impossibile*. But from this charge Wesley himself must be exonerated, though in some of his followers it produced bad consequences.

Nor was the teaching of Rousseau without its value for theology. Rousseau in an exaggerated fashion really put his finger on the great weakness of the current theology, its absurd belief in the total depravity of human nature as the result of the act of one man dated as taking place 4004 B.C. The theologians of the century with few exceptions were profoundly convinced of the fact of the Fall; to deny it, says Wesley, who

may be taken as a representative, " saps the foundation of all revealed religion, whether Jewish or Christian ". It is difficult for the modern mind with its larger concepts of development through countless centuries to read with any patience the cocksure treatises in which we see elaborated the defeat of God's original intentions by a host of fallen angels, the attribution of all the countless woes of the ages to the self-determination of one imaginary federal head, who by his sin involved his innocent posterity in utter ruin and corruption. Unfortunately this imaginary picture, in which as science, history, and psychology show there is not a shred of reality, dominated alike the theology of Calvinist and Arminian, the one difference being that the Arminian by his doctrines of prevenient grace and universal possibilities of salvation reduced the whole to a mere speculation, lessened the gloom, and redeemed not merely man but the character of God. Rousseau's exaggerated antithesis, while as false as the doctrines of total depravity and original sin which it was intended to overthrow, was the beginning at any rate of a juster view both of human life and of the character of God. Incidentally also we may point out that Rousseau in his *Émile* began the redress of another weakness of the Church characteristic of the eighteenth century. In a logical Calvinism there is no place for education as a necessity; a few years more or less cannot count in a fore-ordained eternity out of whose issues man cannot escape. In a logical Arminianism education is valuable if only as a part of the plan of salvation. But such education, as we see abundantly illustrated in Wesley's tenets and practice, is chiefly disciplinary, the correction of the bias of nature by curing the diseases of nature. The Church of the eighteenth century had neither place for nor interest in the child. Only towards its close do we see the rise of the Sunday School under the influence of Robert Raikes of Gloucester; we must wait until the next century for the Church to realize that the child was other than a little adult.

Calvinism and Arminianism.

We have frequently alluded in our previous pages to the struggle in the eighteenth century between Calvinism and Arminianism. Throughout the century we see Calvinism, at the commencement firmly entrenched, slowly giving ground to Arminianism, in spite of temporary triumphs, as in Wales through the preaching of Whitefield. Even in Scotland, though still intellectually holding the field, Calvinism ceases to be the dominant issue in disruption. As we see by the formation of of such sects as the Glassites or Sandemanians (1730), the Erskinites (1733), and the expulsion in 1761 of Gillespie, the battleground was slowly but inevitably shifting to the questions of patronage and civil establishment, the Scots form of the dominant English Erastianism. But for any effective protest on either side of the Border we must wait until a later generation. Calvinism is now so dead a thing, except in a few odd backwashes and corners, that it is difficult for the modern mind to read with any patience the endless controversies, for instance those between Whitefield and Wesley, in which Calvinism tried to retrieve a losing battle and Arminianism to push its attack. Even the masterpieces of Edwards have ceased to have any students. For our present purpose it is necessary to note that the slow defeat of Calvinism was closely allied to the dominant note of eighteenth-century philosophy, the examination of the contents and ideas of the mind. The assurance of damnation by eternal decree, and in fact, though to a lesser extent, the assurance of salvation by the same fiat, is so contradictory to the constituents of human nature as to be inconceivable in the case of the healthy minded. Calvinism at its best is an uncomfortable creed that can make no appeal to the heart. Any examination of experience which refuses to take account of hope and urge as part of the essential contents of experience is so incomplete as to be valueless. But this is precisely what the Calvinist was always doing. One good result of the analytical philosophy of the age was to show that in any rational theology man and his experience must be taken

into account, as well as God. The Calvinists had only thought of God. As Celsus had pointed out centuries before a lonely god of this sort is an impossibility. But Celsus's solution, a plurality of deities, must give place to that conception of the Divine Fatherhood of all men of which the eighteenth century had little inkling until it was first preached by Wesley, though even Wesley was limited by his mediæval doctrines of the Fall and of Original Sin from realizing its fulness.

The Effect on the Church of the English Wars, especially in America.

One great and lasting effect of the eighteenth century upon the distribution of the Church was unmarked by the century itself, but is most visible to-day. Viewed politically the great feature of the age was the struggle between England and France carried on not merely on the continent of Europe itself but in India and North America. In Europe and in the narrow seas the tide of war surged to and fro. In India and America, through the use of her sea power, the result was decisive for England. But the fall of Pittsburg and the capture of Quebec, as we see clearly to-day, were more than local incidents. The Seven Years' War was the turning-point not merely in national history but in the history of the secular world, and to a lesser extent in the history of the Church. England ceased to be a mere European power whose position was determined by its place in a single continent. Had it not been for these victories of England there is little doubt but that North America, save for a narrow strip of English settlements along the coasts, would have come under French and, therefore, indirectly under Roman Catholic domination, as indeed we see is the fact in lower Canada to-day; for whatever France may be at home she has always been a consistent upholder of the claims of Rome in her dominions across the seas. The cession of the mighty area of Louisiana first to Spain and afterwards to the newly-formed United States gave to the Anglo-Saxon and, therefore, to the Protestant world new lands beyond the Alleghanies in which it might grow. But the

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Photo. Keystone

FRANCIS ASBURY

(1745–1816), Father of American Methodism, and the first Methodist bishop in the United States of America
From the sculpture by Augustus Lakeman

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infiltration of emigrants from the older countries has led to amazing developments not only of the Lutheran and Presbyterian Churches but of the newer Methodism, so that to-day the centre of gravity of all these faiths counted numerically is slowly but inevitably shifting westward. Especially is this true of Methodism. But for the world-wide opportunity which the political victories of the eighteenth century gave to England in its struggle with France, Methodism would have become little more than a new, small sect of English Nonconformity, Presbyterianism a mere Scots variant, a position which still by the ignorant is so commonly assigned to them. Instead of that the United States have given to both the opportunity, of which they have fully availed themselves, of becoming vast international Churches that can count their members by the millions.

This feature in the life of the eighteenth century is not sufficiently realized. Let the reader take the map of North America as it was in 1712, and he will note a little strip of English settlers hemmed in on all sides by the dominions of the Catholic powers, France and Spain. If fortune had dealt otherwise in the conflicts at Pittsburg (1758), on the Heights of Abraham (1759), and in Acadia (1757), the opportunity for the growth of the Protestant Evangelical Churches westward of the Alleghanies would have been as slight as it is still in the French province of Quebec or in the Spanish countries beneath the Southern Cross. Nor is it only in Protestant opportunity that the eighteenth-century victory of England over France has left its mark on later generations. The Roman Church in the United States is a powerful force, perhaps the most powerful religious body in the States, at any rate in the big cities. But the predominant Anglo-Saxon liberty and atmosphere has given to it a character and outlook of its own, poles asunder from the narrow, stereotyped Romanism that we find in a province like Quebec where the French influence is still supreme, or in the countries that still look to Spain as their spiritual home.

The Philosophy of the Appeal to Experience.

We have more than once referred to the influence of the philosophy of the age upon the development of its religious life. In the first part of the century the connexion of Deism with this philosophy is plain. Less clear to the unobservant is the profound influence that it had in the later part of the century upon the development of the outstanding feature of that century—the growth of Methodism. Correspondence, in fact, between Locke and Wesley is found in the common appeal of both to experience, and the common claim to introspection as an instrument for the discovery of truth. Many would claim that both alike exaggerated that appeal by their carelessness in laying down the limits of its validity.

The appeal of philosophy to experience originated with Descartes. In this matter, as in some of its issues, Cartesianism is the counter-part to the Reformation. By his dictum *Cogito ergo sum* (" I think, therefore I am "), the French thinker laid the foundation of ontology. As some Methodist doctrines must find their ultimate justification in this identification of consciousness and reality, it were interesting to speculate what would have been the result if the extension of Malebranche of the Cartesian doctrine into a mystical vision of all things in God had established itself in Wesley's Oxford under the lead of that warm admirer of Cambridge Platonism, John Norris of All Souls. But the speculation is useless, for Oxford had followed the lead of the Jesuits and banned Cartesianism, leaving the English philosophy to develop the Cartesian argument on lines of reaction peculiar to itself. Hobbes and Locke twisted the whole matter into one of deductive psychology. In introspection, the examination of the contents of the mind and feelings, the English school endeavoured to find the grounds of validity of thought and being. Such an effort was bound to lead to nescience, as indeed we see when Hume carried on the work of Locke and Hobbes to its logical conclusion. Introspection, as a method for the discovery of truth, cannot but end, as he showed, in the demonstration of its own

impotence. The analysis of mind resolves all into fleeting sensations, in which we can find neither permanence of the ego nor warrant of belief in aught objective, whether God, morality, or self. There is nothing but a stream of feelings, with no fixed bank on which one can stand to see it go by. Add to this that Hobbes by his divorce of religion from reason had made personal religion impossible. The ' waking ' of Kant from his ' dogmatic slumbers ' saved philosophy from the impasse into which the English school had thus led it. By his categories of thought and his appeal to ' the categorical imperative ', Kant demonstrated once more the necessity of recognizing the authority both in ontology and ethics of something external to ourselves, the contents of which can never be discovered by analysis or introspection.

But we are anticipating. Kant really belongs to the next century. Wesley knew nothing of Hume or Kant; the *Zeitgeist* influenced him before Hume had shown its logical issue, or Kant pointed out the more excellent way. Nevertheless in any survey of English thought as thought the place of Wesley cannot be neglected. For his appeal to experience was not, as Warburton and other writers of the eighteenth century urged, mere ' enthusiasm '—that Aristotelian summary of all that the century hated—much less was it the outcome of a mysticism totally alien, unfortunately, to Wesley's nature. In this appeal he was at one, however unconsciously, with the English school, with an important difference. The philosophers had confined themselves too strictly to intellectual and sensational factors. In their analysis of mind they restricted themselves to but a fraction of the whole problem. Wesley pleaded, though not in so many words, for an enlargement so as to embrace spiritual phenomena of the contents of the mind to which the philosophers applied their method of introspection. In modern terms, Wesley claimed that spiritual phenomena have a reality in consciousness of their own which neither the scientist nor the psychologist can safely ignore, and which demands an adequate explanation.

Be this last as it may, there can be no doubt of Wesley's

claim for the validity of introspection. Untroubled by any doubt as to the limitations of his method, unconscious how completely in his method he was in sympathy with the philosophic drift of the age, profoundly unaware that the drift must end in nescience, Wesley made his appeal to spiritual experience and feelings, and claimed that in these we may find objective reality. Time after time we see him putting his own soul under the miscroscope of his relentless self-analysis, and accepting the results as the authoritative decisions of God. The method he adopted for himself he also urged upon his followers. This appeal to the validity of experience fits in with all the concepts of modern thought and of science—science in fact is founded upon it. In Wesley's day the appeal was too individualistic, as was everything else in the eighteenth century. It was left for the next century to rectify this individualism, on the political side by the emphasis of the paramount need of social reform carried out by the community, and on the religious by the discovery of the value of the corporate experience of the religious life of the centuries which was the main basis of the Oxford movement. As a bridge over which the Church, using the term in its widest sense, passed to better things the eighteenth century still has its values.

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CHAPTER IV

Christianity in the Nineteenth Century

From the French Revolution to the Great War.

A hundred years is but a conventional division of time, and the nineteenth century can only be considered as forming a distinct period in the history of Christianity if it be reckoned as beginning before 1800 with the French Revolution and lasting to the outbreak of the Great War in 1914. For these events are real epochs, of which the second closes the era which opened with the first. It will be our task in this chapter to trace in outline the adventures of the Christian religion and Church during the years between the two, years of such rapid change and development as to transform the face of the world and the fashion of human life to a greater degree than any equally brief space of time within the recorded history of our race.

Christianity at the Opening of the Period.

When this period opens, the Christian religion still held in the world of European civilization a position of practically undisputed authority. No other religion was acknowledged by any considerable community therein; with the decay of the Turkish power the thought of Islam as a faith which could seriously dispute with Christianity the allegiance of the civilized world had died away; the religions of the farther east were still too little known in the west to be as yet regarded in the light of possible rivals. Disbelief in Christian doctrines was indeed very widely spread among the cultivated classes; nor

could it be said that the life, whether public or private, of those who professed Christianity conformed, as a general rule, to the standard prescribed by its sacred books or by its traditional teaching. But it was taken for granted that these doctrines, although since the Reformation in the sixteenth century presented in very different forms by the different religious societies into which the outward unity of the mediæval Latin church had been broken up (not to mention the ancient churches of the east), were yet in one or other of these forms acknowledged by the generality of every nation. Open and direct denial of those portions of the Christian creed which were held in common by all or most of the churches and sects which bore the Christian name was avoided for reasons of prudence, even by those who were content to dissemble their dissent by an irony which they did not expect to be taken for anything but what it was; while the officials of the various organizations which claimed in their respective countries to stand in the place of the original teachers of the Christian religion as the authorized exponents of its principles, the directors of its worship, and the guides of its adherents, enjoyed, if not in all cases the respect, at any rate the legal and social recognition which was traditionally due to the acknowledged repositories and representatives of a divine revelation.

The authoritative position thus assigned to the representatives of Christianity corresponded to the conception intertained of it by friends and foes alike as essentially an authoritative religion, consisting in the worship and service of a transcendent God, a Being absolutely distinct from the world which he was believed to have created, who had revealed himself to his rational creatures through a series of miraculous events, inexplicable by those ordinary laws of nature which it was the business of the natural sciences to ascertain; events forcing upon the attentive mind the necessity of supposing a supernatural cause to account for their occurrence. That the world had originated in the voluntary act of such a Being was generally held to be demonstrable by arguments the validity of which could be apprehended by anyone of sufficient

intellectual competence to follow them; and in like manner it was supposed that the credibility of the statements contained in the books regarded by the whole Church as Sacred Scripture could be established by the same sort of evidence as was required in the case of other historical documents. So far was it from being commonly allowed that predispositions of a moral or religious kind were necessary for conviction of the truth whether of 'natural' or of 'revealed' religion, that it was usual to suggest that only a desire to indulge the selfish passions incident to human nature in its present condition without the check imposed by the threats and promises of which the Bible is full, could explain the failure of so many to be influenced in their lives by truths so undeniable, and the pertinacity of some among them in attempts to gainsay doctrines which rested on evidence so irrefragable. Catholic and Protestant might be at issue as to the weight to be attached to ecclesiastical tradition or to the pronouncements of councils and pontiffs; but to the statements contained in the canonical books both alike attributed the inerrancy and authority belonging to utterances which could be shown to have been inspired by an omniscient and omnipotent Being as declarations of what he would have his creatures to believe and to do. Even the revival of personal religion which marked the later years of the eighteenth century, and which in the Protestant Churches expressed itself in the movements known as Pietism, Moravianism, Methodism, and Evangelicalism, was at one with the rationalism against which it was a reaction in its emphasis on the *transcendence* rather than on the *immanence* of God. It carried on the tradition, as old as the earliest age of Christianity, which saw in secular civilization sometimes the enemy, commonly the rival, at the very best only the temporary instrument of religion, rather than the vehicle and expression of the same spiritual life which it was its own mission to impart. It recognized no right in secular science to criticize, though it might be its privilege to illustrate, the content of revelation; it pointed men always to another world than this, to be catastrophically manifested when this should be destroyed; and

it announced as the essence of the Gospel the offer of a salvation which should make those who embrace it independent of this world and secure them in the possession of the other. It is a significant fact that only in the closing decades of the eighteenth century was it beginning to be whispered among philosophers that the established view of Spinoza, as—notwithstanding the religious passion so unmistakably present in his account of the *amor intellectualis Dei*, and his readiness to use Christian language wherever he can—the prince of atheists and enemy of all religion, was the very opposite of the truth. For Spinoza's God, not being *transcendent* but *immanent* only, had seemed to the theologians of the age then drawing to its close to be no God at all.

The French Revolution.

In suppressing ecclesiastical institutions, confiscating ecclesiastical revenues, cutting off intercourse between the national clergy and the see of Rome, which represented to all who acknowledged its peculiar claims the unity, transcending national distinctions, of the universal society founded by Jesus Christ, the revolutionary government of France and its imitators elsewhere were but following the example of many previous rulers of Christian communities, especially of those who had favoured the great disruption which in the sixteenth century had severed a large part of western Christendom from the communion of the Roman pontiffs. It was a new feature that such measures should be taken, not in the interest of some form of Christianity alleged to be purer or more legitimate than that previously established, but either in that of some faith intended to supplant Christianity altogether, like the 'worship of Reason', Robespierre's 'cult of the Supreme Being', or the 'theophilanthropy' patronized by the Directory, or else in that of a purely secular system, according to which the State should disinterest itself in any form of religion whatever. The attempts to substitute a new State religion for Christianity were doomed to failure; but the idea of a 'lay' State, which, though it might tolerate all religions, should

acknowledge none, was destined to dominate the whole political development of the nineteenth century, profoundly affecting the course of legislation and the trend of opinion even in countries which, like our own, did not unreservedly embrace it as a constitutional principle.

It is a familiar reflection, brilliantly expressed in a well-known passage of Heine's *Deutschland*, that Kant's ' critical philosophy ' was in the world of thought the analogue of the French Revolution in the world of affairs. Certainly, so far as regards Christianity, it is true that, just as from the time of the Revolution onwards it could no longer rely on that assured political support which it had enjoyed in Europe since the days of Constantine, so Kant's epoch-making criticisms of the traditional proofs of God's existence and of the immortality of the human soul deprived it of the secure basis in a ' rational theology ' which its apologists had long been accustomed to consider themselves entitled to presuppose. Henceforth both Christian Church and Christian creed must justify themselves by convincing the world of the intrinsic value of what they have to offer, rather than by inspiring fear of the consequences entailed on the rejection of their appeal by a universally recognized authority, whether on earth or in heaven. There is thus a genuine correspondence between the progressive disentanglement of religious interests from political which characterizes the ecclesiastical history of the nineteenth century and the drift towards what may be comprehensively described as *immanentism* which distinguishes the development of theological thought during the same period. Nor is it merely fanciful to see a connexion between the fact that this drift has been least obvious within the Roman Church and the circumstance that there is in the Papacy still left to that Church, even after dissociation from the State, an institution which has not ceased to be a factor in that political system in the creation of which it took so large a part.

The immediate effect of the Revolution upon the French Church was to invest it with that dignity which only suffering for conscience' sake can confer; so that even Protestant

England, whose ready response to the cry of 'No Popery' had been lately illustrated by the disgraceful Lord George Gordon riots immortalized in Dickens's *Barnaby Rudge*, opened its arms in respectful sympathy to the refugee priests. So too the indignities offered to Pius VI by the French invaders of his territories and to Pius VII by Napoleon did but win for the occupant of the Holy See a genuine veneration which it would have been difficult to arouse for a successor of St. Peter who, like the immediate predecessors of these persecuted pontiffs, had appeared before the world either as the nominal sovereigns of a petty and ill-governed Italian state or as the central figures in antiquated ceremonies calculated to excite at the best the contemptuous curiosity of a rationalistic and materialistic age.

Napoleon.

The extraordinary genius, the story of whose amazing rise from the rank of a captain in the revolutionary army to supreme power on the continent of Europe, and tragic fall from a height of dazzling glory to a death in exile, is the most remarkable episode in the annals of the first quarter of the period with which we are dealing, did not pass across the stage of history without coming into contact with the Christian Church. The events of his career bore eloquent testimony to the vitality and power of the faith which the Church exists to proclaim and to foster. For, although certainly not a believer in the Christian creed, Napoleon was early convinced that his design of a universal empire could only be carried out through the exploitation on its behalf of the prestige and influence of Christian institutions; and yet, notwithstanding his Concordats with the Vatican on the one hand and his abolition of its temporal sovereignty on the other, despite also his spectacular success in bringing the Pope to Paris to assist at (but not to perform) his coronation as emperor, he failed in the last resort to reduce to the position of a subordinate official of his realm the old man who was the embodiment of an authority acknowledging no political boundaries, and depending for its

sanction not on force but on long association with the religious beliefs and practices of the majority of Christians in the countries over which he ruled. And this fact is the more striking in that Pius VII was himself indeed a good but in no sense a great man, while Napoleon was, as de Tocqueville said, " as great as a man can be without virtue ".

The Restoration.

During the years which followed the fall of Napoleon many attempts were made by the governments of the Restoration period to use the Church as an instrument of their policy; but these, like that of Napoleon himself, failed to arrest the general tendency of the age towards the dissociation of organized Christianity from political entanglements of every kind. It is particularly noteworthy that Pius VII and his minister Consalvi, by refusing to join the so-called ' Holy Alliance ' devised by the Tsar Alexander I, notwithstanding its explicit adoption of the principles of Christianity as its basis, demonstrated the determination of the Holy See to avoid being involved in dependence upon any combination of secular interests. The same tendency was illustrated by the growth during the nineteenth century of what is known as Ultramontanism and the corresponding decline within the Roman Catholic Church of the type of Churchmanship called Gallicanism in France and Febronianism in Germany, which emphasized the rights of national Churches against the encroachments of the Papacy; and also by the small measure of success attending attempts, such as those of the ' Old Catholics ' after the Vatican Council of 1870, to assert the independence of the episcopate upon the Pope by refusal to submit to novel assertions of papal authority. While this process, culminating in the Syllabus of 1864, which condemned the proposition " that the Roman Pontiff can and should reconcile himself with progress, liberalism, and modern civilization ", and in the definition six years afterwards of the dogma of papal infallibility, undoubtedly accentuated for the time being the irreconcilable attitude of the Papacy toward any union with

other Christian bodies except on condition of their complete submission to its claim to be the divinely appointed centre of unity, it may be doubted whether the resolute assertion of the Church's position as standing outside and above all national distinctions and controversies has not rendered the prospect of an ultimate reunion of Christendom more hopeful in the twentieth century than it might otherwise have been. Ultramontanism has in fact been in its own sphere the expression of the same spirit as in other branches of the Christian Church has, during the same period—even where a traditional connexion with the national State has been retained—revived, extended, and intensified the properly religious and spiritual activities which too close an alliance with established governments and social orders had during the eighteenth century in many ways hampered and repressed. It must not, however, be overlooked that the intellectual obscurantism which has too often been associated both in theory and in practice with the claim to spiritual independence has often done grave harm to the cause of Christianity both by discrediting that cause in the eyes of the world, and by restricting the spiritual conquests of those Churches which have held themselves aloof from the great movements of scientific and philosophical thought by which the general outlook of the modern man has been so profoundly affected.

Immanentism—Kant—Schleiermacher.

To the consideration of these movements and of their effect upon religion in general and the Christian religion in particular I now turn. It is obviously impossible within my present limits to do more than indicate a few salient points in a long and complicated story. But it will appear that the upshot has been to encourage in theology what may be called an *immanentist* tendency. The 'evidences of religion' have come to be sought rather within specifically religious experience than in facts accessible to all men, whether religiously disposed or no. The opposition, traditional in Christian thought and feeling, between the eternal 'life of the world to come' revealed

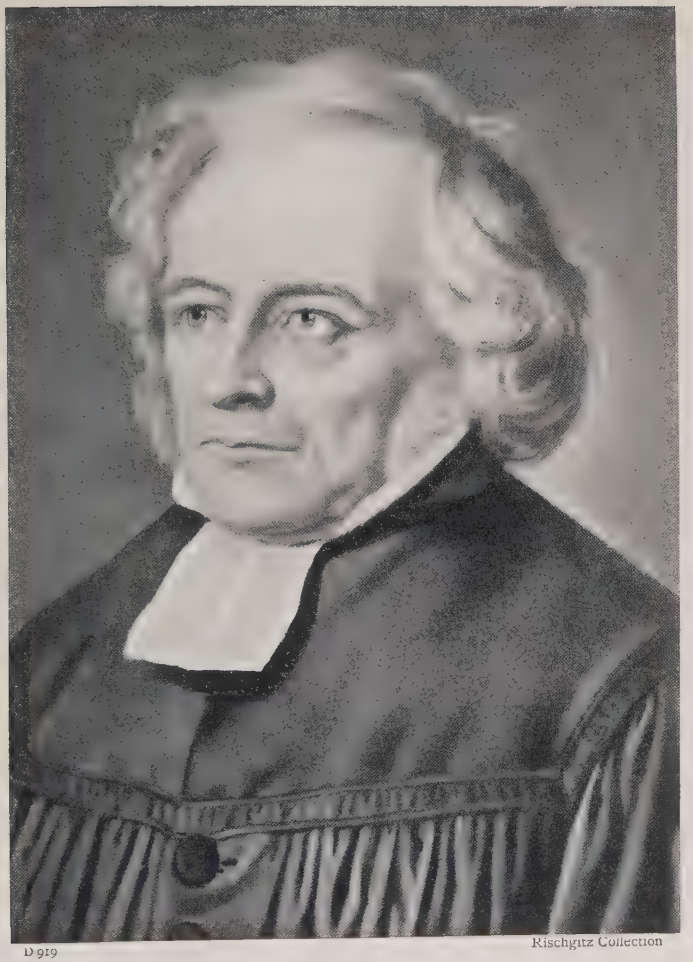
by God's inspired messengers and a secular civilization which at its best is but fallen man's attempt to make the most of his brief sojourn in a world whose destruction is certain and may be at any moment imminent, has been largely replaced by an endeavour to find *within* that civilization those very values which an earlier generation had held could only be fully realized under conditions quite different from those of this life; and, if here at all, only by men and women who have turned their back upon the world and lived in it as not of it, testifying by their indifference to, if not by their refusal to share in its pleasures and comforts, its ambitions and achievements (even when such as to involve a high degree of intellectual and imaginative genius), that their hearts are elsewhere. Even where this endeavour is not made, and the realization of religious values is not expected from any possible progress of secular civilization, attention is less concentrated than in an earlier age on the individual's hope of salvation after death, more on his participation while on earth in the common life and experience of the Church, that is of a society gathered out of the secular society, animated indeed by a different spirit and principle, but engaged in perpetual action upon and interaction with the society out of which it is gathered. In either case the tendency is *away* from the once familiar thought of the Church as an institution, distinct indeed from the secular State, yet supported by its force and in its turn lending to it a moral support, and *towards* the conception either of a 'lay' State supplying from its own resources what is needed for the spiritual cultivation and moral education of its members or of a 'free Church in a free State', neither dependent on the State for its maintenance, nor pledged to the endorsement of its policy. The substitution of religious experience for external evidence as the basis of theological construction, which corresponds with the abandonment by organized Christianity of reliance on State support, has been largely due to the progress of philosophical speculation, scientific discovery, and historical criticism, which has brought it about that once widely accepted arguments for theism and Christianity, drawn from the con-

stitution of the physical world and from accredited facts of history, no longer command the assent which they formerly did.

It is with Kant's drastic criticism of the old 'rational' arguments for the existence of God and the immortality of the soul, and his defence of our belief therein as 'postulated' by our inexpugnable consciousness of moral obligation that the new orientation of the philosophy of religion begins. Although his successors might be dissatisfied with his view of knowledge as limited to matters which fall within the ken of physico-mathematical science, or with his view of the doctrines of religion (and for him this meant the Christian religion) as valid only in so far as they prescribed a certain kind of conduct, yet there has been no reversion to reliance on considerations which abstract from any specifically religious experience for the justification of religious faith. Among these successors the one whose interest in Christian theology was most intimate and whose direct influence upon its development was greatest, Friedrich Daniel Schleiermacher (1768–1834), definitely undertook to refashion its procedure by exhibiting it not as a deduction partly from general principles of reason and partly from authoritative statements made by persons whose claim to be regarded as organs of divine revelation was guaranteed by miracle and prophecy, but as an analysis of the religious experience of men who find themselves, as belonging to a Christian community, the subject of the redeeming and reconciling grace which such a community mediates to its members. The importance of such an undertaking is greater even than that of the actual system in which it resulted, remarkable as was the genius displayed in its construction and far-reaching as has been the effects of its author's work upon subsequent religious thought.

The Romantic Movement.

The recognition of religious experience as having an evident value of its own and needing not that its claim to consideration should be proved from abstract principles of general application was thoroughly congenial with the spirit of the Romantic



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FRIEDRICH DANIEL SCHLEIERMACHER

After a painting by F. Krüger

Facing page 708

movement. This movement, a reaction against the rationalism which had been dominant in the eighteenth century, was the outstanding feature of the spiritual life of the era which opened with the French Revolution. Those very features of Christianity with which the preceding age had shown least sympathy, and upon which it had looked down as effects of superstition and ' enthusiasm ', appealed to a generation fascinated by whatever was passionate or mysterious; while the outrage done by the Revolution itself to the mediæval traditions in Church, State, and society, which the eighteenth century had at once despised and maintained, provoked a new interest in and sometimes an idealization of these which could not but affect the current estimate of the religious faith and order that had played so large a part in moulding those traditions. The famous work of Chateaubriand, *Le Génie de Christianisme* (1802), eloquently presented the religion of Christ to a generation which had been brought up to despise it, as in truth the parent or foster-parent of all that was most beautiful and imposing in the past of European civilization. Like the political recognition accorded to it in the same year by Napoleon, Chateaubriand's homage, while a striking testimony to its importance as a factor to be reckoned with by anyone who should aspire to the leadership of Europe, tended rather to the exploitation of Christianity in an interest not its own than to the promotion of its proper spiritual influence over the minds and souls of men. Yet unquestionably the enlistment of the imagination in its cause prepared the way for that rebirth of Catholicism in France of which Lamennais was for a time the prophet and Joseph de Maistre the philosophical interpreter. Our own country affords a close parallel in the debt, emphasized by Newman in his *Apologia*, which the notable revival in the Church of England known as the Oxford Movement owed to the work of the great British master of romantic fiction and poetry, Sir Walter Scott.

But it was in Germany, the land of Goethe, that the Romantic movement displayed its energies most fully, and it was the poets and philosophers who there represented it that

most profoundly affected the development of Christianity in the nineteenth century. Their influence (which was transmitted to this country by such men of genius as Coleridge and Carlyle) was twofold. It was subversive of much that passed for orthodoxy; but it also breathed new life into much of the traditional language of Christianity that had lost its meaning for a generation accustomed to glorify moderation and good sense at the expense of whatever savoured of 'enthusiasm'; and by its criticism of materialism it heartened the resistance offered by Christian apologists to views of the world which seemed to leave no room for the freedom and immortality of the human spirit or for a revelation of God in the events of human history.

For none of the great religions of the world has this thought of a revelation of God in history possessed the importance which it has for Christianity. Bound up as it has been from the very first with a belief in the actual occurrence of certain historical events, those namely which belong to the life and death of its Founder, Christianity has always set before its adherents a particular view of the course of human history as the predestined unfolding of a divine purpose to redeem from the consequences of a primeval fall those members of our race who will embrace the offer of salvation made to those who will accept the divine mission of that Founder and unite themselves to him in the fellowship of the society which he established. Thus Christianity could not be unaffected by any such change in the way of regarding history as we shall find to have been a notable feature in the intellectual life of the nineteenth century; and, as a matter of fact, this change has, by profoundly modifying the attitude of educated Christians towards their sacred books, been responsible for what will perhaps prove to be a more momentous step in doctrinal development than any taken by the Christian community since it abandoned the expectation of its Lord's return to judgment within the lifetime of the generation that had seen him in the flesh.

The whole Church had since the formation of the Canon been agreed in believing in the inerrancy of genuine Scripture when correctly interpreted. Differences of opinion had existed

as to the canonical character of certain writings; in western Europe, since the Reformation, Protestants had sat looser than Catholics to the principles of interpretation which had become traditional in the pre-Reformation Church; on the other hand they had placed the authority of Scripture in a more isolated position in respect of the general system of faith and order of which it formed part than did the Catholics. But that whatever was recognized as Scripture was throughout divinely inspired was admitted on all hands; and as regarded the New Testament, the specifically Christian portion of the Bible, there was no dispute as to the books which were reckoned to form part of it.

Biblical Criticism.

One of the most remarkable products of the Romantic movement was the creation in the nineteenth century of what may be called the *historical sense*. Men ceased to be content to search the chronicles of antiquity for the facts recorded therein and to apply their own standards to the judgment of the men of other times, taking sides for or against them as though they were contemporaries. They endeavoured rather to understand past events from the point of view of the actors in them, and to find a peculiar satisfaction in a sympathetic appreciation of modes of thought and feeling confessedly very different from their own. The stimulus gain by the growth of this sentiment to historical studies was aided by the example of the natural sciences, whose triumphant progress provoked the devotees of humane learning to emulate the strictness of their methods and the impartiality of their aims; while the philosophy of Hegel, which in the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century was dominant in the German schools, by its doctrine that in tracing the process by which the human spirit had passed in its gradual achievement of self-comprehension and self-determination we were exploring the very structure of that divine idea which in that process was ever more fully unfolding its essential nature, gave to history a standing in philosophy which it could not have so long as it was regarded as merely a

chapter of accidents illustrating principles which throughout remained immutably the same and indifferent to the events which called to them the attention now of one man or nation, now of another. It was inevitable that the study of the Scriptures should be affected by these new ideals; and that there should arise a ' higher ' criticism of the sacred books, aiming not merely at a correct reconstitution of the original texts, but at the application to them of principles which, in the case of other ancient writings, had shown that apparently single and continuous documents may betray by inconsistencies of style and matter a composite origin from materials whose various dates and places of derivation could be with great probability inferred from their contents. Such criticism, in the case of the Old Testament at any rate, was bound to make it eventually impossible for scholars, however conservative by temperament, to maintain such theses as those of the homogeneity of the Pentateuch or of the Book of Isaiah, the Mosaic authorship of much of the former, or its credit as a history in the modern sense of the term, the ascription to David of the greater part of the Psalms, or to Daniel of the prophecy which passes under his name—and that even although in the two last-mentioned instances the traditional accounts could claim the sanction of sayings attributed in the Gospels to Christ himself. Although the establishment of the new views, with the revision of the conception of inspiration which they rendered inevitable, was not effected without arousing much opposition and causing much distress, yet they were at last, by the end of the century, generally accepted by those who had received sufficient education to appreciate the force of the arguments or at least to be impressed by the consensus of experts in their favour; and were found to be in no way inconsistent with the retention of faith in the articles of the historic Christian creed. These articles did not include any events—other than (in quite general terms) the creation of the world—recorded in the Old Testament. Moreover, it had been widely recognized from an early period in the history of Christendom that the inspiration of the whole Old Testament could only be defended on the

supposition that much of it was not understood in its literal sense, but as prophetic or symbolical of truths which were openly revealed in the New Testament only. The extension of historical criticism to the New Testament itself was bound to arouse graver fears and stronger opposition. It is impossible within the limits at our disposal to attempt to trace the history of this process. It may be said to take its start from Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792–1860). He was a follower of Hegel and applied in this field the principles of his master's dialectic, according to which thought for ever sets up against each position which it embraces a counter-position and passes thence to a fuller truth which reconciles them. Thus he constructed the famous Tübingen theory, called from the name of his university, which saw in the view of early Christian history presented in the Acts of the Apostles and in the Catholic Church whose origin it professes to describe, the result of a compromise between two contending parties, those of Peter and of Paul. While later investigation has not left this theory in possession of the field, the impetus given to New Testament studies by Baur set going a process which, by the end of the period with which we are concerned, had reached results, by no means final, yet up to a certain point assured. On the priority of the Gospel ascribed to Mark over those which go by the names of Matthew and Luke, and on the use by compilers of these both of Mark's work and of a document (commonly called Q, i.e. *Quelle*, ' the Source ') containing discourses of Jesus, nearly all scholars are agreed. About the date and value of the Gospel known as John's, agreement has not been reached; but few if any would be prepared to quote it as a record of the words and acts of Jesus as these were heard and seen by his contemporaries on the same level with those in the other gospels; although it would be also generally acknowledged that these too were written by men who belonged to an already existing community which regarded Jesus as its exalted Lord, and who presupposed this estimate of him in their presentation of the traditions concerning him which were derived from eyewitnesses and companions of his life on earth.

The principal effects of Biblical criticism as a whole upon Christianity may be said to be two; one negative, the other positive. It has destroyed for educated Christians the belief in the Bible as an infallible book, any text from which might be quoted as authoritative, while the impossibility of alleging such a text in support of any conviction might be regarded as a serious initial objection to its validity. On the other hand the decay of an attitude toward Scripture which tended to place all that was contained in it on a level, as the utterance of divine authority, and a consequent sense of greater freedom in preferring some parts of it to others, has conduced to an increased emphasis on the life and teaching of Jesus as the central feature of Christian religious tradition; which emphasis has been yet further promoted by the realization that in His case, as in that of other historical personages, it is permitted to allow oneself a certain liberty of judgment in discriminating among the words and deeds ascribed to Him by His biographers according to principles of historical probability and conformity with the best established evidence as to His character.

The 'quest of the historic Jesus' by German Protestant scholars, which a distinguished living writer, Dr. Albert Schweitzer, has traced 'from Reimarus' in the eighteenth century 'to Wrede', led in some hands to the elimination from the picture of the Founder of Christianity not only of the miraculous and supernatural features with which it was originally invested in the pages of the New Testament, but to the minimizing of whatever in that picture was irreconcilable with the ideals of a Liberal Protestant of the nineteenth century, such as His indifference to the aims and achievements of secular civilization, His commendation of detachment from earthly ties and the stress which the evangelists represent Him as laying upon an imminent and catastrophic return to judgment within the lifetime of the generation of His first disciples. From such an attenuated version of the original portrait of the Master a reaction took place in the early years of the present century, a reaction in which Dr. Schweitzer himself played an important part. This reaction might have seemed likely to

restore credit to the Bible account of Jesus at the expense of His claim to be received by modern civilized men as their Lord; but the effect produced on Dr. Schweitzer himself, when his devotion to Jesus, though conceived of as belonging, so far as the deeds and teaching of the days of His flesh were concerned, to a wholly different world of thought from ours, drove him from the comforts and distinctions of Europe to labour as a medical missionary in the wilds of Africa, was a striking proof to those who were inclined to forecast the withering away of Christian faith under the blast of critical inquiry, that the vitality of Christianity depends less closely than is often thought upon a refusal on a part of its adherents to face the problems suggested by modern knowledge. Nor does it stand alone; the rapid advance in recent years among Christians of a freedom of thought which would far into the nineteenth century have seemed incompatible with real acceptance of the Christian creed has gone along with a vast development of interest in the missionary activities of the Christian Church, of which we shall speak again hereafter.

Discontent with what might be criticized as an attempt to see in Jesus only what could be assimilated by Liberal Protestantism was expressed at the beginning of the twentieth century not only by the 'eschatological' school of German Protestant critics but by the so-called Modernists within the Roman Catholic Church, as represented by M. Alfred Loisy's book, *L'Évangile et l'Église* (1903), which was intended as a counterblast to the brilliant and attractive presentation of the Liberal Protestant view in Professor Adolf Harnack's *Das Wesen des Christenthums* (1900). It was suggested that, when it was once allowed that the Jesus of the Gospels stood for a supernatural, 'other-worldly' conception of religion, and not for one readily accommodated to the point of view of modern civilization, it might be recognized that His true representative was to be sought not in religious bodies, of comparatively recent origin, which had shed supernatural pretensions and made themselves at home in modern civilization, but rather in a Church which not only could show a

continuous history from apostolic times but still preserved the character of a society claiming to be independent of any secular State and to exercise in this world the ' powers of the world to come '. Despite, however, this attempt to enlist the most modern criticism in the service of the Roman Catholic Church, the authorities of that Church took alarm at a movement which, on its philosophical side, seemed, by way of reaction against the scholastic tradition (which the encouragement given to the study of St. Thomas Aquinas by Leo XIII's Encyclical *Aeterni Patris* of 1879 had powerfully reinforced) with its emphasis on the independence of the object of knowledge upon the mind's activity in knowing it, to carry the idealistic and immanentist tendencies of modern philosophy to extravagant lengths, so that the objectivity of God and His revelation and their transcendence of the human mind were no longer securely held. In 1907 a very able Encyclical, *Pascendi gregis*, was issued in the name of Pius X, condemning Modernism; and, although Roman Catholic scholars continued to contribute to the task of biblical criticism, the position of free inquiry within the Roman communion was henceforth embarrassed by renewed insistance on the formula that the canonical books ' have God for their author ' and by the reluctance of the authorities to tolerate express denials that the sacred writings were composed by those whose names are traditionally associated with them, even where these ascriptions have been abandoned by the all but universal consent of experts. By the end of our period the Roman Catholic Church, which it was so long the fashion with Protestant controversialists to upbraid for neglect and undervaluing of Scripture, was left alone in western Christendom, along with those least educated members of the Protestant Churches in America and elsewhere whom it has now become usual to describe as ' Fundamentalists ', to uphold that doctrine of the inerrancy of the Bible, which a hundred years before had been generally maintained throughout the whole Christian Church.

The change which the progress of critical scholarship thus introduced into any views of Scripture which could be made acceptable to educated men, by enabling Christians to concentrate attention on the unique religious value of certain parts of the Bible and on the supremacy which may reasonably be claimed for it among the sacred literatures of the world, without conceiving themselves obliged to defend the truth of all its statements or even the moral authority of all its teaching, has made it possible for them, as it could not otherwise have been, to maintain the traditional sentiment of reverence for the ' written Word of God ' in face of the scientific discoveries which, during the nineteenth century, destroyed the credit of the narratives of the origin of the world and of man contained in the Old Testament and assumed in the New. It was impossible to reconcile with these the convictions, of which the evidence brought forward by such men as Lyell, Darwin, Huxley,[1] and others eventually compelled the general acceptance, that the age of the earth itself and of the existence of the human race upon it was to be measured not by a few thousands but by hundreds of thousands or even millions of years; and that the human race itself, like all other kinds of plant or animal, had originated not by special creation, but by a long process of evolution, in which a ' natural selection ' of heritable variations which proved useful to a species in adapting itself to its environments was probably the most prominent factor. But the difficulties which the marvellous advance made by the natural sciences during the nineteenth century appeared at first to place in the way of belief in Christianity were not limited to those created by contradictions between their testimony to the past history of the globe and of man and that of the Bible, nor could they all be removed by an abatement of the claim made on behalf of the Bible to paramount authority

[1] Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859), Lyell's *Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man* (1863), Huxley's *Man's Place in Nature* (1863), Darwin's *Descent of Man* (1871).

in the field of knowledge other than religious. As the 'reign of law' was verified in one region after another of the universe open to our investigation; as a growing acquaintance with the immeasurable range of the physical order in time and space dwarfed more and more all human concerns in comparison of their material environment; as proofs of the intimate connexion of the bodily organism with mental life accumulated; Christianity, with its miracles, its anthropocentric scheme of things culminating in the affirmation that God was incarnate in an individual of our species, its promise of a life after death, seemed to many to be fighting a losing battle against a 'naturalism' whose outlook was more in harmony with our new knowledge of the material world. Moreover, the idea of evolution, which became after the middle of the century the ruling idea in the sciences relating to human (as to all organic) nature—and in which the more venturesome speculators, such as Herbert Spencer (1820–1903), sought a clue to the understanding of nature as a whole, inorganic as well as organic—by affording a principle of interpretation gave an impulse to the investigation of the customs and beliefs of uncivilized men (with which the name of 'anthropology' came to be associated) and suggested an explanation of the meaning of many biblical narratives and of the origin of many biblical laws and prohibitions which it had been usual to regard as divinely revealed; an explanation which tended to confound them with a whole mass of practices and notions belonging to a stage of thought long left behind by civilized humanity. Hence Christianity was threatened not only by a denial of its doctrines as inconsistent with newly-acquired knowledge, but by the explanation of much that was most characteristic in its traditional creed and worship as a survival of primitive error and barbarous superstition. By the end of our period the threat seemed less alarming. The representatives of natural science were perhaps less ready to dogmatize on the limits of the possible; and on the other hand the successful idealistic criticism of naturalism, represented in this country by such thinkers as Thomas Hill Green (1836–82), had in the later decades of the nineteenth century

discredited in academic circles the assumptions of the empirical school of thought, represented by John Stuart Mill (1806–73), which had been dominant in the schools in the middle of the century; and had produced a stronger sense of assurance in those who were convinced by it that natural science could never account for spiritual values. But, if the defenders of Christianity had to some extent recovered confidence, it must be admitted that their apologetic had undergone great changes. Miracles were no longer commonly regarded as in themselves evidences of the truth of the teaching supposed to be attested thereby; rather it was widely allowed that stories of them could only be reasonably credited when ascribed to a personality or connected with a movement regarded on independent grounds as extraordinary. Even men who were recognized as convinced and zealous propagators of Christianity did not always shrink from denying that breaches of the ordinary laws of nature had actually accompanied those manifestations of spiritual power with which the imagination of a less critical age had been apt to associate them. The proof of the divine authority of Christian doctrines or institutions was found in their appeal to the conscience or their effectiveness in promoting spiritual life rather than in their having been distinct in origin from the doctrines or institutions of other religions. There was a remarkable increase of reticence in the pulpit and in religious literature and correspondence with respect to a life after death, and the Christian hope was more frequently defended as a corollary from the experience of communion with God than as an independent article of faith. The fact that in some quarters the activities of those engaged in what came to be called ' psychical research ' were directed towards the search for empirical evidence of the survival of death by human personality encouraged this reticence in others who were impressed by the inadequacy of such empirical evidence as was sometimes brought forward in its support.

Criticism of Christian Ethics—Nietzsche.

From the point of view of an earlier age it might seem that it was only a 'reduced Christianity' which could content itself with this revised apologetic; but it would be a juster estimate to describe the Christianity which employed it as a Christianity challenging the world with the sling and stone which it had tried and found effective, in other words in the strength of its own spiritual experience, rather than with the cumbrous armour of metaphysical arguments and historical evidences which had proved incapable of protecting it against the assaults of enemies wielding the new knowledge put at their disposal by natural science and by anthropological research. Dogmatic development in Protestant Christendom during the nineteenth century had, as we have seen, been determined by the impulse given to it by Schleiermacher; and his successors had gone beyond him in urging that the Christian consciousness of reconciliation to God and communion with Him could not be invalidated by difficulties which might be involved in relating them to other parts of our experience, such as those which engaged the attention of men of science and of metaphysicians who were strangers to the experience which the redeemed community mediated to its members. This tendency was represented especially by the school which took its name from Albrecht Ritschl (1822–89), with its insistence that religious doctrines are the expression, like our moral and æsthetic convictions, of 'judgments of value' rather than of such 'judgments of existence' as meet us in natural science and also in history, though in history judgments of value have also a part to play. Ritschlianism itself, however, presupposed the teaching of Kant, to whom the sense of moral obligation was the most undeniably real fact revealed in human experience, and that which alone gave meaning to the creeds and practices of religion; and Kant's ethical code was essentially that which had been established in Christendom by the influence of the Christian Church. During the earlier part of the encounter of Christianity with naturalism there was indeed no such

drastic criticism directed upon the Christian ethic as upon other departments of Christian tradition. There was criticism of the relative importance attached by Christians to particular kinds of conduct; but as often as not the criticism was of the inconsistency of current Christian morality or even of that involved in certain biblical narratives or ecclesiastical doctrines with the teaching and example of Christ himself, rather than of the principles of conduct which were sanctioned by that teaching and example. It was only toward the end of the nineteenth century that there succeeded to this attitude on the part of the opponents of Christianity the attack of Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche (1844–1900) upon what he conceived to be the distinctive features of Christian morality, its inculcation of patience, of humility, of service of the weaker by the stronger. In his glorification of the 'will to power' Nietzsche was reacting against the teaching of Arthur Schopenhauer (1788–1860), who had pointed out, as the only means by which men could hope to escape the ills inseparable from conscious existence, the denial of the 'will to live'; while accepting from Schopenhauer the view that this was the inner meaning of Christianity, when purified from the dross of Jewish optimism; a view not easily reconciled with the programme put by the writer of the Fourth Gospel into the mouth of Christ himself: "I am come that they may have life, and that they may have it abundantly."

Thus Christianity, stripped already of other external advantages, was called upon at the close of our period to dispense even with the prestige of a generally admitted ethical superiority. It profited, however, by the assault of Nietzsche to emphasize afresh a side of the character of its Founder and of its own classical teaching which had been neglected in the one-sided representation of gentleness and endurance as though they were the only virtues on which Christianity was concerned to lay stress.

Decline of Individualism.

The facts which we have been recalling illustrate the observation made earlier in this chapter that a drift towards *immanentism* is characteristic of Christian thought in the nineteenth century as a whole. We find in it a growing distrust of arguments which rest the authority of Christianity as a divine revelation upon other evidence than that of its own light shining first in the hearts of those who receive it, and then in their good lives and good works before other men also. This, as we shall have presently to remark, by no means implies that the trend of Christian thought was during our period mainly *individualistic*. On the contrary the necessary dependence of religious life upon a social environment was all the more obvious in proportion as it became easier for individuals to live their lives in detachment from any particular religious organization. But the evolutionary and immanentist spirit of the age had laid hands on the conception of society also. It came to be thought of, not as a condition forced upon mutually independent individuals as the lesser of two evils, or adopted by them as a means to greater satisfaction than could otherwise have been attained, but as from the first an inalienable feature of human life. The sanctions of social laws were sought rather in a ' general will ' belonging to the members of the society in common than in the commands of a sovereign with a will distinct and possibly divergent from theirs; and even the sovereignty of God came to be envisaged less as the will of an external Lawgiver laid down from the first and beyond the reach of criticism or revision by His fallible subjects than as the control of a spirit indwelling the association of His worshippers and expressing itself through the organs of their common life. It is worthy of notice in this connexion that, whereas in the eighteenth century there had been a distinct tendency, even where the ancient creeds were still in use, toward a unitarian or deistic conception of God, corresponding to the growing conviction of the unity of nature and of the efficacy of ' second causes ' acting according to law

to explain all but the original initiative of its operations, the nineteenth century discovered a new significance in the traditional doctrine of the Trinity, which had always recognized the divine life manifested in the history of man's intercourse with God and that revealed in the inner experience of human souls as integral factors in the essential being of God.

Roman Catholicism—Newman's Theory of Development—Dogmas of the Immaculate Conception and of Papal Infallibility.

Attention has been called to the fact that to the evolutionary and immanentist tendency characteristic of nineteenth-century theology a strong resistance was offered in the official utterances of the Roman Catholic Church. The refusal of Pius IX in the Syllabus of 1864 to reconcile himself with 'progress' and 'modern civilization' has already been mentioned; and the concessions of the Roman Catholic Modernists to immanentism was the feature of their teaching most severely denounced by Pius X in the Encyclical *Pascendi gregis*. Nevertheless it would not be true to say that this Church was wholly untouched by the tendency in question. In this country a man of genius who passed in 1845 from the Anglican to the Roman Catholic Communion, John Henry Newman (1801–90), justified his change of confession by a remarkable theory of 'the development of Christian doctrine', which had by his own account been suggested to him by the writings of two earlier Roman Catholic theologians, one French and the other German, Joseph de Maistre (1754–1821) and Johann Adam Möhler (1796–1838), and on account of which he has himself often been, not without justice, represented as a pioneer in introducing to his countrymen the thought of evolution as a principle for the interpretation of the history of ideas. His immediate object was to show how the essential continuity of the Roman Communion with the original society established by Jesus Christ was compatible with the obvious difference between the elaboration of its doctrinal system, its hierarchical organization, its legal code, its ceremonial order, and the simplicity in

all these respects of the apostolic church. But even those who are not convinced that essential values have not been lost or reduced in the course of this particular process, would now no doubt readily admit that a very considerable change both in outward form and internal structure is not merely consistent with a genuine continuity, but is indispensable if a society is to go on living; since this must imply, for it as for all organisms, a constant adjustment of itself to an ever-changing environment. Although neither Newman nor the recognized representatives of the Church in which he died a cardinal in 1890 would admit that such development as he described in his famous essay involved any change in the original deposit of faith, yet we cannot but see in his presentation of the case—which has had no inconsiderable influence on theological thought within as well as without the Roman communion—a real kinship with the general line of thought which we have seen to be characteristic of the nineteenth century.

When we turn to the two dogmas which within a few years in the middle of the nineteenth century were promulgated by the supreme authority in the Roman Church for acceptance by the faithful, we shall find, notwithstanding the oracular fashion of their announcement, and the claim made for them to have been implicit in the Christian creed from the beginning, something to remind us of the mental habits of the age in which they were explicitly proclaimed to be entitled to the adhesion of all Christians. The first of these was the dogma of the immaculate conception of the virgin mother of the Lord, promulgated by Pius IX in 1854. It has been admitted even by Roman Catholic scholars that in this event theology capitulated to popular piety. Not the weight of theological authority —which was on the whole against the doctrine—compelled the definition; still less historical evidence, of which it may fairly be said that there was none; but the experience of those who had found inspiration and comfort in devotion to what, if in the south of Europe it often masked the immemorial worship of a mother-goddess, had even there purified and Christianized the conception formed of that being, and was, in its highest

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CARDINAL NEWMAN

From the painting by E. Deane in the National Portrait Gallery, London

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form, devotion to an ideal of Christian womanhood, combining the purity of the maiden and the gracious love of the mother. This inspiration and comfort were such as to find adequate theological expression only in a doctrine which placed Mary in a position shared with her Son alone and apart from all other human beings. The whole development of the veneration of Mary up to its crowning stage in the proclamation of this dogma implied indifference to the historical attestation of alleged historical facts; for not only was evidence of the actual miracle asserted by the dogma naturally wanting, but the idea of the Lord's mother implied in the 'hyperdulia' which exalted her above all other saints had but a very slender basis in the New Testament; and this peculiar veneration itself was of comparatively late growth in the Church, nor could its existence be verified at a date early enough to make it arguable that, as with the worship of Jesus himself, no satisfactory explanation of it could be found except in a personal impression produced on those who had come into direct contact with its object.

The later dogma of Papal infallibility, promulgated by the same pontiff at the Vatican Council of 1870, still more strikingly illustrated the tendency of nineteenth-century thought to emphasize the importance of present experience at the expense of the tradition of the past, and that of nineteenth-century Christianity to dispense with adventitious aids and stand forth as divine in its own inherent right. For the infallible guidance promised, as was supposed, to the Church was now represented as expressing itself through a single permanent organ whose action required no hardly assembled constitutional machinery to render it efficacious; and the isolation and exaltation of the successor of St. Peter as that organ marked the culminating point of that emancipation of the Church from political entanglements which characterized the ecclesiastical history of the century in many different forms. It is instructive to observe the coincidence of the promulgation of the dogma of the Pope's infallibility with the fall of his temporal power after the withdrawal from Rome, occasioned by the Franco-German

war, of the French troops by whose presence the Italian civil power was detained from entry into the eternal city. Since then the Papacy has indeed refused to come to terms with the kingdom of Italy and has declined to allow the legitimacy of its occupation of the territories formerly belonging to the Holy See. But it has long been well understood that the restoration of these is neither expected nor desired; and that the motive of the apparent *intransigeance* of the Popes is to be found not in a wish to re-enter the political arena as one State among many, but, on the contrary, to secure such independence of any one State as would be impossible were their presence in Rome conditional on the goodwill of the Italian government and not universally recognized as the necessary guarantee of their freedom to fulfil a spiritual task which is essentially international. The reluctance of the Vatican to commit itself to acquiescence in the claim of the Italian State to predominance in Rome and its policy, from Leo XIII onwards, of accommodating itself, especially in France, to the existing political situation, even at the cost of alienating adherents accustomed to identify Catholicism with a particular political party, may be explained upon the same principle. Nor need any other be invoked to justify Pius X's refusal to carry compliance with the French Republic to the length of permitting the French Church to reorganize itself as a collection of *associations cultuelles*, thereby risking the revival of that ' Gallicanism ' which was not content with allowing to Christians a temporal as well as a spiritual allegiance, but confounded the two by conceding to the national State a right to impose restrictions on the operation of the supreme spiritual authority.

It might perhaps be expected that the defiance of the modern world expressed in the Syllabus and in the definition of papal infallibility would have lessened the influence of the Roman Catholic Church therein; but this was not on the whole the result of these utterances. It might have been so indeed but for the policy adopted by Pius IX's successor, Leo XIII, of refusing to involve the Church in the party politics of any country (outside of Italy at least) and of cultivating friendly

relations with any established government whatever its form. In the light of this policy, that of the Vatican Council could be interpreted as in the main the expression of a determination to renounce the compromises inevitable to a partner in the game of international politics and to concentrate the energies of the Church on a world-wide spiritual mission. There were, moreover, other influences at work which made for an abatement of the unsympathetic bitterness with which the Roman Church had been so often regarded by those who did not submit to its claims, despite the fact that these claims were now more far-reaching than ever. None of these influences was more important than the growth of an historical sense which we have already noted as characteristic of the intellectual life of Europe during our period. For this led to a better appreciation of the services rendered to religion and civilization in the past by the Holy See, and inspired a sentiment of reverence even in those who were divided by profound differences of conviction and outlook from the Roman Catholicism of their own day for an institution whose existence was a visible witness of the continuity of ecclesiastical life from the primitive period of Christian history to the present. At the same time the progress of the studies which were promoted by this same historical sense destroyed the basis of certain views that had formerly done much to encourage the belief that Protestantism was bound up with uncompromising and indiscriminate hostility to the Papacy. It was no longer so easy as it had been to think of the middle period of the history of Christendom as an age of almost unmitigated darkness intervening between the supernatural glories of the apostolic age and the new sunrise of the Reformation; or to read the apocalyptic denunciations of imperial Rome as a prophetic account of her papal successor. In this country in particular a widespread admiration for the qualities of two great English cardinals, for the religious genius and saintly life of John Henry Newman, and for the self-denying austerity and active zeal for social reform of Henry Edward Manning (1808–92), may be mentioned as powerfully contributing to abate the deeply-rooted prejudice

against their communion which had been inherited from the conflicts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Churchly and Sacramental Movements outside the Roman Church.

There was one side of the nineteenth-century thought about the Christian religion upon which we have not yet dwelt which contributed to a better appreciation than had been usual among those who did not belong to it of the Christian society whose very exclusiveness arises from its insistence upon unity and universality as essential notes of the Church of Jesus Christ. Other Christian bodies might profess belief in an ideal unity no longer outwardly exhibited in a visible fellowship of faith and order; in a Catholicity which did not prevent the co-existence of rival national or sectional Churches in the same area; the Roman Church alone presented a world-wide organization which ignored national distinctions and allowed to no congregations external to itself a right to count themselves true, even if severed, members of Christ's mystical body. This attitude could not but give it an advantage in an age in which men were profoundly impressed with the necessarily social character of religion and prepossessed in favour of the conception of a visible universal fellowship as that which alone could correspond to the intention of the Founder of Christianity. The great religious movements of the eighteenth century had been on the whole individualistic, their grand aim was the salvation of individual souls, and to this end membership of a Church seemed to be no more than a means; it mattered little to what Church a man belonged, so that it afforded him sufficient opportunity of practising his personal religion in accordance with his conscience. The religious movements of the nineteenth century were very different. In reaction from the violence done to social tradition by the French Revolution the philosophy of the succeeding age had emphasized its importance. The reality and sanctity of the bond uniting individuals into nations or churches was felt with a new intensity. An anxious desire to find among the conflicting claim-

ants to the title the true Church of Christ wherein alone there was an assured promise of salvation was displayed by earnest Christians. This was seen especially in the celebrated movement in the Church of England which takes its name from the University of Oxford, and of which the leaders were John Henry Newman, already mentioned, John Keble, the author of *The Christian Year* (1827), and Edward Bouverie Pusey, from whom its adherents were often called Puseyites. The effect of this movement upon the Church in which it arose was very great. Without aiming at the separation of the Church from its connexion with the State, it inspired the conviction of its essential distinctness from it, and its claim to an authority not derived from the national sovereign. It gave to its ministers a new consciousness of being, no less than the Roman Catholic clergy, priests in a universal Church, although through mutual misunderstandings not recognized by their fellow-priests as such. It quickened churchly activities everywhere within the Church of its origin, and the higher standards of reverence and beauty in public worship which it inculcated had an influence which extended far beyond the borders of that Church, throughout the English-speaking world, among the many religious bodies into which British Protestantism had come to be divided. A new emphasis on the Sacraments, whereby the common life of the whole Church as the body of Christ is imparted to the individual Christian in Baptism and maintained in him through participation in the Eucharist, naturally went with the new realization of membership in the universal society; and this emphasis also had its effects beyond the limits of Anglicanism. But the Oxford movement did not stand alone. Other contemporary movements resembled it in exhibiting a pronouncedly churchly and sacramental character; for example, that initiated in Denmark by Nicolai Grundtvig (1783–1872) and nearer at hand that which is popularly designated by the name of the Scottish preacher Edward Irving (1792–1834); while the ' disruption ' of the Church of Scotland by the foundation of the ' Free Church ' in 1843 was due to the resolve of Thomas Chalmers (1780–1847)

and his supporters to assert the spiritual autonomy of their Church at the cost of abandoning their share of its emoluments. It is to be remarked that while in the former part of the nineteenth century the Church was most often conceived by those who laid stress upon its importance to religion as a society authorized by its divine Founder to claim the obedience of his followers, in the later, under the influence of the biological analogies made popular by Darwinism, it came to be envisaged, in a manner more congruous with the scriptural metaphor of the ' body of Christ ', as a living and growing organism; and its unity was sought rather in a principle immanent in its activities than in an original charter of liberties and powers defining once for all the structure of the institution which it established.

The Industrial Revolution—Socialism.

One might have expected that a new realization of membership in the Christian society as an essential factor in the Christian life would have inspired the representatives of Christianity to come forward with a doctrine of fellowship to meet the practical problems raised by the industrial revolution which took place in this country at the end of the eighteenth century and spread over the civilized world during the nineteenth. The breaking up which this movement caused of old social ties and habits, including those which bound men to their parish churches or to dissentient congregations which had established themselves by the side of these, called for a new effort on the part of the Churches to maintain or recover their hold on the populations which the factory system was aggregating into vast new urban communities whose life was to a great extent detached from the older traditions of the nation. But the effort made fell far short of what was required. The great change which was taking place in the structure of Western civilization was often scarcely noticed by the contemporaries of its earlier stages. Those who were most concerned with theories of the Christian society were frequently preoccupied with questions of doctrine, of order, and of forms

of worship, and bestowed comparatively little attention on social problems which did not obviously connect themselves with these; though the history of the Oxford Movement illustrates the way in which a later generation might carry over enthusiasm for the idea of the Church as a society of worshippers into the science of social reform in the widest sense of the word. Moreover the new middle class, the rise of which to political power was the immediate sequel of the industrial revolution, was on the whole quite ready, on acquiring predominance in the State, to assimilate as far as possible the traditions of the class whose supremacy it had successfully challenged. In this country in particular, even where we find a certain section of this class antagonistic to the religious institutions recognized by the State, this did not as a rule mean hostility to Christianity, but rather adhesion to some nonconformist body which professed to present Christianity in a purer form than the established Church. In countries where conscientious nonconformity had not been so frequent or extensive, or had been put down by violence, Christianity was more often identified with 'clericalism' and in consequence more often regarded with hostility by those who looked upon the clergy as upholders of traditions adverse to popular liberty. When in their turn the wage-earning class began to press for a larger share in the profits of the industries which were carried on by their labour than was conceded to them by the capitalist *bourgeoisie* who had risen to power by means of the wealth derived from these industries, they tended to look upon the religion professed by the governing class in a light in which indeed it was not unfrequently presented to them, as a device to keep them down by preaching the duty of submission to constituted authority and putting off complaints of injustice with promises of redress in another life for those who had patiently endured wrong in this. On the continent of Europe, speaking generally, adherents of what was called Socialism, the doctrine, set up in view of abuses due to private competition in industry, that the means of production should be owned by the public, came to be thought inconsistent with the profession of Christianity. Especially

was this so when Socialism was associated with the theory that the only real factor in historical development was the economic, and that all institutions and changes of any other kind, including the religious, could be explained as produced, consciously or unconsciously, to serve the economic interests of those at the time in power. For Christianity thus interpreted could not be expected to further or to survive the revolution to which Socialists looked forward as the object of their aims and hopes. Despite occasional manifestations of sympathy with working-class aspirations on the part of representatives of Christian Churches—such as Leo XIII's *Rerum novarum* of 1891—alienation from any form of organized Christianity has become a characteristic feature of Continental Socialism, distinguishing it from the English working-class movement, which has throughout its history found its leaders as often as not in men who are professing and even active members of Christian Churches, whether 'established' or 'free'. The history of social reform in England will sufficiently serve to explain this difference when we consider such facts as the following. There is no doubt that the earlier working-class leaders were largely trained in discussion and in the handling of affairs by experience as members of Methodist classes or of democratically governed Nonconformist congregations. In the year of revolution 1848, a band of Christian Socialists gathered round one of the most influential theologians of his generation, Frederick Denison Maurice (1803–72), to urge the claims of the working class and to set on foot a movement for promoting opportunities for education among them. In the fight which was crowned by the passing of the Factory Acts on behalf of the victims of unrestricted industrial competition in mines and factories their most prominent champion was Lord Ashley, afterwards the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury (1802–83), a man whose motives were throughout inspired by an enthusiastic Christian charity. We have also to remember the zeal for the welfare of the working class which animated clergymen like Samuel Barnett, the inaugurator of the 'settlement' movement (1844–1913), and Stewart

Headlam; and the selfless labour in the ' slums ' of such others as Charles Lowder (1820–80) and Robert Dolling (1851–1902) and very many more; and the immense work done for the outcasts of society by such religious organizations as the Salvation Army, founded by Catharine (1829–90) and ' General ' William Booth (1829–1912) in 1878, and the Church Army (founded by Wilson Carlile in 1882). Social reformers have often been inclined to accuse the Christian Churches of disproportionate attention to denominational rivalries and disputes about ritual in the presence of widespread misery and injustice; and even to charge Christianity with diverting attention from earthly wrongs by its preaching of patience under them as a virtue which will have its reward hereafter. But it is beyond all possibility of denial that a very large proportion of such efforts as have been made to remedy these evils have been inspired by Christian enthusiasm; and, during the later portion of our period at any rate, on occasions when ' labour ' was at grips with ' capital ' the influence of leaders of religion was often cast upon the side of ' labour ' and could seldom be confidently counted upon by their opponents.

It must not indeed be supposed that there were in other lands no prominent representatives of Christianity on the side of popular liberties. The names of Lamennais (1782–1854) and Lacordaire (1802–61) are evidence to the contrary as regards France at the same period as saw the rise of Christian Socialism in this country. Nor of course was self-sacrificing work among the poor a monopoly of Englishmen. But on the one hand Englishmen are peculiarly insusceptible to the attractions of *doctrinaire* consistency; on the other, owing to the traditions of English Nonconformity, the idea of Christianity was not closely associated in the English mind with subservience to the State; while just at this time the clergy of the established Church came, under the influence of the Oxford movement, to regard it less as a national institution than as a local branch of the Catholic Church. Although far more exposed than the Church in communion with Rome to the reproach of confounding the Christian ideal with that of civil respectability, and less

able than that Church to point to evidences of its freedom from prejudice against the working-class in its ready veneration of humble saints, its high esteem for voluntary poverty, and the familiar use of its churches by the poorest members of the community, yet it was less hampered in its dealings with the working-class by identification with the policy of a foreign Court, whose traditions and habits almost inevitably rendered it out of touch with modern aspirations and slow to take account of them. However caused, the distinction I have indicated between the respective attitudes to Christianity of British and Continental Socialism certainly came to exist, with important consequences for the future.

Expansion of Christendom.

So far our account of nineteenth-century Christianity has been confined to its fortunes among the nations of Europe. But during the nineteenth century the improvement of the means of communication facilitated an enormous expansion of the area of European civilization, which colonists from Europe carried across the ocean, establishing great communities of men of European descent in every part of the globe habitable by white men. Of these the greater number were under the government either of the British Crown or of the great Republic across the Atlantic which had revolted from allegiance to that Crown in the previous century. The settlers of which these communities were composed generally carried with them the religious organizations to which they had been accustomed at home; and the principal divisions into which in the course of time Christendom had come to be divided were perpetuated in distant regions of which their originators had never heard. When the nineteenth century began, Christendom had, despite the multiplication of sects since the Reformation, presented on the whole the aspect of a group of nations professing different forms of Christianity; but during the century it came to present rather that of a host of intermingled ' denominations ', living side by side in a state of mutual controversy but also of mutual toleration. In the more

newly-settled parts of the United States of America and of the British Empire none of them had the prestige of an original establishment; so that an individual might feel at liberty to choose to which among them he should attach himself according to his personal predilections, without feeling himself under an obligation to any one of them in particular. Especially in the United States it was an easy thing to start a new sect, which might even so far depart from the lines marked out by tradition as to become to all intents and purposes a new religion; such was Mormonism in the earlier and Christian Science in the latter part of our period.

Christian Missions.

Side by side with this process of the expansion of Christendom and increase of its internal divisions, there was going on a vast output of missionary effort, by which the various Churches or ' denominations ' which professed the Christian name endeavoured to discharge the duty laid upon all followers of their Lord by the command to " go into all the world and preach the Gospel everywhere ". The few pages which remain to this chapter are wholly inadequate even to suggest the wonderful story of adventures faced and self-denying heroism exhibited by those who turned their back on the comfort and security of life among their own people to bring the message of salvation to strangers who had not yet acknowledged, perhaps not even heard, the name of Christ.

The missionary record of the Roman Catholic Church was already long and glorious when the nineteenth century begins, and its labours to bring the heathen to Christ continued without abatement throughout its course. Deprived of a subvention from the Portuguese government in 1827, the work in India was resumed ten years later in independence of any such support by French Jesuits under the pontificate of Gregory XVI, despite a Goanese schism originating in Portugal's objection to being ignored. Persecutions in China continued till 1844 and in Indo-China in the decade 1830–40, with martyrdoms in Corea between 1830 and 1850, stamped the

apostolic efforts of the century with the sign of the cross. But the claim made by the Roman See upon the obedience of all Christians rendered impossible any co-operation on the part of the missionaries who acknowledged it with the separated communions.

These came later into the field. Scottish Presbyterians, Moravians, and Methodists had already distinguished themselves in missionary enterprise during the eighteenth century; but the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, though founded in 1701, did little for other than English settlers until after 1817; and the Baptist Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Society, the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the Wesleyan Missionary Society all came into existence within our period, in 1792, 1795, 1799, 1804, and 1813 respectively. The East India Company excluded missionaries from their territories until 1813, when the Anglican see of Calcutta was founded; but their discouragement of evangelistic work did not prevent the great Baptist pioneer William Carey (1761–1834), the founder of the college at Serampore, from laying the foundations of an enterprise which he saw before his death well established and unhampered by official prohibitions. We may mention also among British contributions to the task of bringing the Gospel to the heathen the Melanesian mission originated in 1846 by Bishop George Augustus Selwyn and the labours in Africa of two remarkable men, Robert Moffat (1795–1883) and his son-in-law David Livingstone (1813–73). They were followed by the foundation of the Universities Mission to Central Africa in response to the latter's appeal in 1859; by the conversion of Uganda in 1875 by missionaries sent by the Church Missionary Society on the invitation of the native king Mtesa; and by the remarkable career of Khama, the Christian chief of Bechuanaland, who was baptized in boyhood by a German missionary and died in 1903 over ninety years old. The Students' Volunteer Missionary Union, founded in 1886, developed first into the Students' Christian Movement for Great Britain and Ireland

in 1893 and eventually into the World Students' Christian Federation, the history of which belongs to the period after the war and to the future, but which is certainly one of the most important legacies of the age with which this chapter is concerned to the Christian Church of the next generation. Over against the distracted 'denominationalism' of the nineteenth century it sets, not an 'undenominationalism' destructive of everything distinctive in the religious experience of each 'denomination', but an 'interdenominationalism' which can recognize the value of each denomination's contribution to the treasure of spiritual life and prefers to a premature unification the genuine co-operation which is only possible where men are not required to give up or to reckon as secondary and inessential what they know to be to themselves sacred and invaluable. The great Edinburgh Conference of 1910 marks an epoch not only in the history of the mission-field but of the Christian Church. From it dates a serious movement towards the reunion of Christendom, the subsequent course of which lies beyond the horizon of this chapter, but which has already made its object, however remote the prospect of its accomplishment, yet a practical issue in a sense which would have seemed chimerical fifty years ago. And as it is in the mission-field that this movement had its inception, so it is there that Christianity is learning that the new appreciation of other faiths, which a more dispassionately scientific study of their history and character (itself a study greatly indebted to missionary observers of the peoples among whom their calling led them to settle) has rendered necessary, may be no hindrance but rather an assistance, especially in dealing with educated men who are not Christians and who are rightly unprepared to acquiesce in the mere dismissal as unmixedly false of creeds which embody the past religious experience of their nations. There, too, the emancipation from a slavery to the letter of the Bible which the progress of critical science has brought about is beginning to prove its value to the cause of Christianity in relieving missionaries from the necessity of presenting to those whom they would

convert, as an integral part of the Christian faith, much that is irreconcilable with the outlook of modern civilization and sometimes with the standards of Christianity itself as set by the life and teaching of its Founder.

Decay of 'Hell-fire' Preaching.

Under this head may perhaps be reckoned what has been called the 'hell-fire preaching', which down to the last few years of the nineteenth century was so common among those most zealous for the propagation of Christianity and which still formed so important a weapon in the armoury of the Salvation Army. During the thirty years preceding the Great War it had already remarkably declined; and by the end of our period the belief that the everlasting punishment of a vast multitude of individuals for their failure during this life to respond to the divine call to repentance was an article of Christian faith, a belief which in the middle of the nineteenth century was strong enough to raise an outcry, when this article was called in question, sufficient to deprive Frederick Denison Maurice of his theological professorship at King's College, London in 1853, was openly abandoned by many and insisted upon in the old fashion by very few. The conviction that it was irreconcilable with Christ's presentation of God as a loving Father allowed those who rejected it to consider themselves faithful to their Master, even while departing from the obvious implication of several sayings ascribed to Him in the Gospels.

Christ in Modern Theology.

This change—a change at least in doctrinal emphasis, even when not in doctrine—is congruous with the steady growth in Christendom throughout our period of the sentiment of humanity. There is no space here to dwell on many illustrations of this fact which might well seem to call for mention; but the abolition within the British dominions first of the slave trade in 1807, and then of slavery in 1834, and eventually of slavery in the United States of America, must not go un-

noticed; and these measures were in the main the fruits of an enthusiasm inspired by Christian faith. It was certainly so with Clarkson, Wilberforce, and Garrison. It must be admitted indeed that not only have opponents of Christianity also contributed to the triumphs achieved by the philanthropic and humanitarian movements of the nineteenth century, but have even connected their opposition to Christianity with their interest in these. Yet it is fair to say that the presentation of Christianity which such men were chiefly concerned to oppose was one which centred in a predestined ' scheme of salvation ' involving the damnation of the majority of mankind rather than in the revelation by Jesus of God as above all a loving Father, like him in the parable who ran to meet and embrace the returning prodigal, or in the recognition of Jesus himself as, in the apostle's words, " the portrait of the invisible God ". The history of Christian theology in the nineteenth century was one of increased insistence upon the central position of Jesus in the religion which He founded, as manifesting the life of God under the conditions of human existence, and not merely, or chiefly, as the chief actor in a mysterious transaction which corresponded to our ordinary ideas neither of justice nor of mercy. Some of the most notable religious movements of the period illustrate this. The Oxford Tractarians, for example, were greatly concerned, without in any way denying the inspiration of the Epistles or the authority of tradition, to recall attention to the supreme importance of studying in the Gospels the life and teaching of the Lord. The Ritschlian movement again was essentially Christocentric, and in some of its representatives even went to extravagant lengths in denying the relevance to a Christian's religion of any knowledge of God which came through any channel other than the historic Jesus, thus severing Christianity from its basis in natural religion. Doubts about the miraculous stories related in the New Testament and criticisms of the Chalcedonian or even of the Nicene formulation of the divinity of Christ must not conceal from us that even the ' Liberal ' theology of our period exhibits (with rare exceptions) no tendency to allow of ' alter-

natives to Jesus Christ'; that indeed, while giving up much the earlier Unitarians fought against, such as artificial theories of the Atonement, and appropriating much that they fought for, such as a full recognition of the humanity of the historic Jesus and of the gradual development of the Catholic doctrine of His Person, it has seldom any sympathy with the deism which insisted on the infinite distance between the Son and the Father, and that it finds its proof of the Lord's right to claim our worship not in miracles or prophecies, some of which might as well have accredited another kind of Messiah than He, but in—*Himself*.

Individualistic Reaction—Tolstoi and Dostoievsky—Psychology of Religion.

It has been already pointed out that the nineteenth century saw a revival of interest in the social aspect of religion; but it has to be added that as our period drew towards its close, there was a considerable reaction towards a more individualistic attitude. We are not indeed to think of a return to the old preoccupation with the prospects of individual salvation in another life; but of a sense, such as showed itself at the same time in art and literature, of the importance of allowing every individuality to express itself in the way proper to it. In Nietzsche such individualism took an anti-Christian form; but in his great contemporary Leo Tolstoi (1828–1910) a similar reaction against the glorification of the State, which the Hegelian philosophy had sanctioned and which the military monarchies of Europe and their Socialistic critics agreed in encouraging, presented itself as a revised Christianity, discarding altogether ecclesiastical and sacramental traditions and falling back on the programme of non-resistance to evil and of indifference to the 'gifts of civilization' which he found announced in the Sermon on the Mount, and which involved, as he held, refusal to comply with the demands of the State in the matters of oaths and of military service. The genius with which these views were put forward, and the dramatic flight of the great novelist from his own home in his old age

to die in the poverty which he approved, made a profound impression. Another famous Russian, Feodor Dostoievsky (1822–81), powerfully presented the Christian thought of redemption through suffering as the key to the mystery of human life, and that without Tolstoi's polemic against Christian institutions. It is said that the study of this writer in Japan after the Russo-Japanese war of 1904–5 aroused a new interest in Christianity in that country—but rather as an individual way of life than as implying membership of a Christian Church. This individualistic attitude to religion found further encouragement after the end of the nineteenth century from the study of the phenomena of conversion by psychologists—especially in the United States, where, as we saw, religious connexion was more often than in older countries regarded as a matter of individual choice. This study was introduced to a wider public by the pioneer work of William James on *The Varieties of Religious Experience* delivered as Gifford Lectures at Edinburgh in 1901–2. Closely akin to this attention to religious psychology was a widespread interest in mysticism of which the literature produced in the earlier years of the present century affords abundant evidence.

Conclusion.

The space at my disposal is nearly filled, and nothing has been said of many matters which should have found a place in an account of Christianity in the nineteenth century. I have not touched on the inspiration which it afforded to poets and to artists. I have left unnamed many famous preachers, representative churchmen, thinkers, and scholars, founders of institutions for nurturing the Christian life, sacred singers whose hymns have given utterance to the devotion of thousands in all societies that bear the Christian name, men and women who have shrunk from no toil or humiliation to minister to the least of those whom the Master was not ashamed to call His brethren; or whose saintly and devoted lives, spent in whatever sphere of service, have, like their Lord's, been lifted up to draw many to Him. A dispropor-

tionately large space has been assigned to concordats and councils and controversies of the schools; but had one to choose scenes to represent at its best the Christianity of the nineteenth century, it is not to those connected with such affairs that one would turn, but to Henry Martyn renouncing all his prospects of distinction at home to bring to the people of India and China the treasures of his own faith and dying among strangers at thirty-one; or to David Livingstone in the African swamps, carrying out his boyish resolve made 'in the glow of love which Christianity inspires' to 'devote his life to the alleviation of human misery'; or to Father Damien ministering to the lepers on Molokai till he succumbed himself to their loathsome malady; or to many another illustration of the truth that still, in this age of Christianity as in every other, its essence lies in the losing of one's life for Christ's sake to find it and keep it unto life eternal.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

It would be impossible within the space here available to attempt an adequate bibliography of Christianity in the nineteenth century. Such an one would embrace both the chief historical records of the religious life of the period and the classics of theology and devotion produced by Christians in the course of it; and would include also the principal criticisms of Christian doctrine and practice which have appeared between 1789 and 1914. It must therefore suffice to call attention to the rich material contained in the relevant articles of the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, edited by the late Dr. James Hastings, and in Dr. J. T. Merz's *History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century* (Blackwood, 1896–1912), especially in Vols. III and IV. Reference may also be made to Professor E. C. Moore's *Outline of the History of Religious Thought since Kant* (Duckworth, 1912).

CHAPTER V

Christianity To-day: Social and Christian Ethics

One of the chief features of Church activity in the later nineteenth century has been the steady development of a sense of responsibility in relation to social evils, and to the social system itself. To those who judge only by the experience of their own lifetime, this has seemed to be an innovation; those who have studied Christian history know that it is a recovery of a field of action which the Church of earlier days unhesitatingly claimed as her own. Those who wish for evidence of this statement must be referred to the original sources or to works in which the relevant passages from this are collected, such as R. H. Tawney's *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, or the Report of the Archbishops' Fifth Commission of Inquiry, entitled *Christianity and Industrial Problems*. Whether or not theologians were exceeding their province when they discussed the structure of society, the principles of land-tenure or usury, and the moral bases of political loyalty, there can be no doubt about their doing it. As we are here concerned with modern problems and modern activities, we need not now consider the justifications which they themselves advanced for their handling of these topics when they did not take it for granted as an obvious part of their function. We shall later on be concerned with a justification for similar action to-day.

It is, however, worth while to consider briefly how it came about that religion virtually abandoned this field. In the

Middle Ages the circumstances of life were nearly constant. It is difficult for us to remember that the very idea of progress as a normal concomitant of healthy social life is a novel one; its prevalence among ourselves is based on that perpetual transformation of the very conditions of social and economic life which scientific discovery has initiated and maintained, and it has received some reinforcement from the biological theory of evolution. Both these factors are novel. The troops of the Duke of Wellington moved about Europe at the same rate and by the same means as the troops of Julius Cæsar. That is an illustration of the fixity of conditions governing many aspects of life until the days of a generation only just passed away. This constancy of the conditions both stimulated and favoured the endeavour to reach a scheme of thought which should be both all-embracing and final. No one now would even aim at such finality. But in those more stable and less complex conditions men did both aim at, and in some measure achieve, a theoretical construction which seemed capable of indefinite endurance, and which set out at least to cover the whole field of life. The very success of this colossal enterprise made it a danger to the generations which followed those in which that success was reached. For of course the scheme did not cover all the facts; and the facts, though not changing with the rapidity to which we are accustomed, yet were undergoing modification as commerce developed. Consequently the great scheme of thought which had been built up proved less and less well adapted to the situation, and as it had the authority of the Church behind it the result was to damage the prestige of the Church in its claim to influence commercial and economic life. This process had already gone far when the discovery of America put an end to the mediæval world. Consequently the Reformation came upon a scene where the Church's influence in these fields was already deeply discredited, and where progressive thought was strongly hostile to it. As a result the general tendency of the Reformation was in the direction of withdrawing the Church from concern in such matters. This did not take place all at once; Calvin profoundly

modified the traditional economic teaching of the Church, but by no means abandoned its claim to give such teaching; and the early Puritan settlements in Massachusetts visited the profiteers of their community with the severest spiritual censures. None the less the general tendency was towards a detachment of the Church from these fields of activity—a detachment which by the middle of the eighteenth century had become almost complete.

Growth of the Movement in the Nineteenth Century.

The process of recovery may be excellently traced in a book called *Christian Social Reformers of the Nineteenth Century*, edited by Mr. Hugh Martin, and lately published by the Student Christian Movement. Mr. Martin very wisely opens his series with John Howard, the great reformer of prisons, though he died before the nineteenth century was born. Taking him with some others of those who follow in that volume we get the following names and dates; John Howard, 1726–90; William Wilberforce, 1759–1833; Lord Shaftesbury, 1801–85; J. M. Ludlow, 1821–1911; Henry Scott Holland, 1848–1918. Thus by a series of overlapping names, each of which stands for a movement as well as for a man, we are carried continuously from the middle of the eighteenth century to the last year of the Great War, from the time when the Church had abdicated its control over economic life to the period when Christian Socialism was become so strong a force that warning voices were being raised against the ' acute secularization ' of Christianity.

If we consider the names in that series it will become apparent that the reassertion of the Christian claim to influence economic life and the structure of society came from the pressure of concern for Christian relations towards individuals, of which no one has ever questioned the legitimacy. John Howard was moved solely by sympathy for individual prisoners; he was not in the least concerned with the structure of society; he was concerned with the suffering and degradation of individuals. No one disputes that this is a true exercise of

Christianity. His appeal was for kindness in place of cruelty. Abuses were attacked, but not any part of the social system. Consequently Howard never had to face public obloquy. His exertions were heroic and his self-sacrifice most noble. But he did not arouse the antagonism of a class, because he left the system alone.

When we pass to the next two names the motive is the same, but it leads to an attack on a system, and consequently arouses the antagonism of those who profit by the system. The movement for the Abolition of the Slave Trade with which the name of Wilberforce is so gloriously associated had its origin in pity for the sufferings of the slaves, especially during the voyage from Africa to America and the West Indies. But the Trade was well established, and abolition was a blow to a great vested interest. In America and the West Indies it involved a change in the social system. It is true that Wilberforce and his friends were pioneers, and that the majority of Church-people, official and unofficial, gave him little or no support for a long while. But it was none the less his Christian faith that inspired him for his task, and it led him not only to the removal of an abuse but to an attack upon the existing social system.

If that is true of the Abolition of the Slave Trade in 1807, still more plainly is it true of the Abolition of Slavery in 1833. This involved a clear attack upon the then existing rights of property. The fact that £20,000,000 were voted as compensation to the slave-owners gilded the pill; but the pill was there, for these ' owners ' had no choice but to give up their ' property '.

A still more penetrating invasion of the economic sphere in the name of Christian principle is associated with the next reformer on our list—Shaftesbury. He too was moved by indignant pity for individuals. He was no democrat; he thought Trade Unions objectionable in principle. But the action to which his pity and indignation led him was political in both method and result; the Factory Acts connected with his name were a legislative modification of the economic

structure. If they were dictated by Christian principle, as in Shaftesbury's own mind they certainly were, that principle was being given political and economic application.

Thus a great field of inquiry was opened up by implication. If Christianity is to have political, social, and economic application, what are the Christian principles that must so be applied? The moment that this question is asked the doors are open to the Christian Social Movement. In March, 1848, J. M. Ludlow, then in Paris and watching the convulsions of the February Revolution, wrote to F. D. Maurice a letter which inaugurated that great movement in which his own name and those of Maurice and Kingsley, Stewart Headlam, Westcott, Scott Holland, Gore are perhaps the most conspicuous. It was bound to come. The movement of thought and feeling connected with the names of Howard, Wilberforce, and Shaftesbury could not stop where those men stopped. Their very activities had raised questions which once raised must be answered. Ludlow himself was largely occupied in experiments which, in their own field, achieved little, though they were fruitful as a constantly repeated challenge to conscience; but the seed which he had sown sprang up as a vigorous plant when the Christian Social Union was founded, of which Henry Scott Holland was the inspiration.

With this we pass from the phase of isolated attacks on particular abuses to the beginning of the systematic search for the true formulation of Christian social principles and for the wise method of applying them effectively to the world of our own day—a search which necessarily involves careful study of the facts to which the principles are to be applied. But before following this story to the chapter that is being written by our own generation, we must consider certain other streams which by the end of the nineteenth century had poured their waters into the mighty river of the Christian Social Movement.

Witness of the Church in Special Fields.

The warfare of the Church against evil in general necessarily takes the form in part of crusades against evils specially

prominent from time to time. One of the chief social activities of the Christian Church during the nineteenth century was its work for Temperance in the matter of alcoholic drinks. When Dr. Temple was appointed Bishop of Exeter in 1869 no dignitary had as yet taken up this cause, and when he was announced to speak at a Temperance meeting, the Mayor of Exeter, who was a wine-merchant, sent a man with bags of flour to throw at the Bishop. The first of these struck him and burst, covering him with flour. The Bishop congratulated the man on ' a capital shot ', and proceeded with his speech, undismayed by the flour on his clothes; the Mayor's agent refrained from further action. Such a situation seems incredible to-day, when no one complains of Temperance meetings except on the score of dullness. The Temperance Movement has, no doubt, drawn most of its strength from the Puritan tradition in modern Christianity. Latterly its strength has been diverted from moral propaganda to legislative effort. This is partly because its moral claim is, in principle, admitted. It is partly because the evil itself, in the form against which the Temperance Movement was launched, has largely disappeared. This improvement is no doubt due in great measure to better education and better housing. But the Temperance Movement itself can justly claim a share in the credit on account of its educative work. At the present time, while there are still many supporters of Prohibition and other purely repressive remedies, the tendency of the Christian Temperance Movement is towards legislation which shall give to the people of specially defined areas the right to terminate the existing system of sale for profit and substitute a system of disinterested management such as the State set up, owing to a special emergency during the War, at Carlisle. But there is not as yet sufficient agreement among the supporters of Temperance legislation to afford much hope of any Bill on these lines being passed into law at an early date.

Another great evil with which the Christian conscience has been much exercised is the prevalence of Gambling. There can be little doubt that in the present period Betting

and Gambling are doing more harm than Drink. The question arises whether they are wrong in principle or only (like the consumption of alcoholic liquor) wrong when practised in excess. For myself I am convinced that they are wrong in principle, because their principle appears to be a distribution of wealth on the basis of chance, which is socially evil. No doubt the evil in any given case may be so small as to be negligible; but that will not justify even that case, if conduct based on the same principle is elsewhere doing vast damage, so that I have no doubt at all that Christians ought to be total abstainers from betting.[1]

Throughout the ages the Church has upheld an ideal of marriage and has in greater or less degree administered the Marriage Law. In our own time it has to face a situation in which many States are granting Divorce, with right to re-marry, with increasing facility. The Church has not modified its own rule, and there is no reason to suppose that it will, for it has to conform its action to principles laid down by Christ Himself.

But the great feature of the Church's present-day concern with these questions is that they are less and less treated as separate problems, more and more as aspects of the one great problem how to conduct the life of society on Christian principles. The Drink evil is to be solved partly by education, partly by the provision of better housing; if advantage is to be taken of these, there must be tolerable security of tenure as well as a decent wage for the working-classes. If the social system is seriously defective at any point, this will show itself in many ways; and those resultant evils cannot be cured by direct attack, but only by the removal of that social defect from which they arise. This is not to say that these various problems are more sociological than moral, or that the way to change characters is to change conditions; for in fact conditions are a reproduction and stereotyping of character, and only by changing someone's character can the conditions be

[1] For a development of this theme I must refer to my *Essays in Christian Politics* (Longmans).

altered. To that we shall return. The predominant feature of this epoch in the Church's life is the attempt to see this group of problems as one whole, to acquire a reliable survey of the whole of the facts, and to frame once more a Christian sociology.

Growth of Interdenominational Co-operation.

The Christian Social Union, to which reference has been made, was a body limited to members of the Church of England, and aiming chiefly at the creation among members of that Church of a sense of serious responsibility for social problems. It promoted study of the chief questions of the day, and in many localities helped customers to support the better kind of employers and traders by issuing White Lists of those who undertook to conform to standard rates of wages, hours, and so forth. Other denominations were active in the same direction, and by the end of the nineteenth century every considerable denomination in England had its Social Service Union.

During the first decade of the twentieth century, these various Unions were steadily drawing closer together. They combined to appoint representatives to an Interdenominational Conference of Social Service Unions. This body had not extensive functions, but its formation was an important event, for it made possible the focusing of the Christian conscience, so far as it was directed to these issues, upon particular needs or opportunities as need arose. The Interdenominational Conference had two main activities. It selected a subject to be studied by all the affiliated organizations, assisting their study by the preparation of Questionnaires and Bibliographies; and it promoted a United Summer School for Social Study. As a result of this concentration of thought, and of this gathering together of men and women from all denominations to study the question, it became apparent that there was among studious Christians a vast amount of agreement, both with regard to the principles that should be applied and also with regard to the next step that should be

taken in their application. Tories and Labour men, Individualists and Collectivists were frequently found to be in agreement on these points. They differed vastly about the sort of society that they hoped would exist in a hundred years' time; but they often agreed about what ought to be done to-day. As this is the only kind of agreement that is of immediate practical importance, it seemed that there ought to be some means of giving expression to this great body of agreement.

The first effort in this direction was ill-designed for its purpose. It was called the Council of Christian Witness. It consisted of a considerable number of persons who shared the general outlook of the Interdenominational Conference, and operated as follows. A small Committee prepared a Manifesto dealing with some topic of special concern. This was sent to all members with a request for comments. Then the whole Council met—or so many of its members as were able to come—and considered the comments, redrafting the Manifesto where they thought fit. Then it was circulated again to receive the signatures of all members of the Council who desired to sign it in the form which it had then reached. By this time the crisis which had prompted the drafting of the Manifesto was over and done with, and editors who received the words of wisdom seldom gave them any great prominence. As Bishop Gore said, in dissolving the Council after the outbreak of war had put an end to the opportunity of useful work on any such lines: " It would seem to be the function of a Manifesto that it should become manifest;" judged by that almost tautologous definition, the lucubrations of this Council were not a success.

None the less the experiment had been worth while. It left those who participated in it with a strong desire to find some other method of exhibiting to the world the great measure of agreement that exists among Christians who have given much thought to these subjects. During the war nothing could be attempted. When peace returned the old landmarks had been so far shifted that a new survey was necessary as part of the enterprise of proclaiming Christian social principles.

In 1919 the Interdenominational Conference met again, and a proposal was made that it should convene a great representative conference, after elaborate preparation, which might do for the Church's social work and witness something analogous to what the great Edinburgh Conference of 1910 had done for its missionary work. The Interdenominational Conference was unable to undertake the task itself, but warmly welcomed the proposal, and urged those who had proposed it to go forward if they saw the means of doing so. This was the origin of the movement which came to be known as ' Copec ', and which was thus launched into the world with the blessing of the most representative Christian body in existence so far as this field of inquiry and enterprise is concerned.

The ' Copec ' Movement.

' Copec ' was itself so representative of the stage so far reached by the Christian Social Movement that a somewhat full account of its origin and nature seems to be called for. The planning of it took about a year; the active preparation for it took three years. The plan as it emerged was to form a Council representing all parts of the country, all denominations, and all social classes. The nucleus of such a Council was formed without great difficulty, and it added to its own numbers throughout its existence. The Council met for the first time early in 1921, and to it were presented proposals, which also had been thought out by the original promoters, for a division of the whole field into departments and for the establishment of a thoroughly well qualified Commission to deal with each department. This method was approved, and an Executive Committee was appointed to carry it out in detail, to establish the Commissions, and to act as a connecting link between them. In the result twelve Commissions were appointed, with these references: (1) The Nature of God and His Purpose for the World—Chairman, Professor W. H. Moberly; (2) Education—Chairman, The Bishop of Liverpool (Dr. David); (3) The Home—Chairman, Captain R. L. Reiss; (4) The Relation of the Sexes—Chairman, Professor

W. F. Lofthouse; (5) Leisure—Chairman, The Rev. T. W. Pym; (6) The Treatment of Crime—Chairman, Francis Allen, Esq., J.P., M.B.E.; (7) International Relations—Chairman, E. F. Wise, Esq., C.B.; (8) Christianity and War—Chairman, The Rev. Alfred E. Garvie, D.D.; (9) Industry and Property—Chairman, Miss Constance Smith; (10) Politics and Citizenship—Chairman, Sir Wyndham Deedes; (11) The Social Function of the Church—Chairman, the Bishop of Lichfield (Dr. Kempthorne); (12) Historical Illustrations of the Social Effects of Christianity—Chairman, the Rev. J. Vernon Bartlet, D.D.

Obviously the ground covered was immense; the names of the chairmen have been given as evidence that thoroughly competent and responsible men were ready to give their time for this enterprise; and the membership of the Commissions was such as to match the distinction of the chairmen. Each Commission prepared a Report, and the whole series was published by Messrs. Longmans, Green, and Co. under the general title " Copec Commission Reports ". Though now inevitably somewhat out of date, this series remains the best survey of the whole field from the Christian standpoint.

These Reports were presented to the Conference on Christian Politics, Economics, and Citizenship, which was held in Birmingham in April, 1924. That Conference had no power to commit anyone to anything and was not in that sense representative; but it was representative in the sense that the vast majority of its members were delegates appointed by official Christian bodies. The Conference met for a week, and passed, sometimes with amendments, the resolutions prepared by the Commissions and one or two others. But its real importance lay in the thorough preparation which the Commissions provided, and the unity of spirit in the Conference itself. Probably that unity of spirit cannot be better expressed than by quotation of the Basis of the Conference, which was most carefully compiled by the Council:

" The basis of this Conference is the conviction that the

Christian faith, rightly interpreted and consistently followed, gives the vision and the power essential for solving the problems of to-day, that the social ethics of Christianity have been greatly neglected by Christians with disastrous consequences to the individual and to society, and that it is of the first importance that these should be given a clearer and more persistent emphasis. In the teaching and work of Jesus Christ there are certain fundamental principles—such as the universal Fatherhood of God with its corollary that mankind is God's family, and the law 'that whoso loseth his life, findeth it'—which, if accepted, not only condemn much in the present organization of society but show the way of regeneration. Christianity has proved itself to possess also a motive power for the transformation of the individual, without which no change of policy or method can succeed. In the light of its principles the constitution of society, the conduct of industry, the upbringing of children, national and international politics, the personal relations of men and women, in fact all human relationships, must be tested. It is hoped that through this Conference the Church may win a fuller understanding of its Gospel, and hearing a clear call to practical action may find courage to obey."

It would have been impossible to contemplate such a programme if there had not existed the great body of agreement among Christian students of these subjects to which reference has already been made. For published expression of the principles on which so much study had already converged reference may be made to the epoch-marking Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum*; to the Report of the (English) Archbishops' Commission of Inquiry, *Christianity and Industrial Problems*; and to the Report of the Interdenominational Committee on After-War Problems in the United States of America, *Christianity and Industrial Reconstruction*. There is not of course that kind of agreement about particular actions which can express itself in a programme or become the platform of a party; but there is close agreement about the principles which ought to be followed. We shall

make an attempt shortly to formulate those principles once again.

The Birmingham Conference of 1924 appointed a Continuation Committee to carry its message through the country, and to feel its way towards a permanent Council of Christian Social Witness. There is reason to hope that this goal will very shortly be achieved. The name 'Copec' was retained. It was originally framed out of the initial letters of the full title of the Conference; but as the Conference receded into the past it was reinterpreted as the initial letters of its goal—a Christian Order of Politics, Economics, and Citizenship.

It has seemed right to give this space to Copec because it supplied a focus to all the social thinking in all parts of the Church and is therefore in a special degree representative of the Christian Social Movement. It is true that at the end of the time of preparation the Roman Catholics withdrew from official co-operation; but the Catholic Social Guild had through its representatives greatly helped the preparatory Commissions in drawing up their Reports and individual Roman Catholics attended the Birmingham Conference. Apart from the Roman Catholic Communion every considerable denomination appointed representatives. It was the first time that such a gathering had been held in connexion with this subject. The movement which it represents finds its culminating point up to date in the great international and interdenominational Conference on Life and Work held at Stockholm in 1925.

But of course there was an abundance of activity using other channels; the various Social Service Unions were, and are, still at work; the Christian Social Crusade, which afterwards merged itself in Copec, was promoting the formation of local groups of men engaged in business of one kind or another to consider what Christianity required of them in the conduct of their own business. The most prominent agency in the last ten years has been the Industrial Christian Fellowship, into which both the Navvy Mission and the Christian Social Union merged themselves. It conducts evangelistic work in industrial

centres, and also calls on representatives of Capital and Labour to come together to seek in common the Christian solution of their troubles.

What are the Social Principles of Christianity?

What then are the principles alleged to be inherent in the Christian view of life for which social application is demanded? Naturally they are formulated in a great variety of ways, but among those Christians of whom I speak there would be substantial agreement with regard to these four: The Sacredness of Personality, the Reality of Fellowship, the Duty of Service, the Power of Self-sacrifice.

(*a*) The principle of the Sacredness of Personality lies very deep in the Gospel. It is rooted in the conception of God's universal Fatherhood, which carries with it the corollary that every man or woman is a child of God, and has worth accordingly. Kant reached this same position when he gave as one formulation of the Categorical Imperative the requirement that we should " treat humanity in ourselves or in others always as an end and never only as a means ". This principle is at once the root and the criterion of Democracy. It is its root, because belief in personality, and the right of personality to express itself, is historically the motive behind the great democratic movements; and it is not easy to justify Democracy by any other principle. But it is also its criterion, for Democracy is only true to this its root principle when it shows a great respect for minorities, inasmuch as they have just as much right to their opinions as any majority, and the majority only have the right to prevail because of the right of all men to think for themselves; majority rule is the only practical contrivance for giving effect to this right. But Democracy, left to itself, is liable to betray its own root principle, and the definitely religious concern for the sacredness of personality is needed, not so much now to advance the cause of Democracy, but rather to keep Democracy true to its own root principle. Yet there is need also to advance it. There are many industrial undertakings in which the wage-earners are not yet treated

as fully personal; even where they are cared for, it may be rather as favoured animals than as persons, for the distinctive functions of personality are the exercise of intelligence and choice. It is not always that the wage-earners are given the opportunity to exercise intelligence and choice in reference to the industry in which they work.

(*b*) The Reality of Fellowship is equally grounded in the Universal Fatherhood of God, for if we are all His children, we are brothers one of another. And all experience teaches that there is in fact one weal and one woe wherein (in the long run) all must share. This does not mean that there is no place for emulation or competition; but it does mean that an organization of life which makes competition supreme is an organization out of harmony with the facts. Industry, for example, has been made to look like a system of competition for private gain; that is an aspect of it, but only a subordinate aspect. Fundamentally industry is—not ought to be, but is—co-operation for public service. It only exists at all because the community wants its product; and its method is the co-operation of Capital, Management, and Labour; as is shown by the fact that if any one of these withdraws from the process, the process itself ceases. If men treat it as if it were competition for private profit (whether in ' profits ' or wages) when it is co-operation for public service, of course it will go wrong.

(*c*) The Duty of Service arises from the other two; and here the claim of Christian social teaching is chiefly that so far as men choose their occupation in life they shall do it on grounds of service, and that all men shall regard the occupation by which they earn their living not first as their opportunity for making money but first their chief sphere of service to God and men. Where that spirit exists, as it does in numbers of professional men, of employers, of artisans, it is marvellously potent in removing bitterness.

(*d*) The Power of Self-sacrifice is the most distinctively Christian of all the four principles and is the one we shrink from most. Yet Christianity and experience combine to teach us that out of the clash of force against force little good can ever

come. Where there is enmity the only true solution is to turn the enemy into a friend; and this is done not by fighting him, but by loving him, even to the point of real self-sacrifice for his sake. As Professor MacIver has well said: " Force saves us only from itself." It may be right to use force in restraint of force; but all positive good is done, not by our aggresions in the name of an ideal, but by our endurance on behalf of it.

In the last few years attention has become increasingly concentrated on the problem of property. No Christian can deny the rights of property; the question is whether there be not an indefeasible right to property. By making property sacrosanct we have allowed to grow up a system by which most citizens have next to no property at all. If property is a ' good ', and if its nature is rooted in the essence of personality, then it seems clear that the existing rights of property ought to be so modified as to facilitate the holding of some property by all. But it cannot be said that any body of thought has yet crystallized on this subject. All the indications, however, point to the expectation that the prevailing Christian doctrine will be neither Individualism (which tends to deny fellowship) nor Collectivism (which tends to deny personality), but something different from either of the kind generally called Distributivism. Individualism will condemn this as Socialistic, because it will call in the State to modify existing rights of property; Collectivism will condemn it as Individualist, because it will not as a rule vest ownership in the State or in public bodies. But it will not be either; it will be the economic expression of Personality in Fellowship.

One final criticism of this whole movement must be mentioned. It is censured as an ' acute secularization of religion '. The criticism points to a real danger. It is possible to become so concerned about the coming of God's kingdom on earth that one forgets God Himself in heaven. One may be so eager to apply the eternal principles in Time that no thought is left for Eternity itself. But that is rather a danger incidental to a duty than a denial of the duty. And in fact those who are most eager to apply Christian principles to the ordering of life as

well as to individual conduct are the most conscious of the impossibility of this except in the power of the Spirit. If the Christian Social Movement steadily adheres to the four principles set forth above, it will not secularize religion, but it may spiritualize life.

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